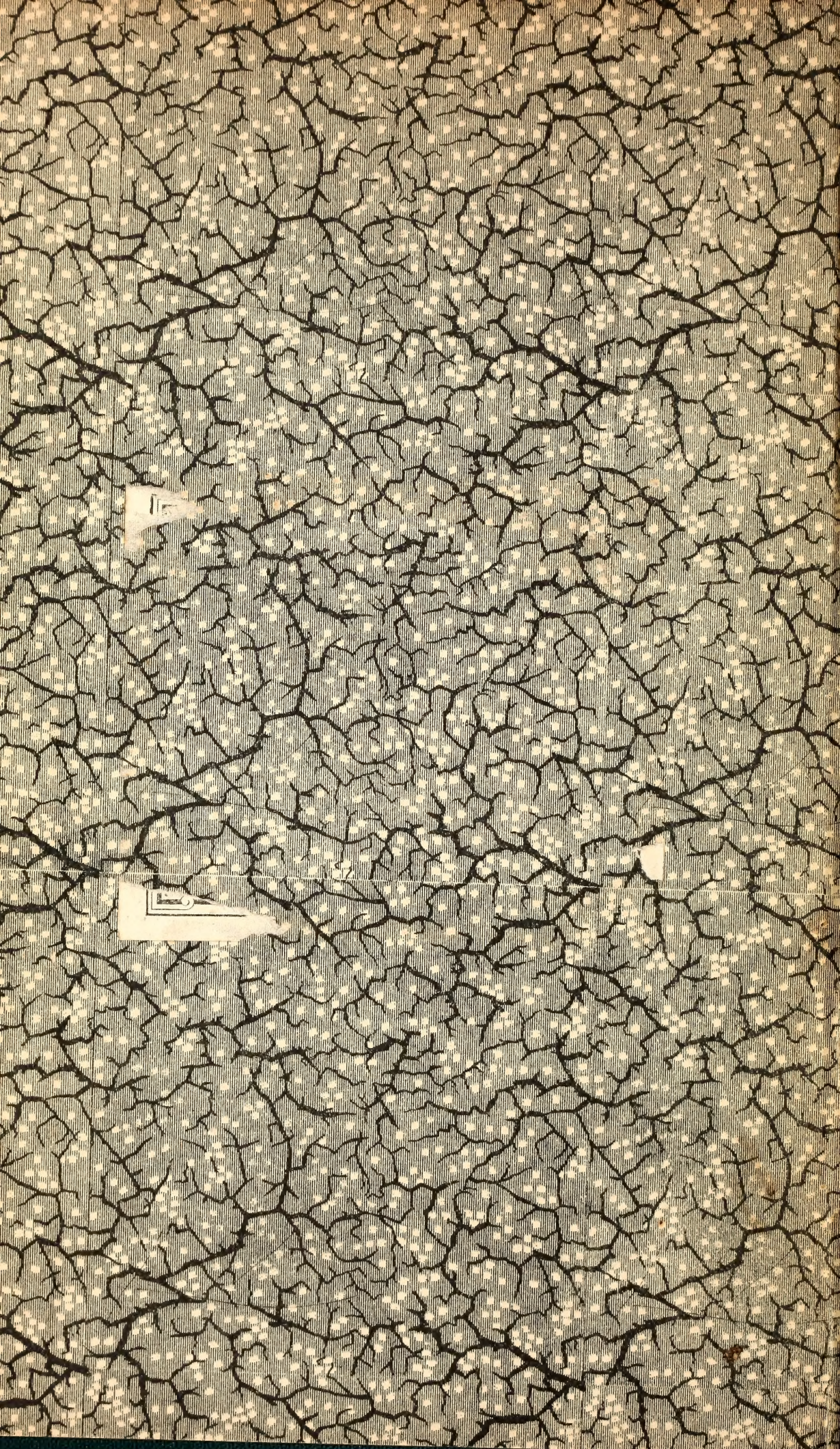
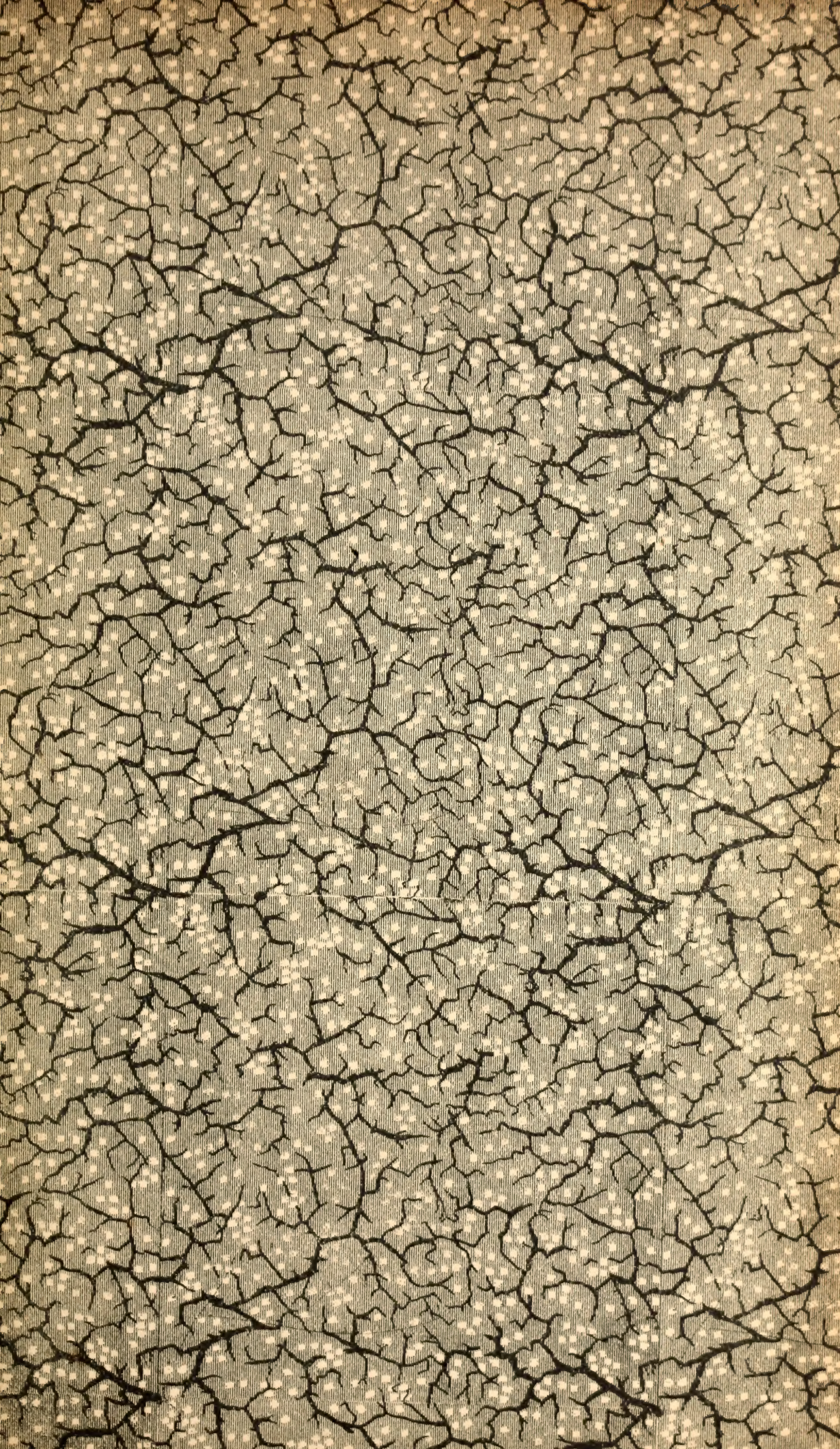


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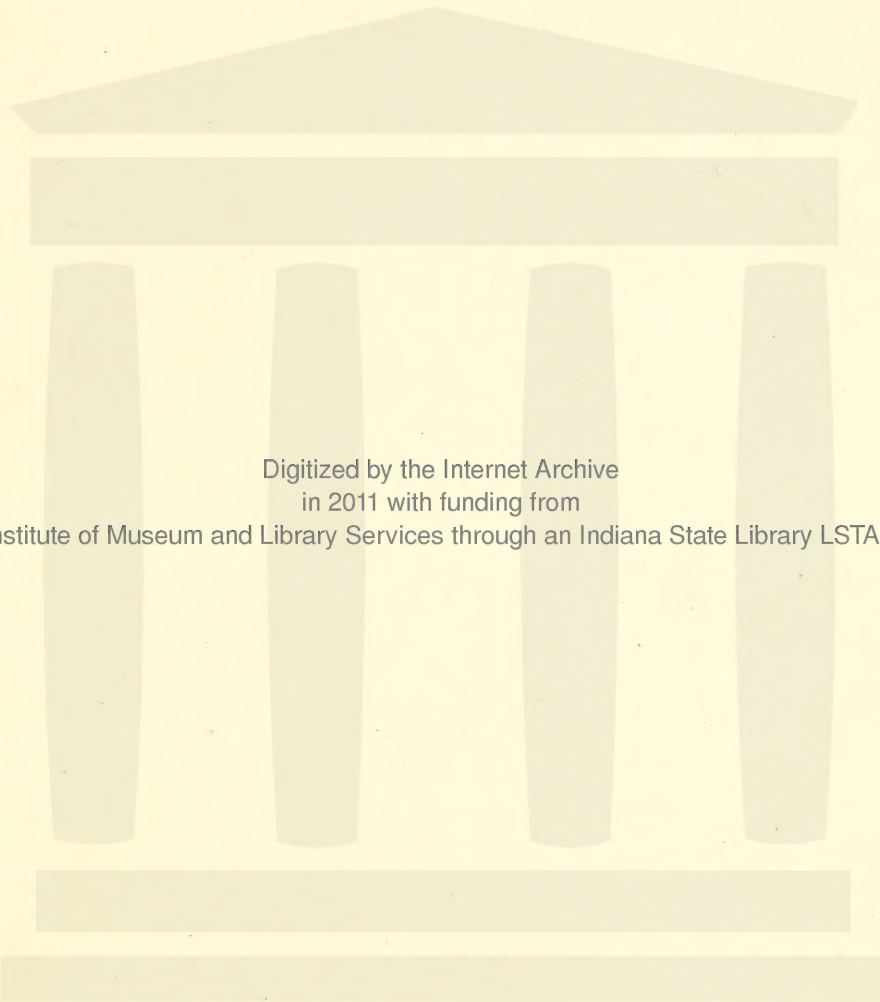
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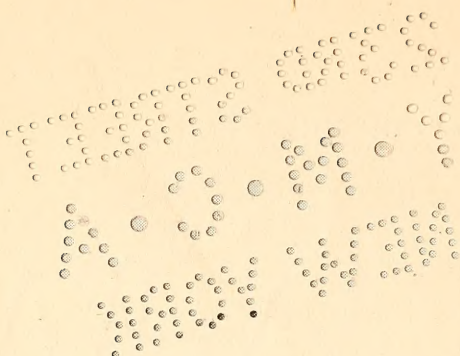
HISTORY OF THE MEXICAN WAR,

BY
GENERAL CADMUS M. WILCOX.

EDITED BY HIS NIECE,
MARY RACHEL WILCOX.

WASHINGTON, D. C. :
THE CHURCH NEWS PUBLISHING COMPANY.

1892.



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Dedicated to the
American soldiers
and sailors of the
Mexican War — to
honor the living
and remember the
dead.

January, 1892,
Washington, D.C.



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- 3, "posterity" should be *prosperity*.
7, "or" should be *to her*.
45, and throughout the history, "chapparal" should be *chaparral*.
84, "poulation" should be *population*.
85, "chrystal" should be *crystal*, and "Tenria" should be *Teneria*.
111, "Beuna" should be *Buena*.
124, "adventerous" should be *adventurous*.
131, "captian," "committed," and "Brancroft" should be *captain*,
committed, and *Bancroft*.
175, "controled" should be *controlled*.
292, (32d line,) the verb "are" should be *is*.
344, (5th line,) "200,000" should be *100,000*.
394, "exemple" should be *example*.
395, "flag" should be *flag*.
431, "determinded" should be *determined*.
432, "Cadwlder" should be *Cadwalader*.
467, (foot note,) "dishoner" should be *dishonor*.
480, "upon" should be *upon*.
484, "Assistaut Acting" should be *Acting Assistant*.
523, "speading" should be *spreading*.
529, "Lieut. J. Adde" should be *Lieut. Geo. J. Adde*, and "Colonel" should be *Colonel*.
533, "preceeded" should be *preceded*.
561, insert *men* after "10,800."

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PREFACE.

The province of the historian is to narrate briefly and clearly public events ; it is his duty to be impartial and authentic, his privilege to recall names made illustrious by certain great deeds, and to perpetuate memories hallowed and ennobled by distinguished public service. Nearly half a century has elapsed since the war between the United States and Mexico. Other and more absorbing intervening events have almost obliterated it from attention ; most of the participants in it have gone from our midst ; the names and memories of many of them have been forgotten ; no record of their gallant deeds made ; no memorial kept of services which, though heroic and patriotic, were poorly rewarded and never fully acknowledged.

The object of this work is to revive some interest in an event fraught with great national results ; to show that the war was just and unavoidable, skilfully managed by wise and able leaders, aided by brave and gallant troops with whom to dare was to conquer, and to conquer to be magnanimous. When waged there was a large party in the United States opposed to it, and public sentiment at home and abroad regarded it as an undue advantage taken by a strong and aggressive nation over a weak and disorganized neighbor, whose civil dissensions and helpless condition invited invasion. Seen in the perspective of years the course of the United States Government is proved to have been judicious, its policy wise and prudent, and its aims honest and patriotic. Precipitated by the annexation of Texas,

the ill-feeling caused by the wanton attacks of Mexicans on the rights, persons, and property of American citizens for over forty years must have culminated in war, even had the Texas question not been agitated. War, under any and all circumstances a great calamity, is not an unmixed evil; the clash of arms, like the conflict of physical elements, clears the moral atmosphere and is followed by a calm, impossible under disturbed social conditions.

Prior to 1846 the people of the United States regarded the Mexicans as an inferior race, ignorant and superstitious, and the latter stigmatized their Northern neighbors as uncouth barbarians. On the fields of Palo Alto, Buena Vista, Cerro Gordo, and Churubusco they learned to respect and honor each other; the Mexicans, though defeated, fought bravely, and even retreating had the sympathy and admiration of their opponents. The Americans, tempering victory with humanity, vindicated their claim to superiority. The only great war waged by the United States on foreign soil, it was conducted throughout with a skill and daring that insured success; its purpose, to "conquer a peace," was kept steadily in view. No undue advantage was ever taken, even in the hour of doubtful contest or of signal success, over the enemy. No cities were sacked, no domain plundered. Scott's act in halting his troops after the battle of Churubusco at the gates of the City of Mexico, and, instead of imposing humiliating terms, inviting the Mexicans to listen to propositions of peace, is without parallel in military annals. In both armies there were acts of individual heroism worthy of commemoration; each had its contingent of deserters; both were followed by the prayers and tears of loving wives and mothers; in both the leaders had cause to complain of public ingratitude, and each furnished names destined in after years to wield power and influence in their respective nations.

The States formed from the domain acquired by the war rejoice as members of the American Union in a posterity they could never have known under Mexican domination, and Mexico, relieved of territory she was powerless to protect and improve, really suffered no great loss by her defeat. To-day the two republics enjoy a peace guaranteed by mutual interests. Let us trust these friendly relations may continue and that upward and onward their future careers may be alike glorious and honorable.

CHAPTER I.

ANNEXATION OF TEXAS.—CONCENTRATION OF UNITED STATES TROOPS AT CORPUS CHRISTI.—APPREHENSIONS OF DISASTER TO THE ARMY OF OCCUPATION.—WAR NOT CONSIDERED IMMINENT.

In the year 1844 a President was to be elected in the United States, and the most prominent issue submitted by party leaders to the people for consideration and discussion during the Presidential campaign was the annexation of Texas, whose independence, achieved in 1836* after a series of desperate conflicts with Mexico, had been acknowledged by the United States and the leading European powers, but was still disputed by Mexico.

James K. Polk, of Tennessee, the nominee of the Democratic party, advocated the re-annexation of Texas, claiming it to have been an integral part of the territory of the United States since the purchase of Louisiana from France in 1803 to the purchase of Florida from Spain in 1819, while Henry Clay, of Kentucky, the nominee of the Whig party, though he agreed with Mr. Polk in the claim of the United States to Texas from 1803 to 1819, opposed its re-annexation, urging in support of his views that to annex Texas would be to invite war with Mexico and would be a violation of national faith. His warnings were unheeded, and the election of Mr. Polk in November by a large majority was interpreted as voicing the emphatic approval by the people of the annexation of the sister republic.

*A few months after declaration of independence by Texas, the battle of San Jacinto (April 21, 1836) was fought, Santa Anna defeated, and in less than a year its independence was acknowledged by the Van Buren administration. Texas desired annexation to the United States, but it was declined, lest it might involve war with Mexico. At length a treaty of annexation in 1844 was proposed by the two republics, but it was rejected by the United States Senate—ayes 35, nays 16.

6 *General Taylor Ordered to the Rio Grande.*

Joint resolutions of annexation* were introduced and discussed in the Congress which expired with the Tyler administration, and after a severe and doubtful struggle, were passed March 1, 1845, with a majority of twenty-two in the House and a majority of two in the Senate, and speedily approved by the President, who thus crowned the close of his term by adding a star to the galaxy of States forming the American Union. The opponents of the measure urged that Mexico would regard it as a grievous injury, if not a *casus belli*. The Mexican Minister, General Almonte, protested against the act of annexation, demanded his credentials, and returned to Mexico.

The probable consequences of these events formed the engrossing topic of public discussion, and naturally caused much excitement, especially in Texas and the States bordering upon the southern frontier. In the latter part of May, and mainly in consequence of threats from the Mexican authorities and of rumors of hostile movements on the part of her population resident on the Rio Grande, Brigadier General Zachary Taylor,† whose command—the First Military Department—included West Louisiana with headquarters at Fort Jesup, was instructed by the War Department to place the troops under his command as well as those to be assigned to it, in a suitable position to enable them, should such action become necessary, to act promptly in defense of Texas. These instructions had been issued in anticipation of the acceptance by Texas of the terms of annexation proposed to her by Congress, and were generally regarded as merely precautionary, few persons believing there would be other employment for the troops than to check the incursions of predatory Indian bands. General Taylor was notified that in the event of Texas accepting the terms of annexation, she would become a part of the United States and as such would be entitled to and would receive protection alike against In-

* The previously acquired Territories of Louisiana and Florida had been secured by treaties confirmed by the Senate. This caused many politicians of the day to say that the Constitution had been violated by admitting Texas under a joint resolution.

† President of the United States from March 4, 1849, to his death, July 9, 1850.

dian depredation and foreign invasion. He was directed to open communication with the authorities of Texas, as well as with the diplomatic agent of the United States accredited or, the Hon. Andrew Jackson Donelson, of Tennessee, to the end that he might be kept informed with regard to both the common Indian enemy and the intentions of any foreign power. Should she be invaded by any such power after annexation, and he be so advised by her officials, he was ordered to use the force under his command in the most effective manner to defend her territory and to expel the invader.

Although all diplomatic intercourse between the two countries was suspended immediately after the annexation of Texas, and the instructions above referred to had been issued from the War Department, war was not considered to be really imminent. The force under General Taylor was deemed fully adequate to repel any Indian incursions in Texas, but it was not purposed to limit him to that force, and he had authority to increase it from troops in his own department or, in the event of foreign invasion, by troops from other departments.

General Taylor was notified of the probability of the Texas Congress passing on July 4th or within a few days thereafter resolutions of annexation, thus making that republic an integral portion of the United States. In advance of such action on the part of Texas he was ordered to move forthwith the Third and Fourth Regiments of Infantry and seven companies of the Second Dragoons, at or near Fort Jesup, Louisiana, to the point most favorable to embarkation for the western frontier of Texas. The ultimate destination of these troops was to be some healthy location on or near the Rio Grande, suited to repel invasion from Mexico and to defend what in the event of annexation would be our western frontier. He was to confine himself to the defensive unless war should be declared by Mexico. Urged to be expeditious, he was not to disembark on Texan soil until he was certain it had been annexed or unless instructed to do so by Major Donelson, our *charge* in Texas.

The War Department instructed General Taylor not to molest certain military establishments held by Mexico on the

east side of the Rio Grande as long as peaceful relations were maintained between the two countries, and as it did not have the requisite information, either to indicate what points should be occupied or what movements should be made, these were to be left to him and he to be governed by circumstances, but no aggressive acts were to be committed as long as peace between the two countries was undisturbed. The Rio Grande was claimed as the boundary between the two countries.* Up to that stream he was to extend his protection, but not to interfere with posts occupied by the Mexicans or with any of their settlements east of that line over which the Republic of Texas did not exercise jurisdiction at the time of annexation or shortly before that event. These instructions were addressed to him as the "Commander of the Army of Occupation, in Texas."

At the time of these orders the Line of the Army of the United States consisted of but two regiments of dragoons, four regiments of artillery, and eight regiments of infantry. The regiments of the several arms of service had ten companies each. This small force occupied the posts along the Atlantic seaboard from Maine to the lower extremity of Florida, the Mexican Gulf Coast along that State to Alabama, Mississippi, and Louisiana; the northern frontier from Maine to the west end of Lake Superior, and on the western border Forts Jesup, Tousey, Washita, Gibson, Scott, Leavenworth, and Snelling. It was no easy matter to concentrate this little army or a large portion of it. Much time was required; frequent and unavoidable delays were almost certain to occur.

General Taylor, on receipt of the order to move the Third and Fourth Infantry and the seven companies of the Second Dragoons, gave directions for the latter regiment to advance the 4th of July, 1845, and the two former on the 8th via the Red River to New Orleans. He wrote from that city July 20th, acknowledging certain orders, and was next heard from on board steamship Alabama, at Aransas Pass, Texas, July

* Claimed by Texas, but never conceded by Mexico, several of whose towns were on the east bank of the Rio Grande, Laredo, with a population of five or six hundred, being the largest; Point Isabel, the seaport of Matamoros, was nine miles east of the Rio Grande. Texas had never exercised jurisdiction there.

28th, reporting his arrival at that place on the 25th, having with him eight companies of the Third Infantry, which had been placed in camp on St. Joseph's Island. He reported the Texas coast unfavorable for debarkation, rendering supplies difficult to obtain and at an increased expense.

Before leaving New Orleans he had been advised by Major Donelson that the Texas convention had accepted unanimously the resolution of annexation,* and Major Donelson also suggested that he send a small force to garrison the Texan capital. General Taylor declined to detach any force from his command until the intentions of Mexico should be known, as Indian depredations had occurred near San Patricio, some thirty miles from Corpus Christi, and these would first occupy his attention. He reported to the War Department at as early a date as possible, after careful examination mostly by himself, that he had selected as the point of concentration for the troops Corpus Christi, west of the Nueces† (he had been directed to place them west of that stream), and, moreover, a healthy place. His depot would be on St. Joseph's Island, at Aransas Pass, thirty-eight miles from Corpus Christi, and intervening shallow water rendering light draft boats a necessity, he urged that they be sent over from New Orleans without delay. Corpus Christi was a port through which Mexican merchants on and beyond the Rio Grande then imported goods. Trains of pack mules made frequent trips between it and the Rio Grande, and several were made even after the troops encamped there.

In his first report from Corpus Christi, General Taylor referred to rumors that General Arista would march for Matamoros from Monterey early in August with 1,500 troops, 500 of which were regulars, an equal number of like troops being already there. These reports being regarded as reliable and this movement of Arista as a preliminary step indicating a declaration of war, General Taylor

* The Texas Congress passed the resolutions of annexation July 4, 1845, and the Congress of the United States passed resolutions admitting Texas into the Union December 22, 1845.

† Mexico claimed the Nueces to be the western limit or boundary of Texas.

asserted he would spare no exertion to meet suitably such a contingency, and on the arrival of more troops hoped not to altogether act on the defensive.

He promptly informed President Anson Jones, of Texas, of his presence at Corpus Christi and the strength of his command, and advised him that he would make no detachments in view of the hostile attitude of Mexico, writing now mainly to suggest that he retain the volunteers then in service, if he regarded them necessary for the defense of the frontier. Should he (President Jones) concur with him, he would detach an officer at once to muster into the service of the United States the companies designated.

General Taylor had been instructed to ascertain from the authorities of Texas what auxiliary forces, volunteers, etc., could be placed at his disposal, and in case of emergency the time it would require to put them in the field. The requisite authority had been conferred for this step and a copy of the communication, addressed by the War Department, on that subject to the Governors of Alabama, Louisiana, and Mississippi had been transmitted for his information. The numbers as well as description of these new troops were to be determined by himself; he was required to report what further forces or additional supplies should be sent to Texas, and was informed that it was deemed expedient to establish one or more depots of ordnance and other supplies at suitable points, to be designated by himself. Orders had already been issued to send 10,000 muskets and 1,000 rifles to Galveston, Tex., subject on arrival to his orders.

General Taylor's letter of July 28th, written from Aransas Pass, reached Washington August 11th, and from that date until the end of the month no other report was received. This long interval of silence gave rise to wild and exaggerated rumors of disaster to his command, beginning in New Orleans and spreading over the whole country. The letters to General Taylor show that great anxiety and uneasiness had prevailed in the War Department, for Secretary Marcy used the following language: "There is reason to believe that Mexico is making efforts to assemble a large force on the frontier of Texas for the purpose of entering its territory and holding possession of it. * * * Texas must be protected

from hostile invasion, and for that purpose you will, of course, employ to the utmost extent all the means you possess or can control ;” and notifies him of 1,000 more men of the regular army having been ordered to join, and of his having authority to accept volunteers from Louisiana, Alabama, Mississippi, Tennessee, and Kentucky. These States were to be called upon at once if Mexico had declared war or had sent a force across the Rio Grande. The Secretary complained of his not having been kept advised, and urged that no chance be omitted to communicate, “*even if but a line.*” “In order to keep up proper communication between the army in Texas and the seat of Government three vessels will be put into service as soon as they can be made ready, as dispatch vessels, to convey intelligence, supplies, etc.”

Between July 28th and August 15th nothing had occurred to report ; General Taylor had been occupied riding over the country, but subsequent to that date, had written repeatedly, advising of the arrival of troops, their condition, etc., and of the favorable character of rumors from the far side of the Rio Grande. He discouraged the sending of volunteers to Texas, unless called for by himself. Of the idle gossip current in the United States, he wrote from Corpus Christi, August 26th : “I regret to learn that false and exaggerated rumors prevail in New Orleans relative to disasters encountered by this command. These rumors are not only calculated to cause much pain and anxiety in the community, but also to entail a heavy and useless expense upon the Government, in procuring the muster of volunteers, etc.”

Apprehending that the erroneous impressions current in New Orleans, in regard to his situation, might induce General Gaines to order the muster of a battalion or brigade of infantry, General Taylor addressed August 30th a communication to him by the steamship Alabama, expressing thanks for the reinforcement of the volunteer battalion of artillery, but asking that no more troops be sent without a requisition from himself. He wrote Secretary Marcy : “Could I have imagined such a condition of affairs, I would certainly have apprised the Department, by every opportunity, of my operations, unimportant as they may have been. No intelligence worthy of credit was received from the Rio Grande, until just

before my report of August 15th. Arista at last accounts was at Mier without any force, nor is there yet any concentration of troops on that river."

The excitement in the States in August and September passed away, but revived in May following. General Taylor, through his confidential agent, in the early part of September was advised that there were no extraordinary preparations being made at Matamoros, and that the garrison had not even been increased. The United States Consul there did not regard war as at all probable, and asserted that so averse to war were the people on the frontier, that if it should come, he believed several of the northern departments of Mexico would declare for independence and form a new government. General Taylor warned the authorities not to heed idle rumors, his having been ordered to make requisitions upon certain States for troops being due to them, and to quiet all apprehensions in the said States, he announced that he intended, should any auxiliary forces be required, to take them exclusively from Texas, and did not think it would be necessary under any circumstances to call for troops from other States.

On October 15th he reported as follows: "All troops destined for this point are now here in position, except Ringgold's company, daily expected from St. Joseph's Island. The morning report of to-day shows an aggregate present of 3,733; a small detachment absent and Ringgold's company will bring it up to 3,860. The longest march made by any of the troops to reach Corpus Christi was that of the seven companies of the Second Dragoons with a train of fifty wagons, from Fort Jesup, which crossed the Sabine into Texas, marched due west over broad, undulating prairies, crossed the Trinity, Buffalo Bayou, Brazos, Colorado, San Marcos, Guadalupe, San Antonio, and halted on the west bank of the Nueces, twenty-eight miles from Corpus Christi, opposite to the hamlet of San Patricio. Some of the streams were forded, and at others were ferries. The men and horses were in excellent condition after this long summer march. The other three companies of this regiment marched from Fort Washita to San Antonio."

General Taylor had served in the war of 1812, and when in command at Corpus Christi was sixty-one years old. It is questionable if either he or any officer under his command had ever seen so many of the regular army together at one time. Possibly General Worth and one or two others who had served in Canada in 1812-'15 may have been so fortunate, but there were colonels who had never seen their entire regiments, lieutenants who had risen to be captains in the same regiments who had never met, many officers who had not seen each other since the war of 1812, and others who had not met since receiving their diplomas at West Point.

Convenient to the camp at Corpus Christi was a level and extended plain, well adapted to military exercises, where all arms of service could drill within full view of each other. Many infantry officers, not young in the service, had never drilled at evolutions of the line ; others had scarcely drilled in the school of the battalion since they were cadets. The army was small, divided among many different posts, with reduced garrisons, and scattered over the entire country. The officers at Corpus Christi appreciated the rare opportunity there presented for instruction and the necessity of fully utilizing it. Hence the concentration of so large a fraction of the army in one camp was not only of incalculable benefit in the matter of instruction, but also enabled officers to revive former acquaintance and friendship and to form new ties, which contributed much to their individual pleasure and were of great advantage to the service in subsequent operations.

When not actually on duty there was great variety of recreations. To those fond of rowing or sailing few sheets of water were better adapted to such pastimes than the bay of Corpus Christi, nearly forty miles long and from ten to fifteen broad, and during the year there was scarcely a day when white-capped waves were not seen. Fish were abundant and of many different varieties—sheephead, red fish, the red snapper, highly prized for the table; a speckled trout, larger than his fresh water kinsman, and causing more excitement at the end of the line.

Many officers with the army there refer to the interesting fact that in one of the winter months during the prevalence of a "norther" of unusual violence the waves rose high and

were driven over the beach far back inland, flooding the tents of some regiments and, receding, left thousands of the best of fish in depressions filled with water or thickly strewn upon the dry surface. Hundreds of turtles, and of the largest species, were borne along by the huge waves and left high and dry, many of them on their backs, and consequently an easy prey to the soldiers. The fish supply from this "norther" lasted the army for over a week. Duck and geese during the winter months were abundant, deer and antelope covered the prairies within an hour's ride of the camp, and in two or three hours droves of wild horses could be reached; theatres at night, the circus and horse races during the day, completed their amusements and made camp life when not on duty decidedly an enjoyable affair.

During the month of October General Taylor was informed from Washington that it was not probable any serious attempt at an invasion of Texas would be made by Mexico, although she might continue to threaten incursions, and upon this supposition an important question to be decided would be the position or positions to be occupied by his troops. His confidential agents having made reports that suggested the same conclusions, he had already considered the propriety of making changes with a portion of his command so as to bring them more convenient to wood, and also to determine what points along the new frontier to garrison in the event of a peaceable solution of the pending difficulties. Should there be an early adjustment of the boundary and the consequent establishment of permanent posts, he urged that they be occupied before the warm months should set in, bringing with them, as was feared, much sickness. Meanwhile Commodore Conner, commanding the fleet near Vera Cruz, informed him "that Mexico had accepted our proposal to arrange existing troubles by negotiation," and his agents also reported that no Mexican troops were moving to the frontier, and that there was a probability of efforts being made culminating in peace.

CHAPTER II.

EFFORTS TO RENEW DIPLOMATIC RELATIONS WITH MEXICO.

Having annexed Texas the Government of the United States naturally preferred to possess it in peace, and sought to revive the diplomatic intercourse suspended by Mexico, under what she conceived to be a gross outrage upon her as an independent power.

The United States Consul at the City of Mexico was instructed by the Secretary of State "to ascertain from the Mexican Government whether it would receive an envoy from the United States, intrusted with full powers to settle all questions in dispute between the two Governments. Should the answer be in the affirmative, such an envoy will be immediately dispatched." The Consul sought the information called for; the Mexican Government replied through its minister, Señor Peña y Peña, stating: "In answer, I have to state to you that, although the Mexican nation is deeply injured by the United States through the acts committed by them in the department of Texas, which belongs to this nation, my Government is disposed to receive a commissioner of the United States who may come to the capital with full powers from his Government to settle the present dispute in a peaceable, reasonable, and honorable manner, thus giving a new proof, that even in the midst of its injuries, and of its firm decision to exact adequate reparation for them, it does not repel with contumely the measures of reason and peace to which it is invited by its adversary."

The consent of the Mexican Government to receive the commissioner "to settle the present dispute" was made dependent upon "the previous recall of the whole naval force lying in sight off our port of Vera Cruz." The communication made by the United States Consul to the Secretary of State when forwarding this reply from the Mexican Minister

is not given in full in the executive document. The consul wrote : "The Mexican Government is very anxious to know when it may expect the envoy from the United States, and also that I may soon be able to give it the information of the American squadron having retired from the port of Vera Cruz." The Mexican Minister represented his Government as willing to receive a commissioner "to settle the present dispute." That it did not regard this as an assent to receive the usual minister is evident from a communication of the minister October 31, 1845, addressed to the consul, which commences as follows : "Although this is not to be understood in any way as an intimation of the reopening of friendly relations at present interrupted between Mexico and the United States, I find myself compelled by an occurrence, etc." This occurrence was that a sloop of war of the United States had entered a port on the Pacific, causing alarm and forcing the local authorities to place themselves in a position of defense. The report proved, however, to be false.

The Mexican Government consented to receive a commissioner, charged with a particular restricted mission, "to settle the present dispute," in its understanding the Texas question. But there was accredited to it by the United States Government the usual envoy extraordinary and minister plenipotentiary, who arrived at Vera Cruz the 29th of November, 1845, and notified the United States Consul at that port that he wished to leave that night in the *diligence* for the capital. The consul at Vera Cruz reported to the one in the City of Mexico that the American Minister had arrived, and the latter reported the fact to the Mexican Minister, who was taken by surprise at the arrival so promptly of the American commissioner, and said that though he admitted no time had been designated, yet, from his conversation with the consul and from what he had heard from others he had good reasons for believing he would not have been appointed by the United States, or at least would not have started on his mission until after the meeting of the Mexican Congress, which, as was well known, would not meet until December 6th

The Mexican Minister represented his Government as well disposed and ready to proceed in the negotiation, but that

if commenced then it would endanger its existence. His Government was afraid that the appearance of the envoy at that time would produce a revolution against it, which might terminate its existence. Such was the report made by the United States Consul in the City of Mexico to the United States Secretary of State.

The newly arrived minister pushed on to the Mexican capital, reaching it December 6th. He had been met in the meantime at Puebla by the American Consul, who advised him of probable delay in his reception. On the 8th, the minister, Mr. John Slidell, announced his arrival to the Mexican Minister, and asked to be informed when it would be convenient for him to present his credentials to the President. This was answered through the United States Consul, stating his request had been laid by the Mexican Minister before the Council of Government, and he would be advised on receipt of an answer. No reply having been received up to the 15th, Mr. Slidell addressed a second note, stating his desire to communicate speedily with his Government and begging to be informed when he might expect an answer. A reply was returned the following day, which was regarded as evasive and unsatisfactory, intimating difficulties respecting his credentials, and that the negotiations were, by the terms of his letter to the consul, to be confined to the subject of Texas, and this note was not addressed to Mr. Slidell in his official capacity. In reply to this note, Mr. Slidell begged to call the attention of the Mexican Minister to what "he supposed to be a misapprehension on his part of the proposition made by the United States through Mr. Black, their consul, on the 13th of October last, and its acceptance by the Mexican Government, as signified by the letter of His Excellency, of October 15th."

Mr. Slidell reminded the Mexican Secretary that he had, inadvertently perhaps, failed to address him with his proper title.

The Mexican Minister, in reply to Mr. Slidell, after some preliminary observations, writes: "In order to place this refusal to receive an envoy extraordinary and minister plenipotentiary upon its proper grounds, the undersigned will

18 *Correspondence between Slidell and Peña y Peña.*

communicate briefly to Mr. Slidell the reasons by which His Excellency the President is guided.

“The proposition in question emanated spontaneously from the Government of the United States, and the Mexican Government accepted it, in order to give a new proof, that in the midst of grievances, and its firm decision to exact adequate reparation, it did not repel or condemn the measure of reason and peace to which it was invited ; so that this proposition as well as its acceptance rested upon the precise and definite understanding that the commissioner should be *ad hoc*—that is to say, commissioned to settle in a peaceful and honorable manner the questions relative to Texas. This has not been done, as Mr. Slidell does not come invested with that character, but with the absolute and general functions of an envoy extraordinary and minister plenipotentiary, to reside in this quality near the Mexican Government.

“If His Excellency, Mr. Slidell, be admitted in this character, which differs substantially from that proposed for his mission on the part of the United States, and accepted by the Government of the undersigned, there would be reason to believe that thenceforth the relations between the two republics were open and frank, which could not be the case until the questions which have led to the present interruption of these relations should have been settled in a manner peaceful but at the same time honorable to Mexico.

“Although it is true that in the credentials brought by His Excellency Mr. Slidell it is stated that he is informed of the desire of the President of the United States to *restore*, cultivate, and strengthen friendship and good correspondence between the two countries, it is also no less true that in this clause the single word *restore* is by no means sufficient to give to Mr. Slidell the special character of commissioner or plenipotentiary *ad hoc*, to make propositions as to the affairs of Texas calculated to establish peace firmly, and to arrest the evils of war by means of an adequate agreement. Mr. Slidell is too enlightened not himself to see that the powers of such a plenipotentiary ought to refer, and to be adequate and directed definitely to the business for which he is appointed ; and that he is very far from possessing these requisites, in virtue of the character in which he appears, of an absolute

and general minister, of an ordinary plenipotentiary, to reside near the Mexican Government.

“The admission of such a minister should be, as the undersigned has already said, preceded by the agreement which the United States proposes to enter into for the establishment of peace and good correspondence with Mexico, interrupted by the occurrences of Texas, this point being from its very nature necessary to be obtained before any other ; and until it shall have been entirely and peacefully settled not even an appointment should be made of a resident minister by either of the two Governments. The supreme Government of Mexico, therefore, cannot admit His Excellency Mr. Slidell to the exercise of the functions of the mission conferred on him by the United States Government ; but, as the sentiments expressed by the undersigned to the consul in his above-mentioned communication of the 14th of October last are in nowise changed, he now repeats them, adding that he will have the utmost pleasure in treating with Mr. Slidell so soon as he shall have presented credentials authorizing him expressly and exclusively to settle the questions which have disturbed the harmony and good understanding between the two republics, and which will bring on war between them unless such settlement be effected in a satisfactory manner, to which the proposition from the Government of the United States related, and under the express understanding of which that proposition was accepted by the Mexican Government. Until this be done Mr. Slidell cannot be admitted in the character with which he appears invested, as the honor, the dignity, and the interests of the Mexican Republic would thereby be placed in jeopardy.”

Mr. Slidell replied : “The undersigned will abstain from the full expression of the feelings of astonishment and dissatisfaction which the perusal of the minister’s communication has so naturally excited, fearful that if he did do so he might overstep the bounds which courtesy and the usages of diplomatic intercourse prescribe in addressing a person occupying the distinguished position of Mr. Peña y Peña, but he should be recreant alike to the character, dignity, and interests of the Government which he has the honor to represent were he not to point out to His Excellency, and through him to the people of the Republic of Mexico, the misstatements (and he begs

to be understood that he uses this word in no invidious sense) which the communication of His Excellency contains of the correspondence which induced the appointment of the undersigned, refute the reasoning by which Mr. Peña y Peña attempts to sustain the refusal of the Mexican Government to receive him, and apprise him of the very grave consequences to which a persistence in that refusal will probably lead."

For the purpose of pointing out misstatements and refuting false logic Mr. Slidell continued: "It will be necessary to refer briefly to the difficulties which existed between the two Governments when at the instance of Your Excellency* the consul of the United States, acting by the authority of his Government, addressed to Your Excellency on October 13th last a letter the substance of which had been communicated orally to Your Excellency in a confidential interview two days previously. * * * Mexico considered herself aggrieved by the course which the United States had pursued in relation to Texas, and this feeling, it is true, was the immediate cause of the abrupt termination of all diplomatic relations, but the Government of the United States on its part had causes of complaint, better founded and more serious, arising out of claims of its citizens on Mexico."

He then referred to many wanton attacks upon the rights of persons and property endured by citizens of the United States from Mexican authorities. "They were the subject of earnest, repeated, and unavailing remonstrance during a long series of years, until at last, on the 11th of April, 1839, a convention was concluded for their adjustment. * * * Under this convention a board of commissioners was organized for the liquidation of claims, but was to terminate its duties within eighteen months, and much time was lost in preliminary discussion. Only a small amount of claims was finally acted upon. Two million twenty-six thousand one hundred and thirty-nine dollars was the amount awarded, and \$928,627 examined and awarded by the American commissioners, upon

*As far as the official papers have been consulted, one has not been able to discover that the American consul addressed a note October 13th to the Mexican minister at the request of the latter, but, as far as known, the United States took the initiative and instructed, as has been stated, its consul to approach the Mexican Government and ascertain if it would receive a diplomatic agent.

which the umpire refused to decide, alleging that his authority had expired, while others aggregating \$3,536,837 remained altogether unacted upon because they had been submitted too late. In relation to the claims which had been submitted to the board of commissioners, but were not acted on for want of time, amounting to \$4,265,464, a convention was signed in the City of Mexico on the 20th of November, 1843, by Waddy Thompson on the part of the United States, Señores Bocanegra and Trigueros on that of Mexico, which was ratified by the United States Senate, with two amendments, obviously reasonable and necessary. Upon a reference of these amendments to the Government of Mexico it interposed evasions, difficulties, delays of every kind, and has never yet decided whether it would accede to them or not, although the subject has been repeatedly proposed by the ministers of the United States. Subsequently additional claims have been presented to the Department of State, exceeding in amount \$2,200,000, showing in all the enormous aggregate of \$8,496,603. But what has been the fate even of those claimants against the Government of Mexico, whose debts have been fully liquidated, recognized by Mexico, and its payment guaranteed by the most solemn treaty stipulations? The Mexican Government finding it inconvenient to pay the amount awarded either in money or in an issue of treasury notes, according to the terms of the convention, a new convention was concluded between the two Governments to relieve that of Mexico from this embarrassment. By its terms the interest due on the whole amount awarded was ordered to be paid on the 30th of April, 1843, and the principal with the accruing interest was made payable in five years, in equal installments, every three months. Under this new agreement, made to favor Mexico, the claimants have only received the interest to the 30th of April, 1843, and three of the twenty installments.

“If,” continues Mr. Slidell, “Your Excellency had not himself conducted the preliminary and informal negotiations with the consul of the United States, of which the preceding version is given by him; if the letter of the consul had not been addressed to and answered by Your Excellency the undersigned would be constrained to believe that Your Excellency had derived his knowledge of it from some unauthentic

source. But as this is not the case, the undersigned trusts that Your Excellency will pardon him if he suggests the doubt whether Your Excellency, constantly occupied, as he must for some time past have been by the disturbed state of the internal affairs of the republic, has reperused the letter of the consul of October 15th, with that scrupulous attention which the gravity of the case demanded, and whether the lapse of time has not left on the mind of Your Excellency but a vague and incorrect impression of what really occurred.

The point in dispute between the two ministers seems to have been this. The Mexican Minister stated to the consul that his government was disposed to receive the Commissioner of the United States, "who may come to this capital with full powers to settle the present dispute in a peaceable, reasonable, etc.;" the Mexican Minister meaning by "the present dispute" the one that had interrupted or broken off diplomatic intercourse—the Texas question. The consul had been instructed "to ascertain from the Mexican Government whether it would receive an envoy from the United States, intrusted with full power to adjust all the questions in dispute between the two governments;" and to this request the Mexican Minister gave the above reply. Under Mr. Slidell's instructions the Texas question was included, but the Mexican Government insisted upon disposing of the Texas question alone.

Mr. Slidell continued: "If the undersigned had been admitted to the honor of presenting his credentials to His Excellency the president of the republic, he was instructed to assure His Excellency of the earnest desire which the authorities and the people of the United States entertain to restore those ancient relations of peace and good will which formerly existed between the governments and citizens of the two republics. Circumstances have of late estranged the sympathies of the Mexican people, which had been secured towards their brethren of the North by the early and decided stand which the United States had taken and maintained in favor of the independence of the Spanish American republics on this continent. The great object of the mission of the undersigned was to endeavor by the removal of all mutual causes of complaint for the past and of distrust for the future,

to revive, confirm, and, if possible, strengthen those sympathies. The interests of Mexico and the United States are, if well understood, identical, and the most ardent wish of the latter was to see Mexico elevated under a free, stable, and republican government to a distinguished rank among the nations of the earth. Such are the views of the government of the undersigned, and such was the spirit in which he was directed to act. * * * Mexico rejects the olive branch which has been so frankly extended to her, and it is not the province of the undersigned to criticise the motives or comment upon the influences, foreign or domestic, which have induced her to pursue this course, or to speculate upon the consequences to which it may lead. For a contingency so unexpected and unprecedented no foresight could have provided, and the undersigned consequently finds himself without instruction to guide him in his very delicate and singular position. He shrinks from taking upon himself the fearful responsibility of acting in a matter that involves interests so momentous, and as no motive could exist for protracting his stay in this capital, he will proceed in a few days to Jalapa, where he can communicate more speedily with his Government and await its final instructions."

The administration of Herrera regarded Texas as forever lost to Mexico ; it lay conterminous with the United States, and it was known that during the war between Mexico and her revolted province, citizens of the United States had openly aided and abetted the Texans, with arms, men, and supplies, their Government being either powerless to check, or else quietly permitting these infractions of neutrality. It was even worse than this ; the Government of the United States gave grounds for well-founded suspicions, if not proof positive, of open sympathy with Texas ; for one of its general officers, General Gaines, with his command—a portion of the Army of the United States—crossed the Sabine into Texas and penetrated as far as Nacogdoches ; the Texans understanding this to be a moral, if not direct support, and subsequently the American Minister in Mexico, Governor Shannon, admonished the Mexican Government that, pending the question of annexation, a continuance of the war against Texas would be regarded as an unfriendly act.

Herrera had favored the independence of Texas, and proposed its recognition, judging rightly, that lying intermediate to the two countries, it would protect Mexico from the aggressions of the United States. The suspicion that he would prefer losing Texas, or seeing it annexed to the United States, to going to war with that power about it, was the main-spring of the revolution that resulted in his overthrow, and doubtless the presence of Mr. Slidell in the Mexican capital tended, as foretold by Señor Peña y Peña to Mr. Black, United States Consul, to precipitate that event. The *Pronunciamiento* of General Paredes forced Herrera to resign on the night of December 29th. General Valencia was installed President *ad interim*, awaiting the arrival of General Paredes; and Mr. Peña y Peña was succeeded in the Foreign Office by Mr. Castillo y Lanzas, January 6, 1846.

The United States Consul, Mr. Black, applied at once for an escort to conduct Mr. Slidell to the coast; his application was answered January 8th, but the escort was not provided until the 15th. On the 17th he left the capital, reached Jalapa the 20th, and remained there till the latter part of March, his passports being forwarded from the City of Mexico March 21st. While at Jalapa, Mr. Slidell addressed a communication to the new Minister of Foreign Relations, under the Paredes Government, Don Joachim Castillo y Lanzas, calling his attention to the fact that he had been accredited by the Government of the United States as Minister to Mexico, but that Mr. Peña y Peña, his predecessor in office, had been instructed to decline receiving him. He wrote, however: "The destinies of the Mexican Republic having since been committed to other hands, the President of the United States, unwilling to take a course which would inevitably result in war, without making another effort to avert so great a calamity, wishes by exhausting every honorable means of conciliation to demonstrate to the civilized world that, if its peace shall be disturbed, the responsibility must fall upon Mexico alone * * * and he hoped as little delay as possible, may occur in notifying him of the final decision of His Excellency the President *ad interim* in the matter of his request."

Mr. Castillo y Lanzas acknowledged the receipt of Mr. Slidell's note, advised him that he submitted it to the President *ad interim*, who after deliberate consideration of its contents and mature reflection upon the business, had seen fit to order him "to make known to Mr. Slidell, in reply, as he now has the honor of doing, that the Mexican Government cannot receive him as envoy extraordinary and minister plenipotentiary to reside near it. And here he might terminate his note, if reasons of great weight did not convince him of the necessity of making some reflections in this place, not through fear of the consequences which may result from this decisive resolve, but through the respect which he owes to reason and justice." After a brief reference to the causes which have brought the two Governments to their present attitude towards each other, he adds: "If good faith presides, as is supposed, over the dispositions of the Government of the United States, what motive could exist for so anxiously repelling the indispensable restriction with which Mexico has acceded to the proposal spontaneously made by the former? If it was really and positively desired to tie up again the bonds of good understanding and friendship between the two nations, the way was very easy; the Mexican Government offered to admit the plenipotentiary or commissioner, who should come clothed with special powers to treat upon the question of Texas.

"Upon this point the resolve of the Mexican Government is immutable, and since in the extreme case it is the rights of the Mexican nation which have to be affirmed, for it is her honor which has been outraged and which will have to be avenged, her Government will, if the necessity arise, call upon all her citizens to fulfill the sacred duty of defending their country. A lover of peace, she wishes to ward off this sad contingency, and without fearing war she would desire to avoid so great a calamity for both countries. For this she has offered herself, and will continue to offer herself, open to all honorable means of conciliation, and she anxiously desires that the present controversy may terminate in a reasonable and decorous manner.

"In the actual state of things, to say that Mexico maintains a position of *quasi* hostility with respect to the United States,

is to add a new offense to her previous injuries. Her attitude is one of defense, because she sees herself unjustly attacked, because a portion of her territory is occupied * by the forces of a nation intent, without any right whatever, to possess itself of it ; because her ports are threatened by the squadrons of the same power. Under such circumstances is she to remain inactive without taking measures suited to so vigorous an emergency ?

“ It is, then, not upon Mexico, seeing her present state, that it devolves to decide if the issue shall be a friendly negotiation or an open rupture. It is long since her interests have made this necessary, and her dignity has demanded it ; but in the hopes of an accommodation at once honorable and pacific she has silenced the clamor of these imperious exigencies.

“ It follows that if war should finally become inevitable and if in consequence of this war the peace of the civilized world should be disturbed, the responsibility will not fall upon Mexico. It will all rest upon the United States ; to them will the whole of it belong.

“ Not upon Mexico who, with a generosity unequalled, admitted the American citizens who wished to colonize in Texas, but upon the United States, who, bent upon possessing themselves, early or late, of that territory, encouraged emigration thither with that view in order that in due time its inhabitants, converting themselves from colonists into masters, should claim the country as their own for the purpose of transferring it to the United States. Not upon Mexico who, having in due season protested against so enormous a transgression, wished to remove all cause for controversy and hostilities, but upon the United States, who, to the scandal of the world and in manifest violation of treaties, gave protection and aid to those guilty of a rebellion so iniquitous.

“ Not upon Mexico who, in the midst even of injuries so great and so repeated, has shown herself disposed to admit propositions for conciliation, but upon the United States who,

* Mexico always claimed the Nueces as the western boundary of Texas, and Corpus Christi (the camp of General Taylor) was west of that river and a Mexican seaport.

pretending sincerely to desire a friendly and honorable accommodation, have belied by their acts the sincerity of their words.

“ Finally, not upon Mexico who, putting out of view her own dearest interests through her deference for peace, has entertained as long as was wished the propositions which, with this view, might be made to her, but upon the United States, who by frivolous pretexts evade the conclusion of such an arrangement, proposing peace at the very moment when they are causing their squadrons and their troops to advance upon the ports and frontiers of Mexico, exacting a humiliation impossible to submit to in order to find a pretext, if no reason can be found, which may occasion the breaking out of hostilities.

“ It is, therefore, upon the United States and not upon Mexico that it devolves to determine in the alternative presented by Mr. Slidell ; that is, between a friendly negotiation and an open rupture. The undersigned doubts not that he makes His Excellency Mr. Slidell sensible that in view of what is set forth in the present note, the Mexican Government trusts that the Executive of the United States in coming to the determination which he shall deem proper will act with the deliberation and mature consideration demanded by the exceedingly grave interests involved in this thorny question.”

In reply Mr. Slidell repeats somewhat previous statements, but he denied that the United States had encouraged emigration of its citizens to Mexico, and asserts they were invited there by Mexico, that when they, the Texan colonists, had a development that under the Constitution of 1824 would have permitted their admission into the Mexican Union as a separate State, they held their convention, a State constitution was formed and they applied for admission as a State, but the application was rejected and the delegate imprisoned.

Soon after this act the Constitutional Congress of Mexico was dissolved by military force. This same arbitrary authority convened a new congress, abrogated the Federal Constitution, and in its stead consolidated a central government. Texas, as she had a right, refused to acknowledge the new order of things, and as the compact had been dissolved,

seceded, declared her independence and won it at San Jacinto, and it was acknowledged by the leading powers of Europe. Texas being as independent as Mexico, could do as she pleased—remain independent or annex herself to the United States.

We cannot understand the full purpose of Mr. Slidell's mission without reference to his instructions, which covered not only the subject of unsettled claims of citizens of the United States, but the question of boundary between the two countries, and also the matter of a further acquisition of territory from Mexico.

The Secretary of State, in his instructions to Mr. Slidell, says: "The first subject which will demand your attention will be the claims of our citizens against Mexico," and he explains partially in what these consist and recalls the vexatious delays that have thus far attended all attempts at settlement, and continues: "The fact is but too well known to the world that the Mexican Government is not in a condition to satisfy these claims by the payment of money. Unless the debt should be assumed by the Government of the United States the claimants cannot receive what is justly due. Fortunately the joint resolution of Congress approved March 1, 1845, 'For annexing Texas to the United States,' presents a means of satisfying these claims in perfect consistency with the interests as well as the honor of both republics. It has reserved to this Government the adjustment of all questions of boundary that may arise with other Governments. This question of boundary may, therefore, be adjusted between the two republics so as to cast the burden of the debt due to American claimants upon our own Government, whilst it will do no injury to Mexico."

The Secretary then recalls how Texas, by act of Congress in December, 1836, claimed the Rio Grande as its boundary in that direction. That river was, without doubt, he says, the boundary of Texas, but it was different with New Mexico, for it lay on both sides of that stream, that to the east being within the limits claimed by Texas. And hereafter should it remain a Mexican province it would become a subject of dispute, a source of bad feeling between the two countries. If in the adjustments of the boundary New Mexico could be in-

cluded within the limits of the United States it would obviate the dangers of a future collision.

Mr. Slidell was assured the President did not desire to be illiberal towards Mexico, but the reverse, and that if she would consent to part with New Mexico the United States would not only assume all debts due by her to citizens of the United States but would in addition pay her \$5,000,000.

With reference to California, remote from Mexico, over which she exercised little control and was incapable to defend it, if this province, considerable in extent, with a fertile soil, salubrious climate, and magnificent harbors on the Pacific, should be possessed by England or France it would prove embarrassing to the United States. It might be that Mexico, in view of its sparse population and great distance, would consent to part with it. The President wished him to use his best efforts to induce Mexico to cede it to this Government. Could he bring this about he would render an immense service to his country and establish an enviable reputation for himself. Money would be no object compared with the value of this acquisition. This matter should be managed with great prudence, with caution and tact, so as not to arouse the jealousy of the Mexican officials. To secure California he was authorized to pay \$25,000,000, besides assuming the debts due our citizens by Mexico. If the boundary should strike the Pacific above Monterey \$20,000,000 would be paid. The greater the territory obtained south of San Francisco the better. It can scarcely be questioned that President Polk regarded the Texas question as already settled; was intent upon a further acquisition of Mexican territory, and was disposed to obtain it in a peaceful manner, purchasing it and paying, as he supposed, liberally for it.

CHAPTER III.

CORPUS CHRISTI ABANDONED.—THE MARCH TO THE RIO GRANDE.—THE LITTLE COLORADO CROSSED.—POINT ISABEL AND MATAMOROS.—AMPUDIA ASSIGNED TO COMMAND ON THE RIO GRANDE.—ARISTA SUPERSEDES HIM.—A COLLISION OF ARMS.

As heretofore shown, General Taylor in the autumn of 1845 believed that the differences between the Government of the United States and that of Mexico would be arranged by negotiation, but in January, 1846, the prospects of an amicable solution of them were less favorable.

Instructions were sent* him to advance as soon as the season of the year and the condition of the routes would permit. Several points on or near the Rio Grande were indicated as probable points to be occupied ; the final selection was left to his judgment, as also whether or not he would divide his forces. It was considered probable that in carrying out these instructions and in other movements that might have to be made, the use of the Rio Grande would become necessary, if not indispensable.

Should Mexico object or interpose obstacles to the common use of that river, he was instructed not to attempt such use, without further orders, and to ascertain and report without delay if means beyond those already at his disposal would be required to enforce and maintain our common right to navigate it, also to give to the Department his views as to the importance of this right, in the defense and protection of Texas.

* War Department, Jan. 13, 1846, Ex. Doc. No. 60. These orders were sent General Taylor the day after information was received that Sli-dell had not been received by Mexico as Minister.

It was not intended, in the then existing relations with Mexico, to treat her as an enemy, but should she assume that character by a declaration of war or by an open act of hostility, he was not to act merely on the defensive, if his means would permit him to do otherwise ; and as Texas had been admitted into the Union, he was authorized by the President to make a requisition upon her Governor for such militia as might become necessary to repel or to secure her against even apprehended invasion, and to inform Governor Henderson of these instructions.

In reply General Taylor notified the War Department of his intention to abandon Corpus Christi entirely, as soon as the supplies, public property, etc., could be transferred to St. Joseph's Island, which would be held for the present. Point Isabel would certainly be occupied, as well as some place opposite Matamoros, but no further subdivision of his forces would be made until the situation was such that it could be done with entire safety. With regard to the Rio Grande, he could give no opinion until his army should be in its immediate vicinity, though he was quite sure his presence near it would have a decided effect, so much so that its common use would not be disputed. He would not call for any militia, unless some unforeseen circumstances should render its employment necessary. He urged the importance of having his movement upon Brazos Santiago covered by a vessel of war.

No time was lost, and anticipating his advance to commence about the 1st of March, he ordered reconnoissances to be made from Corpus Christi to Point Isabel, one by way of Padre Island, the other over the mainland, the route to be taken to be determined by the reports of the officers making these examinations.

He cautioned the War Department against heeding exaggerated accounts of preparations made by the Mexicans to resist his advance, or to attempt an invasion of Texas, as such rumors were already in circulation at Corpus Christi, originating with those wishing the army to remain where it was. From reliable reports his forward movement to the Rio Grande would not be resisted, though his command would advance prepared to resist hostilities should they be provoked by Mexico.

The engineer officers charged with the two reconnoissances reported both routes practicable ; the one by Padre Island included Brazos Santiago and Point Isabel ; the other extended as far as the Arroyo Colorado, a distance of near 130 miles. Taylor reported his preparations for the forward movement as nearly completed. He would send forward forty miles to the Santa Gertrudes four days' forage, and an equal amount of subsistence stores, guarded by Maj. Wm. M. Graham, with two companies of the Fourth Infantry.

He represented to a party of Mexicans visiting his camp and who had a large drove of mules for sale that his forward movement, soon to be made, would not be hostile ; that his troops would in no event go beyond the Rio Grande unless hostilities should be begun by the Mexicans themselves ; that those Mexicans living east of the river would be protected in rights and property, all supplies required for the army would be paid for at fair market prices, and until the present misunderstanding should be finally settled the harbor of Brazos Santiago would be open to Mexicans as before. The same views had been expressed by Captain Hardee, commanding the escort with the reconnoitering party on Padre Island, to the Mexican custom-house officials and to others at Point Isabel.

Commodore Conner had sailed for Vera Cruz, but promised to cover the establishment of the depot at Point Isabel with one or more war vessels. Finally, all needful preparations having been made, the weather being propitious, the roads in excellent condition, and with that exhilaration of spirits common to forward movements, the advance column, composed of the cavalry and Major Ringgold's battery of field artillery, under the command of Colonel David E. Twiggs, Second Dragoons, moved March 9, 1846, in the direction of Matamoros. The strength of this advance guard was 401 men and officers.

A siege train, field battery, ordnance officers, and those of the Pay Department, under Major John Munroe, Second Artillery, and Captain Sanders, of the engineers, were to sail from St. Joseph's Island in time to be at or near Brazos when the troops should reach Point Isabel. Before leaving Corpus Christi General Taylor had published the following

order, No. 30, which was translated into Spanish and sent over to the Rio Grande for distribution among the Mexicans:

[Order No. 30.]

HEADQUARTERS ARMY OF OCCUPATION,
CORPUS CHRISTI, TEX., *March 8, 1846.*

The Army of Occupation of Texas being now about to take a position upon the left bank of the Rio Grande, under the orders of the Executive of the United States, the General-in-Chief desires to express the hope that the movement will be advantageous to all concerned, and with the object of attaining this laudable end he has ordered all under his command to observe with the most serious respect the rights of all the inhabitants who may be found in peaceful prosecution of their respective occupations, as well on the left as on the right side of the Rio Grande. Under no pretext nor in any way will any interference be allowed with the civil rights or religious principles of the inhabitants, but the utmost respect for them will be maintained. Whatsoever may be needed for the use of the army will be bought by the proper purveyor and paid for at the highest prices. The General-in-Chief has the satisfaction to say that he confides in the patriotism and discipline of the army under his command, and that he feels sure that his orders will be obeyed with the utmost exactness.

Z. TAYLOR,
Brig. Gen. U. S. Army, Commanding.

The infantry, divided into three brigades, moved successively on the 9th, 10th, and 11th of March. On the 12th, thirty-one miles west of Corpus Christi, General Taylor informed the War Department that the United States brig Porpoise arrived near Aransas on the 11th, Lieutenant Hunt commanding, under orders from Commodore Conner, to communicate with the army and render all the aid possible. This brig, together with the cutter Woodbury, convoyed the army transports to Brazos and assisted Major Munroe in landing and establishing the depot at Point Isabel. He referred to a proclamation of General Canales that was placed in his hands as he was leaving Corpus Christi, and which had not, to his knowledge, been made public on the Rio Grande. It referred exclusively to the *Pronunciamiento* of Paredes and the overthrow of Herrera, denouncing it as an unlawful act of a council of generals.

March 18th, 118 miles west of Corpus Christi, he reported again through that port to the War Department that he was

with the head of the column, the cavalry and First Brigade of Infantry, that the Little Colorado was thirteen miles in front, on reaching which he would concentrate his army so as to be prepared for contingencies.

On the 17th and 18th small armed parties of Mexicans were seen in front, or off on the flank, but kept at a distance. He reported the different commands of his army as being in excellent condition and buoyant in spirits, "equal to any service that might be before them."

Rarely, if ever, was there a better disciplined or a more thoroughly-instructed little army than the one commanded by General Taylor at that time. Most of its officers had been educated for their profession, were full of zeal and pride in the service, and, animated by an honorable ambition, the *esprit de corps* was perfect. The weather was favorable, the roads excellent, stretching over broad and slightly undulating prairies; the attention of both officers and men constantly directed to herds of deer and antelopes and droves of wild horses, bounding over the soft, green turf that covered the vast plains in every direction. During this march the army was neither annoyed nor fatigued by dust or mud, heat or cold.

The 19th of March the advance brigade encamped within three miles of the Little Colorado, a salt lagoon, about 100 yards wide and of barely fordable depth. A reconnoissance was pushed forward to this stream and a small body of irregular cavalry was seen on its far side. They offered no opposition whilst the reconnoissance was being made, but intimated to the officer in charge that an attempt to cross it would be regarded as an act of hostility, and those so engaged would be treated as belligerents.

The army was reunited on the 21st of March at the Little Colorado, and early in the morning the cavalry and the First Brigade were placed in position at the ford, the artillery so posted as to sweep with its fire the opposite side. While these dispositions were being made the irregular cavalry, seen the day before, reappeared on the far side, and Captain Joseph K. F. Mansfield, of the engineers, was sent across to communicate with the officer in command, who stated that he had

positive orders to fire upon the Americans if they attempted its passage.

A second party now made its appearance under Captain D. Jose Barragan, chief of squadron, who crossed the stream to hold communication with General Taylor, and reiterated what had been stated the day before, that they had peremptory orders to fire upon his soldiers if they attempted to cross, and that the passage of the stream would be considered a declaration of war.

At the same time he gave General Taylor the following proclamation of General Mejia, issued in Matamoros several days before :

“ FELLOW CITIZENS : The annexation of the department of Texas to the United States, projected and consummated by the tortuous policy of the Cabinet of the Union does not yet satisfy the ambitious desire of the degenerate sons of Washington. The civilized world has already recognized in that act all the marks of injustice, iniquity, and the most scandalous violation of the rights of nations. Indelible is the stain that will forever darken the character of virtue falsely attributed to the people of the United States, and posterity will regard with horror their perfidious conduct and the immorality of the means employed by them to carry into effect that most degrading depredation. The right of conquest has always been against humanity, but nations, jealous of their dignity and reputation, have endeavored at least to cover it by the splendor of arms and the prestige of victory. To the United States it has been reserved to put in practice dissimulation, fraud, and the basest treachery in order to obtain possession, in the midst of peace, of the territory of a friendly nation, which generously relied upon the faith of promises and the solemnity of treaties.

“ The Cabinet of the United States does not, however, stop in its career of usurpation. Not only does it aspire to the possession of the department of Texas, but it covets also the regions on the left bank of the Rio Bravo del Norte.* Its army, hitherto for some time stationed at Corpus Christi, is now advancing to take possession of a large part of Tama-

* The Rio Grande.

lipas, and its van-guard has arrived at the Arroyo Colorado, distant eighteen leagues from this place.

“What expectation, therefore, can the Mexican Government have of treating with an enemy who, whilst endeavoring to lull* us into security by opening diplomatic negotiation, proceeds to occupy a territory which never could have been the object of the pending discussion. The limits of Texas are certain and recognized ; never have they extended beyond the River Nueces, notwithstanding which the American Army has crossed the line separating Tamaulipas from that department. Even though Mexico could forget that the United States urged and aided the rebellion of her former colonists, and the principle giving to an independent people the right to annex itself to another nation, is not applicable in this case, in which the latter has been the protector of the independence of the former, with the object of admitting it into its own bosom. Even though it could be accepted as an axiom of international law, that the violation of every rule of morality and justice might serve as a legitimate title for acquisition, nevertheless the territory of Tamaulipas would still remain beyond the law of annexation, sanctioned by the American Congress, because that law comprises independent Texas, the ground occupied by the rebellious colony and in no wise includes other departments, in which the Mexican Government has uninterruptedly exercised its legitimate authority.

“If the banks of the Panuco† have been immortalized by the defeat of an enemy, respectable and worthy of the valor of Mexico, those of the Bravo shall witness the ignominy of the proud sons of the North, and its deep water shall serve as the sepulchre of those who dare approach it. The flame of patriotism which burns in our hearts will receive new fuel from the odious presence of the conquerors, and the cry of Dolores and Igualo shall be re-echoed with harmony in our ears, when we take up our march to oppose our naked breasts to the rifles of the hunters of the Mississippi. * * *

* Slidell was in Mexico endeavoring to open negotiations.

† On this stream, near Tampico, Santa Anna gained a victory over the Spaniards in the war for Mexican Independence.

“Until the long-looked for day shall arrive, when we enter upon the great campaign for the reconquest of the territory of which we have been despoiled, and to carry our eagles in triumph to the banks of the Sabine, we who have the glory to be in front of the invaders must serve as an impenetrable barrier.”

General Taylor tersely informed the Mexican officer that the stream would be crossed at once, and if he and his command were seen after it was affected, or after his troops had commenced to cross, his artillery would open fire upon them. The rear brigade arrived at this time, and was ordered into position on the right; the troops entered the stream and were soon across, no opposition being offered on the part of the small Mexican force; the American cavalry were thrown forward, and the Mexicans who had been sent out to observe and report Taylor's advance were seen retreating towards Matamoros.

The cavalry, First and Second Brigades, and 200 wagons went into camp three miles beyond the Little Colorado, where there was a halt of two days, owing to the detention of the supply train of one of the brigades. At this camp General Taylor learned that the Mexicans had about 2,000 troops in Matamoros, but none east of the Rio Grande. Reports of Ampudia's movements were quite contradictory, though it appeared that his arrival from the interior was daily expected. General Taylor made a detailed report of the crossing of the Little Colorado, it being the first occasion on which the Mexicans had shown themselves in an attitude decidedly hostile, and in this report he refers to them as the “enemy.”

Leaving General Worth in command of the infantry, with orders to march towards Matamoros, until a suitable encampment was found, then to halt, covering his front with pickets, General Taylor proceeded with the cavalry to Point Isabel to ascertain if the transports had arrived, to give directions for establishing a depot, intrenching, etc.

While on the march to Point Isabel, a party of Mexicans bearing a white flag, seen on the opposite side of the river, proved to be a civil deputation from Matamoros desiring an interview, and intrusted with a formal protest from the pre-

fect of the northern district of Tamaulipas against the occupation of Mexican soil by American soldiers, as follows :

OFFICE OF THE
PREFECT OF THE NORTHERN DISTRICT OF TAMAULIPAS,
SANTA RITA, *March 23, 1846.*

“God and Liberty !”

SIR: Although the pending question respecting the annexation of the department of Texas to the United States is subject to the decision of the Supreme Government of Mexico, the fact of the advance of the army under Your Excellency's orders over the line occupied by you at Corpus Christi places me under the necessity, as the chief political authority of the northern district of Tamaulipas, of addressing you, as I have now the honor to do, through the commissioners, who will place this in your hands, and of informing you that the people under his prefecture, being justly alarmed at the invasion of an army which, without previous declaration of war and without announcing explicitly the object proposed by it, comes to occupy a territory which never belonged to the insurgent province, cannot regard with indifference a proceeding so contrary to the conduct observed towards each other by civilized nations and to the clearest principles of the law of nations—that directed by honor and patriotism.

Certain that nothing has been said officially by the Cabinet of the Union to the Mexican Government respecting the extension of the limits of Texas to the left bank of the Rio Bravo, and trusting in the well-known justice of their cause and using their natural right of defense, they, the citizens of this district, protest in the most solemn manner that neither now nor at any time do they or will they consent to separate themselves from the Mexican Republic and to unite themselves with the United States, and that they are resolved to carry this firm determination into effect, resisting so far as their strength will enable them, at all times and places, until the army under Your Excellency's orders shall recede and occupy its former position ; because so long as it remains within the territory of Tamaulipas the inhabitants must consider that whatsoever protestation of peace may be made hostilities have been openly commenced by Your Excellency, the lamentable consequences of which will rest before the world exclusively on the heads of the invaders.

I have the honor to say this to Your Excellency with the object indicated, and to assure you of my consideration and esteem.

JENÉS CARDENAS.

As General Taylor approached Point Isabel smoke was seen ascending in large volumes, several houses being on fire, the torch having been applied by the port captain acting, as was reported, by order of General Mejia. The troops arrived in

time to extinguish the flames, three or four houses only being burned. Most of the citizens had fled to Matamoros. The army and the transports arrived about the same time, the latter two or three hours in advance. Engineer officers were ordered to select locations for and to begin immediately the construction of defensive works. General Taylor as soon as a sufficient amount of supplies could be thrown forward to Matamoros designed moving up and occupying a point as near it as circumstances would permit.

Remaining at Point Isabel several days, then leaving Captain Porter's company with the command of Major Munroe, he set out for Matamoros, and, rejoining the main body of the army under General Worth, moved forward on the 28th. No resistance was encountered, nor was any hostile act committed save that two dragoon soldiers of the advance guard sent forward may have been captured, as they did not return.

The rumored approach of the American Army in front of Matamoros created great excitement. The roofs of dwellings and of the highest buildings, as well as the steeples of churches, were covered and filled with people awaiting with eager curiosity the appearance of what they designated as "their enemy." Soon the Americans were seen in the distance, the *general* was sounded, the fortifications, old and but rarely occupied, were manned, the troops put under arms and prepared for combat, the people believing no doubt that a battle would be fought at once. The defensive works, fronting on the river, were weak and unfinished. Details were made and the work pushed forward with the greatest activity night and day.

The Mexican forces occupying Matamoros at the time of the arrival of the Americans were a battalion of Sappers, the Second Light, the First and Tenth Regiments of the Line, the Seventh Cavalry, the auxiliaries of the towns of the North, several companies of *Presidiales*,* a battalion of the National Guard of the city of Matamoros, and twenty pieces of artillery, and the second or third day thereafter the Marines of Tampico, the Sixth Infantry, and a battalion of the Guarda

* The *Presidiales* are soldiers stationed along the frontiers to repel the incursions of the Lipans, Apaches, Comanches, and other marauding Indian bands.

Costa of Tampico arrived, making an aggregate of about 3,000 men.

General Taylor halted his troops, and, in full view of Matamoros, the regiments were deployed into line and stood at a rest. He ordered a white flag to be displayed, when a boat with two officers and an interpreter crossed from the Mexican side. General Taylor wished to send General Worth with a communication to the commanding general at Matamoros, as well as to the civil authorities, and an interview for this purpose was requested. The Mexican party returned and soon crossed again to the left (American) bank, reporting that General Romulo Diaz de la Vega would receive General Worth, who then, accompanied by several members of his staff, crossed the river. General Vega was attended by Liceneiado Casares, two officers, and an interpreter.

After the usual salutations General Worth stated he was the bearer of dispatches from the commanding general of the American forces to General Mejia and the civil authorities of Matamoros. General Vega replied he had been instructed to receive such communication as General Worth might present from his commanding general, and then began to speak of the American forces being on Mexican territory. He was disposed to argue, but Worth was not, and stated he had been sent with a dispatch from his commanding general to General Mejia, who had refused to receive it from him in person. It was read to General Vega as an act of courtesy, but was retained by General Worth, he saying if General Mejia wished hereafter to communicate with General Taylor, he (General Mejia) must propose the means, and he assured General Vega that should General Mejia present himself or his communication by a subaltern officer, he would be received with becoming courtesy and hospitality. The Mexicans desired to argue and remonstrate, but General Worth did not encourage them and confined himself to the delivery, or attempted delivery, of General Taylor's communications.

He asked if the American Consul was in arrest or in prison. Vega replied, "No." Worth: "Is he in the exercise of his proper functions?" Vega: "Yes." Worth: "Then, as an American officer, I demand an interview with the consul of

my country." No answer. Worth: "Has Mexico declared war?" Vega: "No." Worth: "Are the two countries at peace?" Vega: "Yes." Worth then again asked to see the consul of his country. This demand was referred to General Mejia, who refused to see General Worth or to let him see the United States Consul. Worth said he regarded this refusal to let him see his consul as a belligerent act, and he would add that the American commander would regard the passage of any armed party of Mexicans in hostile array across the Rio Grande as an act of war, and would pursue it accordingly. He returned with his staff to the left bank of the river. The interview was productive of no good and indicated clearly that there was a feeling of extreme irritation on the part of the Mexicans. As soon as he arrived opposite Matamoros General Taylor ordered defensive works to be constructed and so placed as to command the city of Matamoros.

It became known that Paredes had overthrown the Government of Herrera, and that one of the principal causes leading to this was its supposed disposition to treat for the recognition of Texan independence, and naturally it was expected that Paredes would dispatch at once heavy forces to the Rio Grande frontier to oppose General Taylor. Ampudia was ordered from the capital, but with a very inadequate force, and arrived at Matamoros April 11th, having with him 200 cavalry and a force of infantry, artillery, and cavalry in rear, soon to arrive; in all, about 2,200 men composed as follows: The Fourth of the Line, the active battalions of Mexico, Puebla, and Morelia, the Eighth Cavalry and six field pieces, all commanded by General Torrejon.

The assignment of Ampudia to command the Rio Grande frontier was far from being acceptable to the people of that section. It was known that he had seconded the *Pronunciamiento* of Paredes at San Luis Potosi; and his appointment as commander was regarded as a reward for that personal service. The Paredes *Pronunciamiento* had little or no response from the people, who regarded it as an affair exclusively of the soldiery. Ampudia had neither the respect nor the confidence of the people; this was decidedly the case at Matamoros, from which place a vigorous protest was sent to the National Capital, alleging that fatal and disastrous conse-

quences would surely follow if he was continued in command, and urging that Arista, then at his hacienda of Mamulique, be substituted in his place.

The first order of Ampudia directed all Americans to leave Matamoros within twenty-four hours and repair to the town of Victoria, several hundred miles in the interior. He had issued a similar order at Reinosá before reaching Matamoros, and the following day summoned General Taylor to withdraw his army within twenty-four hours, as follows :

“To explain to you the many grounds for the just grievances felt by the Mexican nation, caused by the United States Government, would be a loss of time and an insult to your good sense. I, therefore, pass at once to such explanations as I consider of absolute necessity. Your Government in an incredible manner—you will even permit me to say an extravagant one, if the usage or general rules established and received among all civilized nations are regarded—has not only insulted but has exasperated the Mexican nation, bearing its conquering banner to the left bank of the Rio Bravo del Norte ; and in this case, by express and definitive orders of my Government, which neither can, will, nor should receive new outrages, I require you in all form, and at latest in the peremptory term of twenty-four hours, to break up your camp and return to the east bank of the Nueces River while our Governments are regulating the pending question in relation to Texas. If you insist upon remaining upon the soil of the Department of Tamaulipas, it will certainly result that arms, and arms alone, must decide the question ; and in that case I advise you that we accept the war to which, with so much injustice on your part, you provoke us, and that on our part it shall be conducted conformably to the principles established by the most civilized nations—that is to say, that the law of nations and of war shall be the guide of our operations, trusting that on your part the same will be observed. With this view, I tender you the consideration due to your person and respectable office.

“ ‘ God and Liberty ! ’ .

“ Two o'clock p. m., April 12, 1846.

“ PEDRO DE AMPUDIA.”

Ampudia wished to assume the offensive, cross the Rio Grande and give battle at once, the movement to commence on the 15th, but he was not permitted even to attempt its execution, being relieved by an order of the Government received on the night of the 14th. The new commander, Arista, ordered him to suspend all contemplated operations and undertake no movements of any kind. Ampudia gave up the command with great reluctance, and not until he had called a *junta* of officers, explained the situation and the great danger of delay. He represented General Taylor to be in a false position, and urged an attack at once, before he could be reinforced; he had assured the Government that he would answer for failure with his head, and he appealed to his generals to co-operate with him, and disregard the orders of Arista, who was absent, the urgency of the case justifying disobedience. His officers expressed great sympathy, but were not disposed to disobey the positive order of the Commander-in-Chief; hence there was no alternative for Ampudia but to obey.

In the meantime General Taylor's forces and the Mexicans were each working energetically on intrenchments. There were about this time a number of desertions from the American Army, and the *rancheros* of the vicinity were being organized into armed bands. Colonel Trueman Cross, chief quartermaster of the army, waylaid and killed April 21st by a force of this kind, was an officer of fine executive ability, and his loss was a serious one to the army.

CHAPTER IV.

HOSTILITIES BEGIN APRIL 25, 1846.—GENERAL TAYLOR MARCHES TO POINT ISABEL.—PALO ALTO AND RESACA DE LA PALMA.

Arista, the new commander, was as eager for action as Ampudia had been, and while *en route*, at the rancho of Solinceño, three leagues from Matamoros, resolved to take the initiative, and ordered a small force, composed of the Battalion of Sappers, two companies of Light Infantry, and all the cavalry to rendezvous there, the whole detachment to be commanded by General Torrejon. These troops crossed the Rio Grande at La Polangana* April 24th, and the next day Torrejon had a successful encounter at a ranch near the Rio Grande, called by the Mexicans La Carricitos, in which he captured a detached command of United States Dragoons, including two captains, Thornton and Hardee, and Lieutenant Kane. Lieut. George T. Mason and sixteen men were killed. Total loss, as reported by General Taylor, sixty-three killed and captured.

Previous to this unfortunate incident depredations by small bands of Mexicans on the east side of the river and in some instances not far from the American encampment were frequent, and to check these General Taylor ordered Lieut. Stephen D. Dobbins, of the Third, and Lieut. Theodoric H. Porter, of the Fourth Infantry, with a select party of men, to scour the country for miles, and capture or destroy any such forces encountered. These officers separated. The latter at the head of his own party surprised and captured a Mexican camp, driving the men off and seizing the horses. Subse-

* See map No. I.

1846



quently Lieutenant Porter's party was fired upon from the chapparal, himself and one soldier killed. On the 28th of April, while Capt. S. H. Walker, of the Texas Rangers, and most of his officers were absent, his camp was surprised, five of his men killed and a like number reported missing.

In reporting the capture of Captain Thornton's detachment General Taylor wrote, April 26th, as follows: "I regret to report that a party of dragoons, sent out by me on the 24th inst. to watch the course of the river above on this bank, became engaged with a very large force of the enemy, and after a short affair, in which some sixteen were killed and wounded, appear to have been surrounded and compelled to surrender. Not one of the party has returned except a wounded * man sent in this morning by the Mexican commander, so I cannot report with confidence the particulars of the engagement or the fate of the officers except that Captain Hardee was known to be a prisoner and unhurt. Captain Thornton and Lieutenants Mason and Kane were the other officers. The party was sixty-three strong.

"Hostilities may now be considered as commenced, and I have this day deemed it necessary to call upon the Governor of Texas for four regiments of volunteers, two to be mounted and two to serve on foot. As some delay must occur in collecting these troops I have also desired the Governor of Louisiana to send out four regiments of infantry as soon as practicable. This will constitute an auxiliary force of nearly five thousand men, which will be required to prosecute the war with energy and carry it, as it should be, into the enemy's country."

The report of this reverse, the most serious of the preliminary collisions, spread rapidly, and the people were soon thoroughly aroused, all recognizing in it the beginning of hostilities. The country, excepting Indian troubles, had been at peace for thirty years, and the excitement of war was a novel sensation. There is nothing more contagious than military enthusiasm, and though philanthropists depict the blessings of peace and dilate on the horrors of war, let the drum

* He was returned by General Torrejon, as he could not care for him, having no "flying hospitals."

beat and the bugle sound and the field and workshop will be deserted and the young and brave follow in their wake in quest of glory and adventure.

There was a large party in the United States opposed to any war with Mexico, and when the appropriations for increasing the army and raising volunteers were being discussed in Congress Henry Clay, Daniel Webster, ex-President Adams, Abraham Lincoln, and many others, either famous then or destined in after years to become so, spoke against them, but their words, however eloquent, and their prophecies, albeit fraught with truth, were powerless to stem the war current, and the whole country throbbed with patriotic ardor, the question being not how to raise volunteers, but to select from the many coming forward the requisite number, so as to favor alike different sections and give all a chance to share the coveted glory. Scattered through the country, especially in Southern and Western States, were many who had taken an active part in the Texan struggle for independence and returning home were objects of attention, notably at barbecues and mass-meetings, so dear to the American heart, where their denunciation of Mexican oppression and cruelty, and their descriptions of the heroic sufferings of the Texan martyrs never failed to touch a responsive chord. There was scarcely a fireside in the land unfamiliar with the barbarous massacre of Fannin's men at Goliad, of the Spartan-like defense of the Alamo, embalmed in the epitaph, "Thermopylae had her messenger of defeat, the Alamo not one;" of the retreat of the Texans across the San Marcos, Guadalupe, Colorado, Brazos, Buffalo Bayou, halting only when they reached the San Jacinto, then turning on their pursuers and shouting, "Remember Goliad! Remember the Alamo!" charged them with a reckless impetuosity, direct and fatal as the lightning of heaven, killing, capturing and dispersing the whole Mexican Army. Among the prisoners were Generals Santa Anna and Almonte, who had ordered or abetted the bloody deeds of their subordinates, and that they were treated with the courtesy due to distinguished rank, not made the victims of a natural vengeance, was a sublime proof of the magnanimity of the conquerors.

There was scarcely a hearth-stone where the details of the ill-starred Mier expedition had not been listened to with horror, and where the story of those fatal beans and their resulting cruel executions had not aroused cries for vengeance. Many had lost friends and relatives in this and in other Texan encounters, and naturally to them a Mexican was the synonym for barbaric wickedness. Of Ampudia it was related that in Yucatan in one of the numerous revolts common in the Mexican States, his adversary, General Santmenal, fell in his hands, and without awarding him a trial, he had his head cut off and boiled in oil and his body mutilated beyond recognition. Naturally with such association with his name, when announced that Thornton, Hardee and comrades had been captured and were in Ampudia's power, there was universal excitement and a common impulse to rush to their rescue. It is a matter of record, however, that Ampudia in his dealings with Thornton and Hardee did not prove himself the unmitigated savage he was reputed to be.

Some years after our late war of 1861, whilst a guest of General Hardee, a distinguished Confederate, the Mexican War being the subject of conversation, and the fact of his having been a prisoner in the early part of it being referred to, he said that he remembered with pleasure General Ampudia's great kindness and generous hospitality. Only recently has it been ascertained that he had so reported at the time to General Taylor.

Generals Ampudia and Hardee have both passed from among us. In order to render full justice to the memory of the former let us insert the following extract from the report of the latter to General Taylor at the time: "I was brought to Matamoros to-day, April 26th, about 4 p. m., and I take pleasure in stating that since our surrender I and my brave companions in misfortune have been treated with uniform kindness and attention. It may soften the rigors of war for you to be informed fully of this fact. Lieutenant Kane and myself are living with General Ampudia. We lodge in his hotel, eat at his table, and his frank, agreeable manner and generous hospitality almost make us forget our captivity. General Arista received us in the most gracious manner; said that his nation had been regarded as barbarous, and that he

wished to prove to us the contrary. He assured Lieutenant Kane and myself that we should receive half pay and our men should receive ample rations. On declining the boon on the part of Lieutenant Kane and myself, and a request that we might be permitted to send to our camp for money, he said no; that he would not permit it; that he intended to supply all our wants himself. These promises have already been fulfilled in part."

When Captain Hardee made his report, which included all the incidents connected with the expedition and his capture, he believed Captain Thornton, his senior, had been killed. The following extract is from the report of the latter:

"I have the honor to report my arrival at this place to-day, April 27th," and then he gives a full report of his expedition and capture. "As a prisoner of war I am happy to inform you that attentions and kindness have been lavished upon me, as a proof of which I will state that upon my reporting to General Arista that a dragoon had treated me rudely he ordered immediate punishment for him."

In consequence of the difficulty in making reconnoissances, owing to the peculiarities of the country and possibly to the fact that his corps of spies and scouts was not then thoroughly organized and instructed, General Taylor had not the information upon which to base a decided movement. Uncertain of the strength of the hostile forces on the east side of the river, he did not, in the unfinished condition of his field work, deem it prudent to make a movement against them just then, but he urged forward the work as rapidly as possible, with heavy details, night and day, and by the 1st of May they were well advanced. In the meantime he was reliably informed that Arista intended to cross the Rio Grande below Matamoros, and, uniting with the force under General Torrejon, already east of the river, move with the entire command against his depot at Point Isabel. He was disposed to credit this report, having positive knowledge that Arista was short of supplies, occasioned by the unexpected blockade of the river by the Americans.

Arista, anxious for battle, was certain if he crossed the Rio Grande with his main force and occupied Taylor's line of communication there would be a collision, and Torrejon hav-

ing rejoined him, success, in his opinion, could scarcely be doubtful. Moreover, Tornel, the Minister of War, had ordered a forward move to be made, and for the purpose of executing this order, in which he heartily concurred, Arista taking twelve guns, marched his army on April 30th to the Rancho de Longoreño, five leagues below and near the point where he proposed to cross the river.

General Mejia was left in Matamoros with the remainder of the artillery, the active battalion of Mexico, and the pickets of the different army corps. By some unpardonable mismanagement when the army reached Longoreño they found but two boats there to transport them across the river, and a delay of twenty-four hours was thereby caused. Mejia reported to Arista that at 2 p. m., May 1st, the American camp was astir, tents were struck, wagons drawn out, and some movement evident. Mejia had divined correctly.

General Taylor had apprehensions for the safety of his depot at Point Isabel; consequently, leaving the Seventh Infantry under Maj. Jacob Brown, the batteries of Capt. Allen Lowd, Second Artillery, four 18-pounders, the four 6-pounders, under Lieut. Braxton Bragg, Third Artillery, and the sick of the army in the field work, then nearly completed, he marched May 1st., at 3 p. m., for Point Isabel, and arrived there at noon the next day without any hostile encounter.

Arista, having been informed by Mejia of this move, believed his wishes were about to be realized, and that Taylor would attack him, but to guard in part against a possible contingency—that of his moving upon Matamoros—he ordered the Battalion of Morelia to be countermarched to that city. Arista's delay of twenty-four hours in crossing the Rio Grande enabled General Taylor to pass on to his base without a battle, but, knowing that he must return to his camp opposite Matamoros, Arista pushed out from the river and bivouacked at Palo Alto,* on the Point Isabel road, the day Taylor reached there, and to quicken his return despatched orders to Mejia to open fire upon the Americans in the fort opposite Mata-

* See map No. 1.

moros, which order was obeyed, the firing beginning early the following morning.

Owing to a very limited amount of water at Palo Alto, Arista in the afternoon of the 4th moved his camp back several miles off the road to a more abundant supply at the Tanques del Ramireño,* and ordered Ampudia to recross the river, return and attack the Americans opposite Matamoros, taking with him four guns, the Battalion of Puebla, two companies of Sappers, 200 Auxiliaries, to be soon joined by the Battalion of Morelia. Ampudia moved promptly, and at 9 a. m. opened fire with seven guns upon Major Brown's command in the newly constructed earth-work, and this fire, extending from the rear up the river near a mile, continued until 11 p. m.

The garrison was kept under arms, the defensive works and batteries were all manned, and the soldiers remained at their posts during the night. The artillery, cannon and mortars resumed fire the following morning (5th) at 5 o'clock. It was reported that a strong reconnoissance was being made within 800 yards of the works in rear, and that other parties, both cavalry and infantry, were seen at a like distance. Lieut. Charles Hanson, Seventh Infantry, who had asked and received permission to go out with a party of dragoons to reconnoitre, returned and reported that the Mexicans were establishing a battery, but at his appearance retired under cover of their works, and that small parties, both infantry and cavalry, were seen in General Taylor's old camp. At 11 p. m. musketry was heard in rear, extending from the bend in the lagoon to the river; the Americans were under arms all night. At 5 a. m. of the 6th the Mexicans resumed fire from all of their batteries, and continued till 10 a. m. During this fire the commanding officer, Major Brown, received a shell wound from which he died at 2 p. m. of the 9th.

At 10 a. m. several parties of infantry and mounted men were seen threatening the fort from the rear, but were dispersed by rounds of canister from Bragg's Battery. A great number of shells were thrown into the fort immediately after this, the fire continuing until 12:30. At 4 p. m. a white flag

* See map No. 1.

was displayed from an old building in rear bearing a summons* to surrender, which was declined. Cannon and mortar firing continued at intervals during the 7th, killing five artillery horses and wounding one sentinel. At 2 p. m. there was heavy firing of infantry; 12 o'clock at night musketry was active, and under cover of this Ampudia withdrew, having been ordered by Arista to rejoin the main army. In the meantime Arista had been informed that General Taylor was on the march towards Matamoros.

Taylor having strengthened the defensive works at Point Isabel, prepared to return to his camp opposite Matamoros, and knowing Arista had crossed to the east side of the Rio Grande, issued the following orders before marching :

[Orders No. 58.]

HEADQUARTERS ARMY OF OCCUPATION,
POINT ISABEL, *May 7, 1846.*

The army will march at 3 o'clock to-day in the direction of Matamoros. It is known that the enemy has recently occupied the route in force; if still in position the General will give him battle.

The Commanding General has every confidence in his officers and men. If his orders and instructions are carried out he has no doubt of the result, let the enemy meet him in what numbers he may. He wishes to enjoin upon the battalions of infantry that their main dependence must be in the bayonet.

By order of General Taylor :

W. W. S. BLISS,
Assistant Adjutant General.

There was mutual respect and esteem between General Taylor and the little army he commanded. The order was responded to with cheers, and the march began with elastic steps. Every officer and soldier knew the perils surrounding the small force left in the fort; the bombardment had been heard day and night since the 3d inst., they knew the exhaustion that must prevail from continued vigilance and labor, and were more occupied with thoughts of the insecurity and dangers of their comrades, many of whom were sick, than of their own, although it was known they would have to

* This was signed Arista, although he is represented in Mexican history as being at the time with the main army at Tanques del Ramireno, near which he had crossed the Rio Grande.

meet and defeat Arista before their friends could be relieved from peril. After a march of seven miles the army bivouacked for the night.

Arista, when informed that General Taylor was on the return march, determined to give battle, ordered Ampudia to rejoin the main army, and directed the cavalry to move forward from the Tanques-del-Ramireno at 10 a. m. of the 8th, and halt upon the spacious plains of Palo Alto;* the infantry followed at 2 p. m. and soon came in sight of the Americans. Orders were given to form line of battle in the following order: On the right, screened by a small rise of ground and resting on chapparal, was posted a squadron (A) of the Light Regiment of Mexico, the line prolonged over the prairie; to the left of the squadron was one gun (A'''), then the Battalion of Sappers (B.S.), followed by the Second Regiment of Light (2), next the Battalion and a company of the Guarda Costa (G. C.), of Tampico, then a battery of eight guns (A'), followed by the First, Sixth, Tenth, and Fourth of the Line, in the order mentioned. The infantry was under Generals de la Vega and Garcia. Four hundred yards to the left of the infantry were four squadrons of cavalry from the Seventh (c) and Eighth (b) Light Regiments, and the Presidial (p) companies; in the interval between the first and second of these were two light pieces (A'') of artillery, commanded by General Torrejon. General Ampudia, with a company of Sappers, two guns, the Fourth Regiment of the Line, and 200 Auxiliaries was posted on the left flank at some distance, screened by woods.

General Taylor formed in the following order, commencing on the extreme right: Fifth Infantry (5th), under Lieut.-Col. James S. McIntosh, Maj. Samuel Ringgold's artillery (R); Third Infantry (3d), Capt. Lewis N. Morris; two 18-pounders (C), Lieut. William H. Churchill; Fourth Infantry (4th), Maj. George W. Allen; the Third and Fourth composed the Third Brigade, under Lieut.-Col. John Garland, and all the above-mentioned troops, together with two squadrons of dragoons under Captains Croghan Ker and Charles A. May, composed the right wing under Gen. David E. Twiggs.

* See map No. 2.

The left was formed of the battalion of artillery (AB), Lieut.-Col. Thomas Childs, Captain Duncan's Light Artillery (D), and the Eighth Infantry (8th), Capt. William R. Montgomery, all forming the First Brigade, under Lieut.-Col. William G. Belknap. The train was parked in rear near water, under Capts. George H. Crosman and Abraham C. Myers, and guarded by Captain Ker's squadron.

For the first time these descendants of two distinct races were to measure their strength in defense of the rights of their respective nations, contending for supremacy in the new continent as often of yore in the old. Representing the two greatest republics in the world, they were different in origin, in character, in moral standards, and aims; and though their interests were identical and future developments intimately connected, were animated by mutual jealousy and hate. The one, springing from ancestors imbued with a love of liberty and a sense of justice, had risen by natural stages to an undreamed-of height of national power and prosperity; the other, from progenitors seeking only gain and adventure, bigoted, superstitious, cruel, and tyrannical, had derived no benefits from independence, and in internal seditions and revolutions wasted energies that, well applied, might have secured stable government.

Immediately before the battle, Arista rode along his line, rectifying it here and there, and addressed his troops, stimulating their ardor with hopes of victory and dwelling on the grateful thanks with which their countrymen would reward their patriotic services. He was received with cheers and shouts of "*Viva la Republica*," mingled with strains of martial music.

Whilst Arista was thus moving among his soldiers, many of whom were veterans, General Taylor's troops, having been formed in columns, were moving forward in the best of spirits, eager for the fight. An officer, leaving the columns, dashed forward at a gallop, over the green plain, towards the Mexican Army, approached it within short cannon range, dismounted, and, walking along its front, reconnoitered, and discovered that the Mexican batteries were in position along the line of infantry. This officer was Lieut. Jacob E. Blake, of the Topographical Engineers, and with him was Lloyd Tilgh-

man. The courage displayed was witnessed by the two armies and was referred to in complimentary terms by General Taylor in his official report of the battle of Palo Alto; but Lieutenant Blake was, unfortunately, shot by the accidental discharge of his own pistol, early in the morning of the 9th, and died within a few hours, deeply regretted and lovingly remembered by his comrades of the Army of Occupation.

The Mexicans began the engagement with artillery; the first shot, passing over the troops in front, wounded a teamster with the wagons parked in rear, and was followed by others, causing a halt in Taylor's advance, an immediate deployment into line of battle, and the opening of fire from all his guns. Ringgold's battery (R) advanced about one hundred yards, and fired on the left (the cavalry); the 18-pounders in battery on the road opened also upon this part of the line and with marked effect, dispersing the cavalry; Duncan (D), on the left, moved in front of the infantry some two hundred yards, came into battery, and discharged a rapid and destructive fire upon the enemy confronting him. May's Squadron of Cavalry was ordered forward to guard the left flank and support Duncan. The cannonade continued with the greatest animation, and proved to be very trying to the infantry of the two armies, both of which acted with coolness and marked courage.

It being discovered that a large body of Mexican (P. B. C.) cavalry was moving out from their left, skirting a piece of woods to the right of Taylor's line, with the view, as believed, of either turning it or passing to the rear to attack and capture the trains in park, the Fifth Infantry was ordered to meet this force, advance to the right and front four or five hundred yards, and reach a position by which the enemy must pass. They were soon seen approaching along the edge of the chaparral, apparently 1,000 strong, making the impression from their soldierly appearance of being Arista's best troop.

They hastened to charge. The Fifth Infantry formed square, when down they came at full speed along a wet flat some 200 yards distant, turned to the right, delivered their fire upon one front of the square, and continued to advance, directed their fire this time against the second front, having

approached it to within forty or fifty yards, but did not charge the square after firing. The threatened fronts were in succession ordered to fire. The effect was fatal. Many of the cavalry were killed, and the charging column, thrown into confusion, retired rapidly.

While retiring and when four or five hundred yards from the Fifth Infantry they met two pieces of artillery coming forward to their support, halted and faced about to protect the guns. At this instant Lieut. Randolph Ridgely, of Ringgold's battery, who had been ordered to report to the colonel of the Fifth Infantry, arrived at a gallop, his horses covered with foam, came into battery on the left of the Fifth, opened with a quick fire, and with such precision that the two pieces of Mexican artillery retired precipitately upon their cavalry without firing a shot. In the meantime the cannonading on other parts of the two lines had been active. While the Fifth Infantry and Ridgely's section of artillery were engaged as described the Third Infantry (3), to insure security to that flank, was ordered out in rear of the Fifth, for a part of the hostile cavalry had passed beyond that regiment. This movement being thwarted, the enemy's cavalry retired and rejoined the main body of that arm in rear of its first position. The Fourth Infantry had in the meantime supported the other section of Ringgold's battery whilst firing from its advanced position.

The grass of the prairies was set on fire by the artillery, the volume of smoke caused by it being so great as to partially conceal the enemy from view. It was, however, discovered that his left had retired or had been driven back a short distance. His right was changed to conform to the new line, the 18-pounders (C) were moved forward to near where the enemy's left (his cavalry) had been first posted. The Fifth Infantry was moved up and occupied a point on the extreme right of the new or second line.

The First Brigade in the new position being still on the left of the 18-pounder, General Taylor made a change of position corresponding to that of General Arista, and after a respite of nearly an hour the battle was renewed. In his official report General Taylor uses the following language complimentary to the Mexicans: "Openings were constantly

made through the enemy's ranks by our fire, and the constancy with which the Mexican infantry sustained this severe cannonade was the theme of universal comment and admiration."

May's Squadron was ordered around upon the enemy's left flank to drive in the cavalry. In making this move he drew upon his men the fire of the Mexican artillery, which killed six horses and wounded five men. The flank when reached was found too strong to be charged by his small command, and he (May) returned and occupied his former position.

In Taylor's second position the Eighth Infantry was again on the left, and Duncan's battery between it and the Artillery Battalion, under Lieutenant-Colonel Childs. Duncan observing the enemy's cavalry, together with an infantry force moving in rear of the left flank, reported it to Colonel Belknap and requested permission to engage them. Dashing at a gallop to the threatened flank, followed by the Eighth Infantry, he unlimbered in full view of the enemy and within point-blank range. The hostile cavalry halted before a shot was fired. Soon a force of infantry (B. S., G. C., and 2d Light) with two squadrons of cavalry (G. E.) emerged from the chapparal on the extreme right and moved forward to attack. Upon this last body Duncan directed his fire, first of solid shot from one section, then of shell and spherical case, with such stunning effect as to cause the whole force to retire in disorder into the chapparal. The other section played in the meantime upon the cavalry that had halted, when his guns were first seen.

Although these shots were well directed and tore through entire squadrons, the latter remained unshaken. The mixed column of infantry and cavalry that had been driven back into the chapparal reformed and advanced a second time with great regularity, and when about 100 yards in front of the thicket the section before ordered to drive them back again opened and they then fell back pell-mell into the dense chapparal and began to retreat. Squadron after squadron took it up, and all retreated, the artillery firing upon them until they disappeared in the chapparal or darkness put an end to the battle. When Duncan's battery first took position on the left and before the Eighth Infantry came up, Captain



BATTLE OF PALO ALTO.

MAY 8TH, 1846.

Ker, of the Second Dragoons, who had been guarding the trains, came promptly to his support.

While the Eighth Infantry was on the left a strong demonstration was made against the 18-pounders by the Mexican cavalry, which advanced under a severe fire from these two heavy guns. The artillery battalion under Lieutenant-Colonel Childs was instantly formed in square to receive them, but when the advancing squadrons were within close range a withering fire of canister from the 18-pounders and the fire from the square dispersed them. A brisk but distant fire of small arms upon the square wounded Lieutenant Luther, Second Artillery. A volley from the first face of the square was delivered upon the distant infantry. It was now near dark, the fight was over, the enemy had been driven back, having failed in all his efforts.

The Fourth Infantry, which had been ordered to support the 18-pounders, was exposed to a very trying artillery fire, by which several men were killed and Captain John Page mortally wounded, the enemy's fire at this time being directed against the 18-pounders and Ringgold's guns. Major Ringgold, whilst superintending the firing of his guns, was struck by a cannon ball and mortally wounded, his horse being killed by the same discharge. He was a brave and gallant officer, justly esteemed by his command for his many soldierly virtues and manly accomplishments.

The action of May 8th on the Plains of Palo Alto was, on the part of the United States forces, defensive and mainly of artillery against Mexican artillery and cavalry, supported by infantry. The two light batteries of Ringgold and Duncan, although not thoroughly equipped, were well disciplined and instructed and officered by men of quick perception and of courage, even to audacity. The field was favorable to celerity of movement; they seemed to be ubiquitous, changing from one position to another, according to the varying exigencies of the strife, and moved at full speed, going into battery; unlimbering, loading and firing was an affair of an instant; they delivered seven or eight shots per minute, and in general with effect.

The two 18-pounders under Lieutenants Churchill and Thomas J. Wood, the latter of the Topographical Engineers,

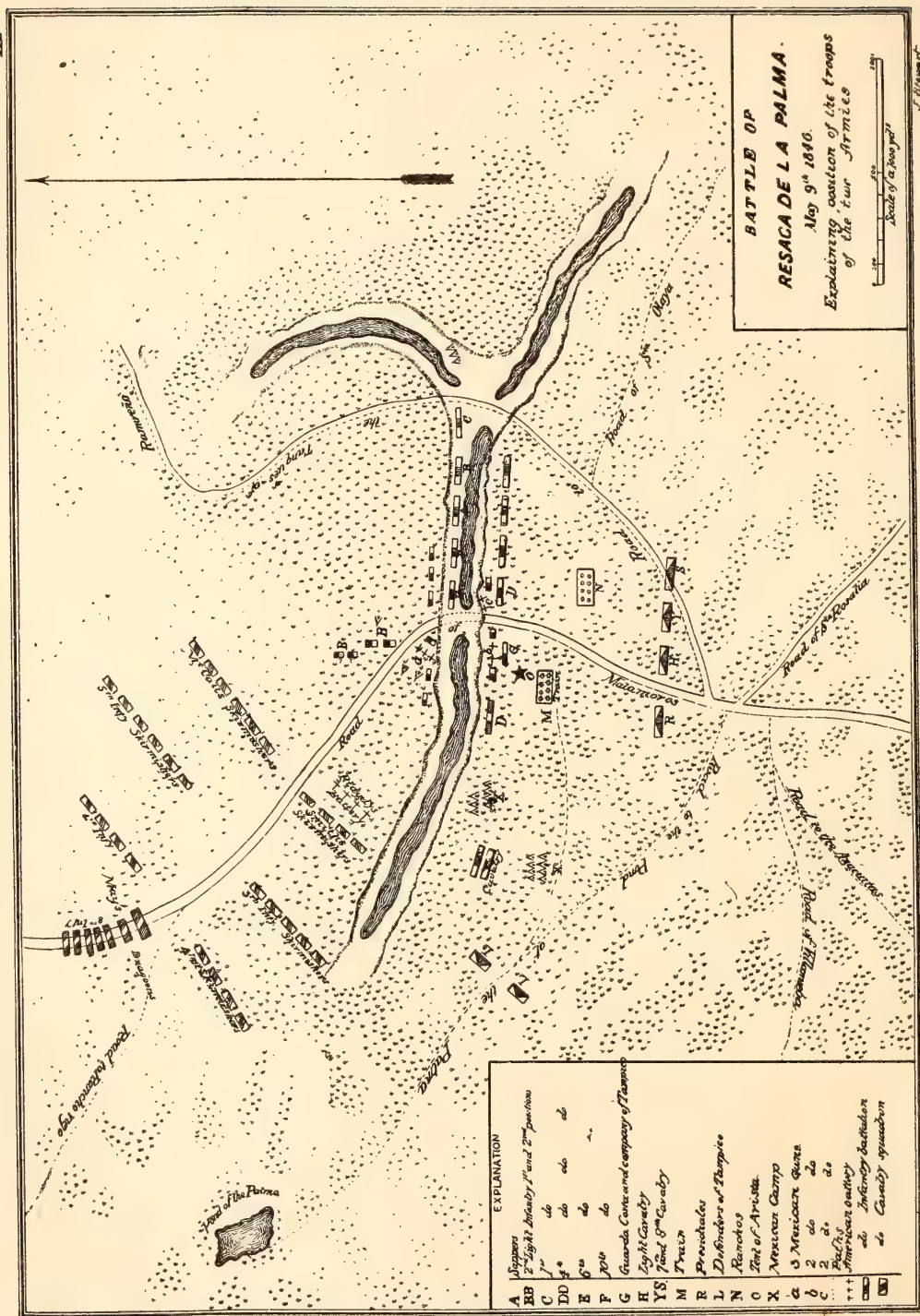
58 *American Artillery and Infantry Win at Palo Alto.*

were well served ; their superior weight and greater range overmatched any guns of the Mexicans and were a complete surprise to them, carrying havoc into their ranks, even to the reserves and trains in rear. As might have been anticipated, the enemy's cavalry made several ineffectual efforts to capture them.

To the American Infantry the battle of Palo Alto was most trying and unsatisfactory, subjected as they were to artillery fire for hours, and constrained to watch nimble-footed cavalry, but when the occasion offered they acquitted themselves well. The Fifth Infantry, under its commander, Lieutenant-Colonel McIntosh, an officer of distinction in the war of 1812, in which he was wounded, when detached to watch a flank movement of the enemy's cavalry, advanced with confidence, and meeting them formed square, when the charging squadrons were repulsed, the nearest of the cavalry falling within forty yards of the square. The artillery battalion, serving as infantry, under its gallant commander, Lieutenant-Colonel Childs, also a distinguished officer of the war of 1812, aided in protecting the 18-pounders against a charge of Mexican cavalry by forming square. These were the first two cases in which United States Infantry resorted to the square for motion, for protection against cavalry. The opinion prevails at present that the infantry square belongs to the past, and will never be revived.

It should be stated that the little garrison in the field work, opposite Matamoros, was tried most severely during the 8th. All day, with slight intermission, it was subjected to severe cannonading. At 3 p. m. they heard artillery in the direction of Palo Alto, and it continued until 7 p. m. ; the excitement was intense and harrowing, their own fate depending upon the issue of that battle. Late in the day, and while the distant cannonade seemed to be most violent, a small cavalry and infantry force was seen to leave Matamoros and march to the sound of the artillery ; whether a favorable indication or not they could not tell.

At daybreak of the 9th the two armies were in sight of each other. General Taylor held a council of officers to discuss the situation ; there was a diversity of opinion, some



were for falling back to Point Isabel, others for intrenching and awaiting reinforcements.*

Before sunrise the enemy could be seen moving, either falling back or making a change of position preparatory to a renewal of the struggle. After listening with becoming respect to the various opinions advanced and freely expressed as desired, General Taylor spoke, ordering "go to your respective commands, we move forward in thirty minutes." The movements observed among the Mexicans proved them to be falling back; Arista had given the order, and Ampudia, second in command, was directed to cover the rear. At 6 a. m. his columns began to retire by the road to Matamoros, and by 10 a. m. arrived at the *Resaca de Guerrero*,† where Arista determined to make a stand if attacked. The report of Captain Berlandier, of the engineers, had much weight in the determination of this Resaca (ravine), as the probable field of battle, and Mexican authorities state that he represented it as a line that could be held advantageously and with probabilities of success. The general direction of the *Resaca* was oblique to that of the Matamoros road;‡ the two extremities were pools of water, and along its margin were thick woods and brambles embarrassing the approaches. The ravine was six or eight feet deep, from forty to sixty yards wide.

The Battalions of Sappers (a), the Sixth (E) of the Line, the Second Light (B), the Tenth (F), and First (C) Infantry, were all posted on the Mexican right of the road, the men being covered to the breast by the first or front bank of the ravine; upon the south bank, or beyond the ravine on the left, was placed the company and the Battalion of the Guarda (G) Costa of Tampico; in the woods and in rear of the right, and as the second line, were the Second of the Line and the Fourth (D) Battalion, the left flank being covered by the Regiment of Canales; the remainder of the troops was placed at the two batteries, situated one at the entrance,

* It was known at the time that Colonels McIntosh and Martin Scott, Lieutenant Colonel Belknap and Captain Duncan, concurred with General Taylor and advised offensive movements on the 9th.

† And not *Resaca de la Palma*; the battle of the 9th of May will, however, be known as that of *Resaca de la Palma*, having been called by that name for so many years.

‡ Map III.

north of the road into the Resaca, and the other on its southern bank, to the right and left of the road. The cavalry (H. Y. S.) was some 300 yards in rear, and the general trains (*m*) were parked to the left of the same in a small open space, *plazoleta*, surrounded by woods. Companies of sharpshooters were deployed to the front, covering part of the left as far as the Fourth and Sixth. His troops being in line, Arista not really anticipating a battle in the position occupied, although Ampudia covering his rear, reported the Americans to be following closely, gave orders to unharness the teams and relieve the pack mules of their loads, but at 2 p. m. a reconnoitering party of Americans approached, retiring only when fired upon by his artillery.

The trains of Taylor remained during the 9th parked as on the 8th; with them were four guns, the two 18-pounders that had rendered such good service the previous day, and the two 12-pounders that had not been used; the wounded were sent to Point Isabel, and at an early hour the Army of Occupation moved forward, the line being formed as on the 8th, the Fifth Infantry again on the right. After a short advance there was a halt, and the Fifth, ordered forward into woods on the right to ascertain if they were occupied by the enemy or if he was beyond and near, discovered that he had continued his retreat towards Matamoros. The advance guard was under Capt. George A. McCall, Fourth Infantry, and consisted of his own command and a detachment of artillery and infantry, the first on the left of the road, the latter, four light companies of the First Brigade, under Capt. C. F. Smith, Second Artillery, on the right; Captain Walker, of the Texas Rangers, with a small detachment of mounted men, was in front, and Lieut. Alfred Pleasanton, Second Dragoons, with a small party, followed in rear. The trail of the enemy was followed for two and a half miles through the chapparal; a prisoner was captured and one of the enemy killed by Walker's men on the edge of Jackass prairie. The far side of the prairie being found unoccupied by the enemy, the advance continued, Walker leading, and the main army remained at a halt, awaiting developments. Several small parties of the enemy were seen in the bush, one of which, a mounted party, was fired upon by the flankers on the right.

On debouching upon an open space, which proved to be near Resaca, McCall's men received three discharges of canister from guns concealed in chapparal; one man was killed, two sergeants wounded, and the force was compelled to seek temporary shelter. Captain Smith's detachment was ordered from the right to the left of the road, preparatory to attacking the supposed rear guard of Arista's army. Lieut. John P. McCown, Fourth Artillery, was sent with two men to recall Lieutenant Dobbins, Third Infantry, who, with a small party, had deployed to the left, where he had killed several of the enemy. On their return large bodies of the hostile forces were reported in motion on the left and a party of lancers on the road in front.

Captain McCall, being convinced that the enemy was in position and in force in his immediate front, sent three of Pleasanton's Dragoons, with a report to that effect, to General Taylor, who, directing the army, then at a halt, to be put in motion, ordered McCall to advance into the chapparal on the left, with Smith on the right; Ridgely's battery to move along the road, followed by the Fifth Infantry on the left and the Third on the right, half of the Fourth Infantry in rear of the Fifth, and the other half in rear of the Third Infantry to be deployed as skirmishers. May's squadron of cavalry, actively employed during the early morning, reconnoitering the chapparal in advance, now moved with the head of column.

After an advance of some 400 yards, McCall's command encountered the Mexican Infantry in front of the ravine, in which was the main body of the enemy, and, in addition to a heavy infantry fire, received a discharge of canister from three field pieces near the Mexican centre. Ridgely, advancing with McCall's command, saw the enemy open artillery fire, and moving rapidly forward, returned it. On both sides the artillery played with great violence, but the enemy was driven from the right towards the road. Other troops (the Fifth, Fourth, and Third Infantry) now became engaged, but the dense chapparal rendering it difficult to advance in order, or to see to any great distance, commands became unavoidably both intermingled and scattered, leaving much to the judgment of company officers and to the individual courage of the men and non-commissioned officers. The fire was rapid,

close, and incessant—musketry and canister—the latter from 100 to 150 yards; the former at times in the dense jungle within a few feet. For a quarter of an hour this heavy fire was mainly on the Fifth Infantry and McCall's command. On the Mexican side the infantry first encountered were the Second Light and two companies of sharpshooters from the Fourth and Sixth; these advanced troops, sustained by artillery, fought well. Of the two captains of the latter, Jose Barragan, of the Fourth, was slain, and Jose Maria Moreno captured; their men gave way only when without commanders. The Second Light, with the greater number of its officers killed or wounded, among whom was Lieut.-Col. Mariano Fernandez, was obliged to retreat, producing some little disorder among the troops in rear.

The engagement becoming general, the Mexican Infantry was forced back, but the artillery still maintained its position, several pieces being in the road at the ravine, in which was also posted a large portion of the infantry. Believing the loss of the artillery would prove decisive, General Taylor ordered Captain May to charge the batteries. Instantly this gallant officer, with his squadron in column of fours the width of the road, with dense chapparal on either side, admitting of no other formation, swooped down the road over three guns near the ravine, into this, across it and up the opposite bank, charging over four guns, and using sabres upon the Mexican cannoneers. Having passed through the battery, he rallied but six men, and charged a second time upon a few of the Mexicans who had returned to the pieces. It was at this second charge that General Vega was captured, fighting at the time, by a private soldier of May's squadron.

The infantry followed the cavalry, and in a few minutes the Eighth Regiment of the First Brigade arrived. This brigade had been halted a mile from the Resaca to be held as a reserve, but the firing had not continued long when Colonel Belknap was ordered to send forward Duncan's battery and a battalion of infantry. In response to this call the Eighth moved to the front at a "double quick," went into action on the right of the road, and greatly aided in driving the enemy back. Just as the Eighth came up Captain May reported he had captured the enemy's battery, but could not hold it, and

the infantry, with regiments and companies intermingled, including the Eighth, dashed forward and recaptured the guns, part of them having been again taken by the enemy, though not fired.

The contest in the chapparal, on both sides of the ravine, near the guns, was severe, being made on the side of the Mexicans with especial determination by the battalion and a company of the Guarda Costa of Tampico. Juan Mateos, commanding the First, was wounded, and Captain Arana, of the Second, killed. Finally Capt. D. Jose Barreiro, assisted by the adjutant, D. Ramon Tabera, took command and continued the contest till forced to retire, being, as they claim, nearly surrounded. The captain received three wounds which disabled him, and on falling back united with the Presidial companies under Colonel Sabarieogo, and began to retreat.

General Arista, who entertained the opinion that there would be no real battle at Resaca, characterized the attack as first made, and properly, as a skirmish, and, so believing, said to General La Vega, "You shall command in the action to-day," and passed around to the left of the Fourth Regiment of the Line, under Lieutenant-Colonel Calatayud, to his tent in (O) rear, represented on the map of the battle-field to be in the midst of his troops. This incident, a tent pitched, and so immediately with the troops in battle array, evidenced his belief that there would be no battle. The battery on and near the road, on both sides of the ravine, having been captured and its heroic captain, D. Dolores Ramires, killed, General La Vega made prisoner, fighting at the time in the midst of the guns, the infantry on the right and left of the battery and which had fought most courageously, having been forced back. Arista must have painfully, though too late, become convinced of his delusion. He is represented as having halted the remnants of a regiment under Colonel Uraga, and ordered Ampudia to lead it back into action, to which order Ampudia responded with a zeal and energy that could not be surpassed, inspiring the men with his own valor, but even that could not stay the ominous tide then beating so heavily against them. Arista, still unwilling to despair, resolved to make an effort to check the disorder and recover his losses or make atonement with his life. He placed himself at the head of

the cavalry which, having been in rear, was intact, charged boldly upon those who were already the victors, and penetrated as far as his first position, though without avail.

Lieutenant Ridgely in his report states : " Their cavalry came so near that I once cut at them with my sabre." It was a field not adapted to the use of cavalry, a dense chapparal on either side of the road, and in it the American infantry, who poured in upon them from both flanks as well as in front a close and murderous fire. Retreat or annihilation was the alternative, as the Americans would not be driven. The Lancers retreated in as good order as possible, followed by the victors. The Mexican left flank was covered by Canales and the retreat of his squadrons hastened the rout. The disorder produced by the defeat of the left soon extended to the right, which had not been under fire, and dispersed shamefully, except the First of the Line, which with its organization preserved and with its colonel at its head retired without burning a cartridge and crossed the river at Longoreño. The Mexicans being driven from their position on the right of the road, the whole army retreated precipitately, leaving baggage of every kind. The Fourth Infantry took possession of a camp in which were the headquarters of Arista, captured his tent, all his official correspondence, and baggage.

The battalion of artillery, Lieutenant-Colonel Childs commanding, had remained with the baggage train, but was now brought up without the flank companies, which had been already engaged. The Third Infantry and Ker's Dragoons, with Duncan's battery, were all ordered to pursue, which they did with vigor, halting only at the Rio Grande. But few prisoners were captured ; many were supposed to have been drowned in attempting to swim the river. The pursuing troops bivouacked near the Rio Grande and Taylor's main army remained on the battle-field.

The Mexican Army having been defeated, the dispersion became general, the soldiers making their way to the river in all directions, not believing themselves safe until they were upon the west bank. Arista with the cavalry crossed at the Villa de Ampudia ; Canales with his regiment and Tabera with a great number of stragglers whom he had collected, and two pieces of artillery, not far above that place, and the force that

had attacked the American field-work opposite Matamoros at Anacuitas amidst the greatest disorder and confusion. The Mexican batteries at and near Matamoros opened fire on the pursuing Americans, and the guns in Fort Brown were directed upon the mass of fleeing Mexicans while crossing at the upper ferry. The cannonading between the hostile forces ceased at dark. Colonel Childs, commanding the artillery battalion, on reaching the river threw out pickets and captured one captain and a few enlisted men.

General Taylor in his official reports of the engagements of the 8th and 9th of May gives his numbers with a precision and accuracy that cannot be questioned. At Palo Alto he states his numbers as follows: Officers, 177; non-commissioned officers and men, 2,111, the aggregate being 2,288, and on the 9th at Resaca, officers, 173; non-commissioned officers and men, 2,049; aggregate, 2,222.

The history of the Mexican War, written by a Mexican and evidently prepared with care, referring to Arista's army on the eve of Palo Alto, says: "With the reinforcements thus received,—the return of Ampudia to the army from his expedition designed to capture the Americans in their field works opposite Matamoros,—our Army counted 3,000 fighting men, a number equal with a trifling difference to that of the enemy." If the number here given be correct there was a very great depletion of ranks during the few days preceding the 8th and 9th, or Arista committed an indiscretion disparaging to him as a commander in dividing his army into two nearly equal parts and having but one of these fractions engaged on May 8th and 9th. A few days after the arrival, March 28th, of the American Army opposite Matamoros, the Mexican history gives the force then under Mejia as 3,000 men, with twenty guns—field pieces—and the munitions not scarce, if not abundant. Ampudia reached Matamoros April 11th with a cavalry regiment, and on the 14th his division arrived, having six field pieces, cavalry, infantry, and artillery, amounting in all to 2,200 men. When Arista, April 23d, superseded Ampudia he brought no troops, Mejia's 3,000 and Ampudia's 2,200 gave to Arista 5,200 men and twenty-six guns.

General Taylor captured eight guns, but Mexican history only reports two having returned to the west bank of the

river, leaving two unaccounted for. He reported the Mexican loss during the two days to have been 1,000 killed, wounded, and missing; near 200 were buried on the fields by his own troops. The Mexicans left less than 400 wounded in Matamoros when that place was evacuated; there were, no doubt, many slightly wounded that remained with the army. Having no definite Mexican reports, we may accept the estimate of General Taylor as being near the truth.

On the 9th the cavalry, which was greatly distinguished, made a successful charge over a most unfavorable field upon artillery and infantry, the latter intrenched on the far side of the ravine. May's squadron, consisting of his own company and Capt. L. P. Graham's, both of the Second Dragoons, had five men wounded on the 8th and five on the 9th before the charge was made, leaving sixty-seven men, exclusive of officers. With May's company were Lieuts. Z. M. P. Inge, George Stevens, and Delos B. Sackett; with Captain Graham's were Lieuts. O. F. Winship and Alfred Pleasanton; the former, the ravine having been crossed, captured the guns on the right, and the latter those on the left. In the charge Lieutenant Inge, seven men, and eighteen horses were killed; Sergeant Smiley, nine privates and ten horses were wounded, and Corporal McCauley taken prisoner. The charge was made, as the losses clearly show, under a heavy fire of the enemy's batteries, in which, no doubt, the infantry participated. Lieutenant Sackett, at the head of the column, and a sergeant had their horses killed under them.

Of the 2,211 Americans engaged at Palo Alto, nine were killed and forty-seven wounded; of the latter were Bvt.-Maj. Samuel Ringgold, Third Artillery, and Capt. John Page, Fourth Infantry, mortally, and Lieut. Roland A. Luther, Second Artillery, slightly. At Resaca de la Palma thirty-nine were killed and eighty-two wounded; of the former were Lieuts. Inge, Second Dragoons; R. E. Cochrane, Fourth Infantry, and Theodore L. Chadbourne, Eighth Infantry. Lieutenant-Colonel McIntosh, Fifth Infantry, was severely, and two lieutenant-colonels, two captains, and eight subalterns slightly, wounded.

There were a number of personal collisions, tangled and scattered, as the infantry were in the dense chapparal. Lieuts.

Collinson R. Gates and Charles D. Jordan, Eighth Infantry, were badly, but not mortally, wounded; the latter, when personally charging the enemy, being overpowered by numbers, was relieved by Lieut. George Lincoln, who slew with his own hand two of his fiercest assailants. Lieuts. Joseph Selden, John G. Burbank, Robert P. Maclay, and Charles F. Morris were wounded. Lieut. Charles B. Daniels, acting aide-camp, had his horse killed under him by a cannon ball, and Capt. Henry McKavett, Eighth Infantry, acting field officer, had his horse killed under him by a musket ball.

The full fruits of the victories of the 8th and 9th of May were not secured by General Taylor, owing to his want of means for prompt pursuit. In active military operations a well-organized pontoon train is indispensable and, whilst encamped at Corpus Christi, he had not failed to call the attention of the War Department to this subject. Had this want been supplied as requested, he would doubtless have captured all the public property in Matamoros, or the enemy would have been compelled to destroy it, and in the demoralized condition of the Mexican forces a great number of prisoners must have been captured.

Arista, having been apprised of General Taylor's purpose to cross the Rio Grande on the 17th, sent Gen. D. Tomas Raquena, with a white flag, requesting an armistice until the two Governments could arrange a settlement of the question at issue. General Taylor replied that such a proposition could not now be considered; that he had made, a month previously, this same offer to General Ampudia, but it was declined; circumstances had since changed, and operations, neither provoked nor begun by him, would not be suspended; Matamoros must be occupied; Arista might withdraw his forces, leaving all public property. An answer was promised that afternoon, but none received. The following day (18th) the Army of Occupation crossed the Rio Grande, occupied Matamoros, promised protection to its citizens, and found more than 300 wounded soldiers in hospitals. All wounded officers, by order of General Taylor, were paroled. General La Vega and other officers who declined to be paroled were sent to New Orleans under instructions to report to General Gaines.

The ranks of Arista's army after its defeats were greatly depleted. If their own historians are to be credited, there remained on the 10th but one-fifth of all the forces assembled at Matamoros previous to the beginning of active operations, and there must have been a general dispersion of his troops, attributed mainly to a scant supply of subsistence stores. The Rio Grande frontier was sparsely settled; the Mexican Army was to have been supplied principally by contractors who were to bring cargoes by sea to Point Isabel, but were prevented doing so by the blockade of that port, by order of General Taylor.

During the 10th, in Matamoros, to which place the beaten and dispersed fragments of his army had been ordered to *rendezvous*, Arista, true to himself and to the interests with which he was intrusted, began to reorganize his reduced and sadly dispirited forces. To revive their courage and restore *morale*, well nigh extinct, he visited the quarters of the men to aid, comfort, and cheer them as best he could. Mournful were the impressions made upon the inhabitants of Matamoros; the Government through its discords and civil strifes had not or could not aid and protect them against the invaders; despair was visible in every direction and among all classes. Arista called a *Junta* of his officers and appealed to them to forget and bury at once and forever all feuds, jealousies, and dissensions, and to concentrate their united energies henceforth upon the one sole, sacred object—the defense of their unhappy country.

The moral effect of these battles was incalculable; it gave to the Americans a prestige of victory that never faltered until their conquering standard floated from the Mexican Capital. It inspired their commander with confidence in the nerve and courage of his army, and the soldiers with faith in the judgment and ability of their chief. It hung a sombre shadow over the Mexican hosts, paralyzing the arms of the soldiers, though brave and patriotic, and rendering abortive the best efforts of their leaders, though able and daring.

CHAPTER V.

MATAMOROS EVACUATED.—ARISTA RETIRES TOWARDS MONTEREY.—RELIEVED BY GENERAL MEJIA AND COURT MARTIALED.—THREE-MONTHS VOLUNTEERS.—NO ACTIVE OPERATIONS BEFORE THE EXPIRATION OF THEIR TERM OF SERVICE.—PERSONAL REMINISCENCES.—WANT OF TRANSPORTATION IN THE AMERICAN ARMY.—ARRIVAL OF TWELVE-MONTHS VOLUNTEERS.—THE ARMY ORDERED TO CAMARGO.—ORDERS PREPARATORY TO THE MARCH UPON MONTEREY.—OVERTHROW OF THE PAREDES GOVERNMENT.—AMPUDIA RELIEVES MEJIA.

Aware of his inability to defend Matamoros with his reduced and demoralized army, Arista about daylight on the 10th quietly withdrew the greater portion of it to the plains of Doña Rita, a league from the town. Learning subsequently that General Taylor was about to cross the Rio Grande and occupy Matamoros, he called a council of his officers, at which were present Generals Ampudia, Raqueña, Torrejon, Garcia, Jauregui, and Morlet, and Colonel Uraga,* and requested each one to express his opinion candidly and freely. They agreed unanimously that Matamoros should be given up, but differed as to the time and manner; some were for leaving at once, "the quicker the better," whilst others thought that military honor required them to retire under fire.

On the adjournment of this council a white flag was despatched to General Taylor by Raqueña, as previously stated.

* Subsequently commander of the Mexican Army under the Emperor Maximilian, while Marshal Bazaine commanded all the foreign troops—French, Austrian, and Belgian.

It was finally determined, there being a dismal lack of transportation, to call upon the prefect for a certain number of carts drawn by oxen, and these having been secured and loaded, to leave the city forthwith.

At dusk the retreat began upon Linares in the following order : Arista with the second brigade of infantry, the artillery and the carts ; the first brigade of infantry followed, and the cavalry covered the rear ; Canales, with his command greatly thinned by desertions, moved on the right, through the towns and villages to the north of the line of retreat. At 2 a. m. Arista halted at the Rancho of Venado, four leagues from Matamoros, where he left the sick and wounded, the baggage of officers of the staff, and their clerks, chests, etc. Five guns were spiked, and much valuable property, not removed for want of transportation, was thrown into the river or destroyed. The march continued to the Rancho of Medraño, where numberless inconveniences and hardships began, scarcity of water causing great misery, as the route was through a desert.

They reached Ebanito on the 19th, heard that a body of 300 American cavalry was in pursuit, bivouacked on the 20th at Nutria, and here took precautions to guard against a surprise ; remained in camp the next morning, when, learning that the pursuing cavalry had returned, they resumed the march at 4 p. m. In an hour it began to rain, to the great relief of the soldiers, almost famished for water, only obtainable from the clouds, and which they welcomed as a heaven-sent boon. It rendered, however, the roads almost impassable. Their food was reduced to a scant supply of beef, and weary and enfeebled they threw themselves down, many remaining buried in the mud, never to rise again.

General Taylor had ordered all of his cavalry, regular and volunteer, under Lieut.-Col. John Garland, Fourth Infantry, to pursue the enemy, harass his rear, and capture prisoners and baggage. Colonel Garland returned on the 22d, having captured a small rear party after a trifling skirmish at night, in which one man and unfortunately a woman were killed and two of Garland's men slightly wounded. He followed Arista sixty miles, but the scarcity of water and the condition of his

horses made it useless to proceed further. No reference is made in Mexican history to this skirmish.

On the 22d a halt was made on the plain of Esperanza to permit the soldiers to dry their clothing, and from dire necessity they killed for food the oxen hauling their carts and artillery, thus compelling them to leave behind concealed in the bushes much public property, and, in the language of their own historians, "the children of the republic drew the pieces forward with their own hands."

Many of the cavalry, having lost a number of horses, were seen on the road on foot, carrying their saddles, and in this plight arrived at Calabozo, where in sheer desperation many soldiers committed suicide. On the 23d they were at Grunadora, reached the Well of Todos Santos on the 24th, and on the 25th the hacienda of Vaqueria, where the want and misery of the past days were relieved by supplies too long delayed. On the 26th the cavalry bivouacked at the hacienda of Trinidad, the infantry at Pomona, and were united on the 27th at Guadalupe, where they received abundant provisions forwarded from Linares, where they arrived on the 28th.

At Linares General García, a distinguished citizen and a brave and chivalrous officer, died, as believed, through grief caused by the misfortunes of the army and the impending doom of his country. The Government, whose wretched dissensions and unwise measures were responsible mainly for the late disasters, threw the odium of defeat upon Arista, superseded him in command by Gen. D. Francisco Mejia, and had him brought before a court martial. His course was evidently unwise, but whatever his neglects or deficiencies they were condoned by his countrymen, and within four years from that date he was elected to the Presidency of the republic.

The collisions of May 8th and 9th decided the control of the Rio Grande. Within a few days after the last action both banks of that river were occupied by the United States forces, whilst those under Arista were compelled to retire to the vicinity of the Sierra Madre, which mountain range became his new line of defense. General Taylor knew that the retreating army should be pursued vigorously, as with numbers so reduced and in such a demoralized state it could have been

destroyed, but he was not prepared for such prompt action, having neither the requisite amount of cavalry nor the transportation needed to assume the offensive by crossing the Rio Grande and invading the enemy's country.

Of the two commanders, the defeated Arista was full of gloom and evil forebodings for the safety of his routed army, which he effected, however, by a retreat with much suffering; the other, the victorious Taylor, was confined reluctantly to the Rio Grande over three months, awaiting the arrival of reinforcements and an increase of transportation, this latter involving a number of steamboats adapted to the navigation of that river. He reoccupied his old camp opposite Matamoros, issued orders congratulating his troops in appropriate language upon their brilliant victories, and proposed that, as a mark of respect to the Chief Magistrate of the republic, the field work constructed at Point Isabel to cover the main depot of the army be known as Fort Polk, and in memory of the commander who fell in its defense, the work opposite Matamoros be Fort Brown. Major Jacob Brown, Seventh Infantry, had served in the war of 1812, and was selected by General Taylor to command this field work, not yet finished, when his army marched for Point Isabel. By his courage and manly bearing during the bombardment, as well as in the attack made by Ampudia, he won the confidence and respect of his officers and men, justifying to the fullest extent the choice made by the commanding general.

Captain Mansfield, of the Engineer Corps, who had superintended the construction of Fort Brown and remained in it during the absence of the army, referred in his official report to Major Brown in the following words: "I cannot close this official report without expressing my regret for the loss of the commander, Major Brown, who indicated by the manner in which he exercised his command, and his coolness and self-possession under trying circumstances, the true characteristics of the soldier and the gentleman."

PERSONAL REMINISCENCES.

I had not graduated at West Point when the battles of Palo Alto and Resaca de la Palma were fought, and well remember how profound was the sensation created in the corps of cadets

by the reported capture of Captains Thornton and Hardee with their companies, and the fall of Lieutenant Mason in the conflict. When it became known that Arista had crossed with his army to the east bank of the Rio Grande it was evident to all that hostilities had commenced in earnest. There was a weary anxiety for over a week, when, to the great relief of all, news came from the southern frontier and was announced in orders at evening parade that there had been not one, but two battles, the last being a complete rout of the enemy and not ending until the Mexicans had been driven across the Rio Grande, in which many were drowned.

The excitement among the cadets knew no bounds; the rules and regulations of the academy were disregarded, loud and long-continued cheering was heard in the two barracks, boisterous laughing and talking and running about in all directions in defiance of orders; tattoo and taps were ignored. The following day the entire corps of cadets volunteered their services to the Government, and wished the War Department to be advised of the fact. This patriotic impulse was not appreciated by the authorities of the academy and met with no encouragement; on the contrary, the cadets were reminded that, being already in the service, when required they would be ordered without hesitancy on the part of the Government, but for the present the country was in no need of their services, however valuable they might be regarded, and closed with a reference to the great disorder in the barracks the night before, and an intimation that a repetition of it might not be overlooked.

Within three weeks after the news of these two battles the graduating class of 1846 received diplomas and the usual furlough of three months was granted. Not one of the class, it is believed, declined to accept the leave, having been made to understand that the Government would order them to duty whenever it might suit its convenience.

Leaving the academy the day diplomas were given, I, in company with three of my classmates, Thomas J. Jackson, Archibald B. Botts, and Clarendon J. L. Wilson, all three of Virginia, passed through New York, Philadelphia, Baltimore, and made our first stop in Washington. We found the Mexican War the main topic of conversation among all classes, on

the streets, in private houses, and with the crowds that thronged the hotels ; nothing else seemed to be thought of. Palo Alto and Resaca were heard from all lips, and it was the general impression that the hero of these two battles must be quite well advanced in his march to the City of Mexico ; even the most skeptical were sure he would reach that capital by the 4th of July. It was frequently stated among the crowds on the streets that General Scott was old, in his dotage, for it was reported he had said General Taylor would be on the Rio Grande several months before he could strike for the interior of the enemy's country.

No one person in Washington attracted so much attention as Lieut. Roland A. Luther, of the Second Artillery, who was at the same hotel with our party. He had just arrived, fresh from General Taylor's camp, the first officer seen who had been in battle with the Mexicans. What added much to the interest and excitement caused by his presence was a wound by a musket ball in the leg that disabled him, and, hobbling about on crutches with his long, sun-scorched beard and bronzed face, clothed in a suit not fresh from the tailor, he was the lion of the occasion—the undisputed hero of the National Capital. In the hotel he was generally so surrounded that it was with difficulty he could be seen or the sound of his voice even heard.

One day there was a man, who subsequently became a distinguished general in the Mexican war, seen standing on tip-toe, overlooking those surrounding Roland, and listening with bated breath to his account of the regiment to which he belonged, forming square to repel a charge of Mexican Lancers, and he informed them that at this time he received his disabling wound.

Upon arrival in the Capital, I called first upon the Hon. C. H. Williams, to whom I was indebted for my cadet appointment; then upon General Jesse Speight, who had been a friend of my father and at the time was one of the Senators from Mississippi. Referring to the war, the Senator said the President seemed to have been taken by surprise when he heard of fighting on the Rio Grande; but he might have known, having ordered General Taylor to that river, that such would have been the case. Diplomatic intercourse hav-

ing been suspended, and the two armies confronting each other, separated by only a narrow river—it could hardly have been possible for them not to fight—he deplored the heavy expense to be incurred by the Government in carrying on this war.

Among those to whom I was introduced, I recall with pleasure and interest Mr. Jefferson Davis, a member of Congress from Mississippi and a graduate of the Military Academy. He asked many questions about West Point and listened attentively to the replies, manifesting much interest, as they no doubt recalled reminiscences of his own cadet life. I was impressed with his refinement of manner, his tone of voice, the grace and fluency of his conversation as well as the purity and elegance of his vocabulary. He asked me to accompany him in the evening to the White House to attend the *levee*; the invitation was accepted.

Among the guests at the White House were the usual proportion of distinguished Senators and Representatives, members of the Diplomatic Corps, Judges of the Supreme Court, and ladies mostly in full toilette. The one of the many well-known persons present that is remembered most vividly and with by far the most interest, was Mrs. Madison; the incident is highly prized, and it is regarded even now as great good fortune to have seen and conversed with her. She asked many questions about cadet life, and, referring to the Mexican War, said she hoped if I had to go to it it would be to return well preserved and with distinguished honors. The impression made was that she felt for me a deep interest.

On our return to the hotel I remarked to Mr. Davis that I had seen in the newspapers references made to his having been elected colonel of a regiment of volunteers from his State, and asked if it was true and if he would accept. He replied it was true he had been elected colonel and that he would accept if he could have the men armed with rifles. On being asked why his acceptance should be contingent upon the weapon with which the regiment might be armed, he remarked if armed with the ordinary infantry musket it would be but one of many regiments similarly armed; but if with the rifle, besides being more effective, there would probably be no other body of men so armed, and it would be known and referred to as

the Mississippi Rifles and, consequently, would be more conspicuous. It was armed as he desired; he accepted the colonelcy and it did become well known, and is referred to as the Mississippi Rifles prominently in the histories of the Mexican War.

Having remained but twenty-four hours in Washington, I bid adieu to my classmates and left for my home. On board the steamer from Louisville was a part of Colonel McKee's regiment of twelve-months volunteers from Kentucky, commanded by Lieut.-Col. Henry Clay, jr., a graduate of West Point, and with it was Maj. Cary H. Fry, also a graduate of the Academy. The officers and men were in the best of spirits, little anticipating the diseases and discomforts incident to camp life on the Rio Grande during the summer months. This regiment subsequently suffered severely in the battle of Buena Vista, in which Colonel McKee and Lieutenant-Colonel Clay were killed, but as is too often the case, many more died from sickness.

General Taylor was prompt in reporting to Washington that the navigation of the Rio Grande was of the first importance in future operations on that frontier, if they were to be directed towards the interior of Mexico. As early as May 18th he had instructed his quartermaster to make requisition for steamboats to that end; within a few days a second requisition was forwarded, and as further evidence of his great anxiety on that point, he despatched Capt. John Sanders, of the Corps of Engineers, to New Orleans to confer with the quartermaster in charge in that city, to inform him of the kind of boats adapted to the navigation of the Rio Grande, and to expedite their purchase and arrival. He reported the want of boats would paralyze his movements, as without them he could do nothing more than occupy a few points along the river.

The call made by himself April 26th for eight regiments of volunteers, four from each of the States of Texas and Louisiana, and the requisition made by General Gaines,* on his

* The course of General Gaines at this time caused much amused comment. A veteran of 1812, he was the second in rank in the army, and in command of the Western Geographical Division. Anticipating a war with Mexico, he requested the command of the army sent

own responsibility, soon brought two classes of troops to the field, and the Act of May 13, 1846, still another class. Those volunteering under General Taylor's requisition could by the law (Act 1795) serve only three months; those entering the service under the call of General Gaines volunteered for six months and were mustered into the service for that period. These two classes of volunteers reached the Rio Grande early, and by June 3d General Taylor's little army was increased to 8,000 men, but they brought no transportation. By the 10th he had five Louisiana regiments, 3,000 men, a regiment from St. Louis, one from Louisville, several companies from Alabama, and they were coming in from Texas to an unknown extent, flocking from all quarters. By the 17th of June the St. Louis, Louisville, and Louisiana Volunteers aggregated 5,000; there were seven companies from Alabama, twelve or fifteen from Texas, and still continually arriving.

He reminded the Government that he had called for troops from Texas and Louisiana only, and that the large number without transportation was a serious embarrassment. On the subject of transportation he was very earnest, using the following language: "No steamboats have been sent from New Orleans for the navigation of the Rio Grande, and in the absence of all information on that point or respecting the views of the Government I am altogether in the dark as to our future operations. I must think that orders have been given by superior authority to suspend the forwarding of means of transportation from New Orleans, as I cannot otherwise account for the extraordinary delay shown by the Quartermaster Department in that city." He wished it to be understood at the department that the inactivity of the army was from no neglect on his part, and expressed astonishment

against it, not so much, as he averred, "for conquering a peace as for a crusade against the awful maladies of alternate anarchy and despotism." On receipt of the news of Thornton's and Hardee's capture, he issued a call for volunteers and as numbers responded, he, in his enthusiasm, ignored the War Department, the Government, everything, and on his own authority received them, and soon had an immense army *en route* to Brazos Santiago, officers of the line and staff all appointed by himself. In self-defense, the Department relieved him of command, and "Gaines' Army" was for many years a familiar term.

that reinforcements in such numbers had been sent without being accompanied with additional means of transportation, both by land and water. Situated as he was, whatever might be the expectation of the department, there could be no movements without boats of the proper kind, and he could give no assurance in regard to further operations.

The volunteers joining Taylor's army under the call of General Gaines were a source of annoyance to him and of embarrassment to the War Department. They had responded with the greatest alacrity and were eager to serve the term for which they had volunteered and for which they had also been mustered, but under the law they would only be legally in the service for three months. The only solution for the difficulty was to volunteer for twelve months or to be mustered out at the expiration of three months. They chose the latter, Congress appropriated money to pay them, and they were honorably discharged.

Much sympathy was felt and expressed, both by General Taylor and the War Department, as shown by the official correspondence, for these volunteers, who responded so promptly to the call of General Gaines. The whole country, excited over the capture of Captains Thornton and Hardee with their commands, became more so when it was known that Arista had not only crossed the Rio Grande with his main army, but had interposed between General Taylor at Point Isabel, and the small force he had left opposite Matamoros and the destruction or capture of General Taylor and his army was feared to be imminent.

It was in the midst of a community highly excited by reports, which proved to be true, that General Gaines caught the enthusiasm and sharing apprehensions, probably for the safety of Taylor and army, called for volunteers from Louisiana in excess of the number General Taylor had asked. The demand was answered by that spirited and generous people in a manner worthy of all praise and with a persistent eagerness not to be stayed. The unanimity with which they rallied to the rescue, as they believed, of the imperiled forces of General Taylor is referred to in the official correspondence of the time. The judge* deserted the bench, the lawyer his

* Persifer F. Smith.

clients, the physician his patients, the merchant his counting-house, the mechanic his workshop, the minister of the Gospel his pulpit, all following the impulse to sacrifice everything in defense of national right and national honor.

This enthusiasm could be utilized only to a limited extent, merely to occupy a few points along the Rio Grande. By the middle of May Burita, a small town on the Mexican side of the Rio Grande, below Matamoros, was occupied by a battalion of regulars, under Lieutenant-Colonel Henry Wilson, First Infantry, and by a volunteer force, near a thousand, from Louisiana, under General Persifor F. Smith. June 7th the First Infantry battalion, under Colonel Wilson, and a section of Bragg's battery were moved up on the west bank of the Rio Grande, thirty miles above Matamoros, to the town of Reinosá. These points were occupied after the arrival of the three-months volunteers, and this was about all that was or could be accomplished before the arrival of steamboats.

The Texans encamped near Point Isabel, and were organized under their governor, James P. Henderson, commanding, with the rank of major-general. Of the twelve months volunteers under the Act of May 13, 1846, the Tennesseans were the first to report. They arrived at the Brazos June 24th, and with the other troops, except two regiments left at Matamoros, were moved up to and encamped at Burita.

The requisition for steamboats, forwarded May 18th, had brought them to the Rio Grande by July 11th; from that date every effort was made to expedite the movement of troops and supplies to Camargo mainly by boats, this place having been chosen as the base of operations to be directed upon Monterey.

This (Monterey) was the largest and most important town in Northern Mexico, being situated at the northern entrance to the only pass through the Sierra Madre Mountains practicable for wagons and artillery, and to occupy and hold it was of the first necessity. With Camargo as a base, land transportation and the marching distance were greatly lessened; on the road to Monterey there were abundant water and wood, and a probability of supplies being plentiful.

Whilst busy in preparations for the move upon Camargo, General Taylor issued orders for mustering out of service the

three and six months volunteers, the latter having declined to volunteer for twelve months, not being in service legally for a longer period than three months. Of all the Louisiana volunteers who responded to the calls of Taylor and Gaines, but one company (Blanchard's) volunteered for twelve months, and by July 12th one Louisiana regiment had sailed for New Orleans, and within the following week all had returned to their homes. General Taylor ordered an Alabama battalion and one from St. Louis to be mustered out.

July 13th General Taylor reported the arrival of the twelve months regiments destined for his command, except those from Illinois and Missouri, and possibly a few companies from other States. The same day he issued orders regulating the movement of troops and of the service generally in rear. All of these troops, except a few regiments to guard depots in rear, were to be ordered to Camargo, near which he hoped healthy camps would be found, and on account of the difficulties of transportation only a small portion of volunteers would move on Monterey. He directed that the four artillery companies under Maj. Harvey Brown, Fourth Artillery, should be the first to ascend the river, to be followed as rapidly as possible by other troops in the order named, to wit, Louisville Legion, Col. Stephen Ormsbey; Baltimore and Washington Battalion, Lieut.-Col. William H. Watson; Ohio Brigade, Brig.-General Thomas L. Hamer; Second Kentucky Volunteers, Col. William R. McKee; Mississippi Rifles, Col. Jefferson Davis; First Tennessee, Col. William B. Campbell; Alabama Regiment, Col. John R. Coffey; Second Tennessee, Col. William T. Haskell; the Indiana brigade and the Missouri and Illinois regiments were to remain below until further orders; the Texas troops were to receive special orders.

Brig.-Gen. Thomas L. Hamer was ordered to detail one regiment to move up by water and report to Col. Newman S. Clarke, Sixth Infantry, at Matamoros. The Ohio brigade and the Louisville and Baltimore battalions would send their heavy baggage by water to Camargo; the regiments of the former would detail four companies each and the battalion two each to accompany the baggage; the remaining companies with light baggage would move by land as soon as transportation could be provided, probably by the 10th of

August ; the other troops, Tennessee, Mississippi, Alabama, and Georgia regiments, to go by water as soon as practicable and in the order previously prescribed.

Brig.-Gen. David E. Twiggs, remaining in rear, was to see all the volunteer infantry pass up by land, and then follow with the dragoons and horse artillery. After the departure of General Twiggs Colonel Clarke, Sixth Infantry, would assume command. The artillery train, with the third brigade and the rear companies, would march August 5th under Lieut.-Col. John Garland, Fourth Infantry.

Camargo was occupied July 14th by two companies of the Seventh Infantry under Capt. Dixon S. Miles, followed the next day by two pieces of artillery with the remainder of the regiment and a company of irregular cavalry. The Fifth Infantry, and the whole of the First Brigade, Gen. Wm. J. Worth, arrived by boat ; the Third Brigade followed, and in a short time all the regulars had arrived.

General Taylor in person reached Camargo on August 8th, and was anxious to begin the move upon Monterey, at the latest, by September 1st, and to march with 6,000 men, half of that number being regulars. A reconnoissance was sent on the 10th up the valley of the San Juan sixty-two miles, under Maj. Ben. McCulloch, who returned and reported having seen a small party of irregular cavalry, who retired before him, and also that the crossing of the San Juan was liable to be bad in rainy weather. A reconnoissance by the Mier route was also ordered.

On August 17th orders were issued for the troops to prepare to move in the direction of Monterey, and for a depot to be established at Cerralvo, seventy-five miles from Camargo, upon which point the First Brigade would move on the 19th. August 20th an order was issued organizing the twelve-months volunteers into divisions and brigades, as follows :

First Division, Maj.-Gen. Wm. O. Butler ; First Brigade, Brig.-Gen. Thomas Marshall, one mounted regiment, two foot regiments, all of Kentucky ; Second Brigade, Brig.-Gen. Thomas L. Hamer, the foot regiments, all of Ohio ; Third Brigade, Brig.-Gen. Joe Lane, three foot regiments, all of Indiana.

Second Division, Maj.-Gen. Robert Patterson ; First Brigade, Brig.-Gen. James Shields, two regiments of foot, Illinois and Missouri ; Second Brigade, Brig.-Gen. Gideon J. Pillow, two regiments of foot and one of cavalry, all of Tennessee ; Third Brigade, Brig.-Gen. John A. Quitman, three regiments of foot, one of Alabama, one of Georgia, one of Mississippi, and the Baltimore and Washington battalion.

August 1st General Taylor wrote to the War Department : " Our wagon train is considerably less than when we left Corpus Christi, our force being increased five fold ; " and on the 2d he wrote : " To call attention to the scarcity* of medical officers with this army ; while nearly two-thirds of the regular army are now serving on this frontier, we have not more than two-sevenths of the medical staff, a manifest disproportion, to the great injury of the service."

Col. Henry Whiting, the chief quartermaster with the Army of Occupation, reported to the quartermaster general, from Camargo under date of September 3d, " that 200,000 rations had been forwarded to Cerralvo. Our means of transportation are 1,900 pack mules and 180 wagons, drawn by mules or horses ; " rations had been forwarded from Camargo, the first going with Worth's column. With reference to the delays and difficulties of transportation, it is well known that when General Taylor's forces were at and near Matamoros the supplies were hauled from Point Isabel, a distance of twenty-eight miles, over an excellent road when dry, but bad during the rainy season, being heavy with mud. Upon the arrival of steamboats in the Rio Grande, Point Isabel was still the depot ; vessels with supplies crossed the bar at Brazos Santiago, having from eight to nine feet of water, and anchored within a short distance ; the cargoes were then taken on light draught steamers to Point Isabel, a distance of four miles.

The stores were next shipped on other light draught steamers nine miles to the mouth of the Rio Grande, crossed the

* Surgeon General Lawson, under date of July 29, 1846, says, in reply to this : " The laws of the land in former times, as on a late occasion, awarded *two* medical officers to a regiment of 750 men, or *one* to 375, and from long experience this has been found adequate ; upon the return of General Taylor's army, he finds he has *one* to every 164 men.

bar at the mouth, and were landed upon the bank three or four hundred yards within. It was necessary to keep a train of wagons on hand at Point Isabel to haul supplies over to the Rio Grande during the prevalence of high winds, or in the case of the loss or disabling of the lighters plying between Isabel and the mouth of the river. The river steamers had a distance of 400 miles to run from the mouth to Camargo, a strong current against them in the rainy season, and sand bars when the water was low. The number of steamers estimated for, in the first place, was not adequate to the necessities of the service.

The advance under General Worth, as before stated, marched from Camargo August 19th; the rear brigades, Hamer's and Quitman's, of Butler's Division, the latter bringing up the rear, filed out of Camargo September 6th. Maj.-Gen. Robert Patterson with the brigades of Pillow and Marshall, remained in rear, on the Rio Grande. General Taylor had been urgent in demands for transportation, and it is well known that popular clamor in rear caused the advance to be made sooner than was approved by his judgment, and with a less force than he believed to be necessary. It is stated that General Taylor was advised by a letter from a distinguished friend, Senator J. J. Crittenden, to say nothing more about reinforcements and means of transportation. "The public is impatient; take foot in hand, and off for the halls of Montezuma."

It may be well to refer to the fact that when the act of Congress of May 13, 1846, passed, authorizing the President to call for volunteers, not to exceed 50,000, to serve for twelve months unless sooner discharged, General Scott urged that these new troops when organized be located in healthy sections of the country, in camps of instruction; for if sent to the Rio Grande before autumn they would be decimated by disease and remain inactive on the Rio Grande, as General Taylor could not leave that river before the middle of September or the 1st of October.

These timely suggestions were ridiculed by newspapers and politicians. He was said to be in his dotage. "General Taylor would be in the City of Mexico by the 4th of July," was the common saying and expectation. General Scott's

age, high rank, and many years of service, alike honorable and distinguished, did not shield him from sharp criticism and abuse.

The march to Cerralvo was very trying, especially to volunteers, and extremely so for the first thirty-five miles, with a sultry sun, dusty roads, without shade for fourteen miles, and no water during one day's march. The last brigade, Quitman's, reached Cerralvo September 13th.

Leaving the United States forces, under General Taylor, now concentrated at this place half way between Camargo and Monterey, and ready for the advance upon the latter, we will return to the Mexican Army, which had been halted May 28th at Linares in its painful retreat from Matamoros.

Immediately upon his arrival at Linares, Arista ordered Lieutenant-Colonel Zuloaga, with a small engineer force, and Lieut.-Col. D. Mariano Reyes, with a battalion of Sappers, to proceed to Monterey, locate and construct a system of works that would render it capable of good defense. A few days subsequently he was relieved, as previously stated, by General Mejia. While recuperating from its fatigues and recruiting its numbers, the *morale* of Arista's forces was still further weakened by dissensions among officers and their commands, growing out of late defeats; criminations and recriminations were rife and all, including the sick, dragged along with the army, victims of neglect and ingratitude, realizing too painfully the wretched condition to which the Mexican soldier had been reduced.

General Mejia determined on a change of position, and July 9th the army, under Gen. D. Tomas Raqueña, marched to the Rancho of Encadenado, thence to Montemorelos, where they were warmly welcomed and abundantly supplied; thence to the Hacienda of Concepcion, next to Cadereyta Jimenez, where they remained from the 12th to the 21st of July. were rejoined by General Mejia and ordered to Monterey, it being believed that General Taylor's next move would be directed against that city.

Monterey, the capital of the State of Neuvo Leon, was the largest, most flourishing, and in a military point of view, the most important town then, as to-day, in northern Mexico, having a population of 10,000 inhabitants. Situated in a val-

ley extending for miles along the base of the high and picturesque Sierra Madre Mountains and fertilized by the chrystal waters of the San Juan, flowing between banks lined with pretty houses and villas and with gardens abloom with flowering shrubbery, it was well fortified, and with its stone and brick buildings, above the azoteas* of which rose thick walls, its narrow streets, and many plazas easily barricaded, was well adapted for defense. The scene, neither during the war of independence nor in the many civil commotions, of armed strife, it was now for the first time threatened with the presence of contending forces.

Since the actions of the 8th and 9th of May and the occupation of Matamoros by the Americans, the defenses of the city had been strengthened and enlarged, and though still incomplete were formidable. To the north, at the junction of the three roads leading from Marin, Pezqueria Grande and Monclova, was the citadel, a square bastioned work with dry ditches and embrasures for guns, and enclosing the walls of an unfinished cathedral. This work was about 1,000 yards from the city. South of it a branch of the San Juan traversed in a southeasterly direction the suburbs, and was crossed by the bridge of La Purisima, defended by a strong *tete-de pont* and by breastworks. The southeastern front of the city was defended by a system of lunettes, the most complete of which La Tenria, covered by its fire the roads from Marin and Cadereyta. Beyond La Teneria was El Rincon del Diablo, and to the north of the Saltillo road lay the Loma de Independencia, a steep acclivity, about midway of which were the massive ruins of the Obispado (Bishop's Palace), strongly fortified and furnished with battlements with sand-bag parapets and covered by a priest-cap work with platforms for four guns in *barbette*. Southwest lay a range of hills, at the summit of which was Fort Soldado, a square redoubt, and opposite the Loma de Independencia was the Loma de Federacion. Between the citadel and Obispado a system of redoubts had been planned, but not completed. Of these the Loma de In-

* Azotea is a flat roof surrounded with a parapet three or four feet high, often filled with growing flowers, shrubs, and fruit trees on movable stands, and is the favorite family rendezvous, refreshments being often served there and friends received and entertained.

dependencia with the fortifications of the Obispado was the most prominent, and being in close proximity was evidently the key to the city. The engineer, Colonel Carrasco, sent by Arista, had planned to complete and fully man the citadel, the fire from which would sweep all approaches to the city from Cerralvo and to fortify La Teneria and the Loma de Independencia.

It was now August 1st. The soldiers, encouraged by the presence of their officers, worked industriously, and the citizens of Monterey contributed freely of their means, and were patriotic and enthusiastic. The Governor of Nuevo Leon, D. Francisco Morales, exercised his authority to fill up the ranks, and information of Taylor's advance having arrived at Camargo all redoubled their efforts.

In the midst of all this earnest work came news from the capital of the *Pronunciamiento* of August 4th, and with it the downfall of the Paredes Government and the return of Santa Anna to the Presidency. A *Junta* of officers was called; some were in sympathy with the movement, others regretted it; yet all continued their efforts to stem the tide of invasion.

With the change of Government Ampudia was restored to the chief command. The press opposed him; public sentiment was against him, and many officers wrote to the capital protesting against him, alleging that old jealousies and antipathies, which should forever be set aside, would be again aroused.

Ampudia in the meantime arrived with over 5,000 troops and thirty-two cannon from San Luis Potosi, and after a careful personal examination of Monterey and vicinity urged the engineers to push forward the works as rapidly as possible; adopted Mejia's plan to hazard nothing, to act wholly on the defensive, and remain in Monterey awaiting expected supplies.

Capt. D. Francisco Segura, of the engineers, made a reconnaissance towards Cerralvo, going as far as Papagallos, within two days' march of the former. Up to this time the Auxiliaries of Neuvo Leon had been posted in the woods of Alacranes, near a mile in rear of that place—Papagallos.

Colonel Uraga* was still in Cadereyta with a brigade of infantry, the cavalry regiment of Guanajuato and the Lancers of Jalisco ; the strength of his command not given. These troops do not appear in the enumeration of those that fought at Palo Alto and Resaca. General Romero, who was also not on the Rio Grande, was in Marin with his command ; his numbers are not given.

General Ampudia changed his mind, and abandoning the plan of Mejia, after receiving the report of Captain Segura, decided to give battle at Marin, and if unsuccessful, to retire upon Monterey, the country between Papagallos and Marin offering advantages in his opinion that should not be neglected.

A *Junta*, composed of the chiefs of brigade, was convened to consider the new plan, and when fully explained by Ampudia, Mejia, whom he had superseded in command, stated that his men and officers would obey any orders he might give. The statements of other chiefs were not so satisfactory, and this last scheme, his own, was frustrated and finally abandoned. At Monterey, in addition to the troops already mentioned, were the Third and Fourth Light, the Third of the Line, the active battalions of Aguas Calientes, Queretaro and San Luis Potosi, all infantry ; of cavalry, the Third Regiment of Guanajuato, San Luis, and Jalisco. Whether the cavalry regiment of Guanajuato and the Lancers of Jalisco, referred to as being with Colonel Uraga at Cadereyta, are the same as the Third Regiment of Guanajuato and Jalisco, here mentioned, is not known.

Arista's army that marched from Linares to Monterey was composed of the First Regiment, the Second Light, the Fourth and Tenth of the Line, and two companies of the Sixth, the Actives of Mexico and Morelia, all infantry ; of cavalry, the Seventh, the Eighth, and the Light ; artillery, thirteen pieces. General Morlet was detached with the active battalion of Puebla and the company and battalion of the Guarda Costa of Tampico, and marched to reinforce Tampico. Ampudia's force in Monterey at this time cannot be given with the pre-

* Uraga was engaged at Palo Alto and Resaca, commanding only a regiment.

cision desired. He brought to that city over 5,000 men, with thirty-two guns, and Arista's army numbered 1,800, less the battalion of actives from Puebla and a company and the battalion of Guarda Costa of Tampico. To these may be added Uraga's and Romero's commands, whose numbers are not given. We are, however, certain he had forty-five guns, and it is hardly possible he would have had less than 10,000 men, his force probably exceeding that number.

Ampudia, informed of the concentration of the enemy at Cerralvo, called a junta of defense, chief of staff, General D. Jose Garcia Conde presiding, and it was decided that work should be continued on the first and second or interior line and urged forward with zeal. On September 11th Ampudia visited Marin to examine that position for himself, and concentrated all of his cavalry there. On that day General Taylor, ordering the advance from Cerralvo, advised them to be on their guard, as the enemy might be encountered. The pioneers of the army, united in one body under Capt. Lewis S. Craig, Third Infantry, were to march early the next day towards Marin * to repair the road, this party to be covered by a squadron of dragoons and McCulloch's company of Rangers, and to be accompanied by two officers of the Topographical Engineers detailed by Capt. William G. Williams. Ampudia, leaving orders with Torrejon how to act on the approach of the enemy, retired on the 12th to Monterey, and on the same day Uraga joined the main army there.

On the 13th the advance upon Marin began, the first division, Twiggs', leading, followed by the second, Worth's, and this by the volunteers, General Taylor being with the advance division. The troops had eight days' rations and forty rounds of ammunition. Two companies of the Mississippi regiment remained at Cerralvo as a guard to the stores there deposited and the disabled and sick at that place. Ampudia calling a *Junta* to consider for the second time what works were necessary for the defense of Monterey, it was decided to abandon such as had been begun—between the cita-

* Two regiments of mounted Texas troops had been marched from Camargo by the more southern route through the town of China to join the main army at Marin. General Taylor had when he advanced from Marin 425 officers and 6,220 men, an aggregate of 6,645.

del, unfinished cathedral, and the Obispado—but to continue the works at these places, the Teneria, as well as at other points in the city proper.

Ampudia's course, at this time vacillating and uncertain, made the impression that he lacked the self-reliance requisite for an independent command, especially if confronted by a leader of skill and courage. On the 14th his army was at Monterey and Torrejon was at Marin, four miles in front, with his cavalry covered by the Auxiliaries of Nuevo Leon, who then held Alacranes, fifteen miles beyond, and who after an insignificant skirmish left the road open as far as Marin. The Americans continued their advance to Papagallos, where they bivouacked and then resumed their march. The Mexicans withdrew in full view, evacuated Marin, and crossed the river San Juan, followed by the Americans as far as Aguarfria, where the American cavalry encamped, and the Mexicans continued on to San Francisco.

Here an effort was made, yielding to Ramirez, to change the plan of defense and destroy the work at the Teneria, heretofore regarded as so important. Naturally such indecision of plans with the invaders almost in sight* not only weakened confidence, but created, if not distrust, feelings of uncertainty and anxiety.

The Army of Occupation rested the 16th, the Mexican cavalry remaining in its front in observation; the 17th the former remained quiet, but the Mexicans reinforced their cavalry with the Seventh Regiment under General Jauregui, and parties of auxiliaries entered Monterey.

On the 18th General Taylor's forces resumed the advance, two Texas companies, McCulloch's and Gillaspie's, followed by a squadron of dragoons, led the column; then came the first division, General Taylor being with it, next the second division, and after this the third—volunteer division. The Mexican cavalry retired upon Monterey in the forenoon, and was ordered to form on the slope of the Loma de Independencia. A *condueta* of \$28,000 was received during the day from the City of Mexico and distributed to Ampudia's troops, relieving much distress

* Twiggs camped three miles beyond Marin on the San Juan.

The United States forces encamped at San Francisco, eight or ten miles from Monterey, and at sunrise on the 19th moved forward, the Texas troops under General Henderson leading. These had a slight skirmish with the Mexican cavalry, who fell back into the city, followed by the Texans, who displayed on the plain in full view of Monterey and the citadel, remained in this position an half hour, then withdrew to the woods of San Domingo. General Taylor's headquarters were established in these woods, at Walnut Springs, three miles from Monterey, and as the main army came up, it halted and bivouacked under the shade of live oaks, enjoying an abundant supply of good water.

CHAPTER VI.

BATTLE OF MONTEREY.—FEDERACION.—SOLDADO.—BISHOP'S PALACE. — PERSONAL REMINISCENCES AND OBSERVATIONS.

Without loss of time General Taylor ordered reconnoissances to be made of Monterey and its approaches. One party of engineers under Maj. Joseph K. F. Mansfield directed its observations towards the road which leads southwest out of the city a short distance along a valley, then ascends a mountain slope through the Rincoñada Pass, to the town of Saltillo, sixty or seventy miles distant. This was the main thoroughfare over which Mexican supplies and reinforcements must pass to reach Monterey, and the object of this reconnoissance was to determine whether or not this important line of communication could be cut and the enemy's works turned. A second party, under Capt. William G. Williams, was ordered to examine the approaches on the east side, and ascertain the extent to which they had been protected and strengthened with defensive works. The reconnoissances of Major Mansfield demonstrated the practicability of reaching the Saltillo road and cutting the communications south, so vital to Ampudia. General Worth was ordered to move the next day, 20th ; having in addition to his own division, the First Texas, Col. Jack Hays, to turn the Loma de Independencia, seize and hold the Saltillo road, and capture, if deemed practicable, the enemy's works on that side.

Worth moved from camp in the Santo Domingo woods, 2 p. m., but owing to detentions caused by a narrow road requiring much work to enable the artillery to pass, the march

was arrested at 6 p. m., when but six miles had been made. The troops bivouacked out of range of the enemy's guns, on the ridge above the Bishop's Palace, and a reconnoissance under cover of the Texas troops was pushed forward to the intersection of the Pezqueria and Saltillo roads, and many indications that a further advance in that direction would most strenuously be resisted, were noted.

Worth's move having been observed by the enemy, a cavalry force of 200 men was directed by Ampudia to watch and report. With a view to divert the attention of the enemy, General Taylor ordered Twiggs' division and the volunteers under Butler to display in front of the city; this demonstration was continued until dark, after which arrangements were made to place two 24-pound* howitzers and a 10-inch mortar in position to open fire the following morning, when a diversion in favor of Worth would again be made. The Fourth Infantry guarded this battery during the night. At 6 a. m., of the 21st, General Worth advanced, Hays' Texans leading, supported by the light companies of the First Brigade, under Capt. C. F. Smith, Second Artillery, followed closely by Duncan's battery. On turning an angle of the mountain a cavalry force, ordered by Ampudia to march to the intersection of the Topo and Saltillo roads, was encountered, and the Texans answered a heavy charge from it with their deadly rifles. Smith's light companies opened a rapid fire, Duncan's, supported by a section of Mackall's battery, was soon in battery and the whole command was in line in a few minutes, but the engagement had already ended.

"The enemy retired in disorder, leaving on the ground 100 killed and wounded, among the former Juan N. Najera, colonel of the permanent regiment of lancers. The enemy retired upon the Saltillo road, and was closely pursued until possession of the gorge was secured, where all debouches from Monterey unite; whereby the force just defeated, as also reinforcements and supplies from that direction, were excluded from entering the city."† Surrounded and sum-

* See Map IV.

† Report of General Worth, Ex. Doc. No. 1., 2d session, 29th Congress (Senate).

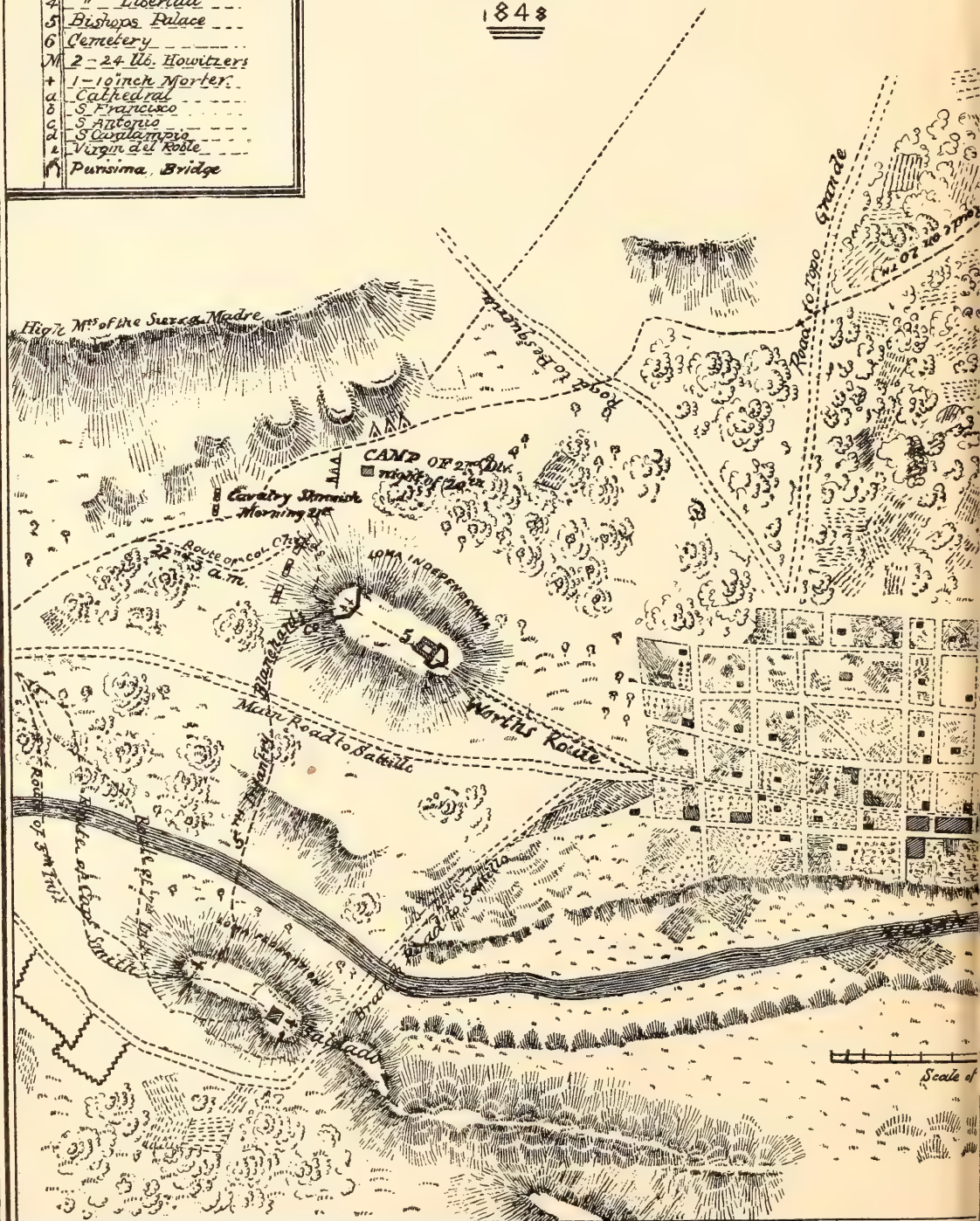


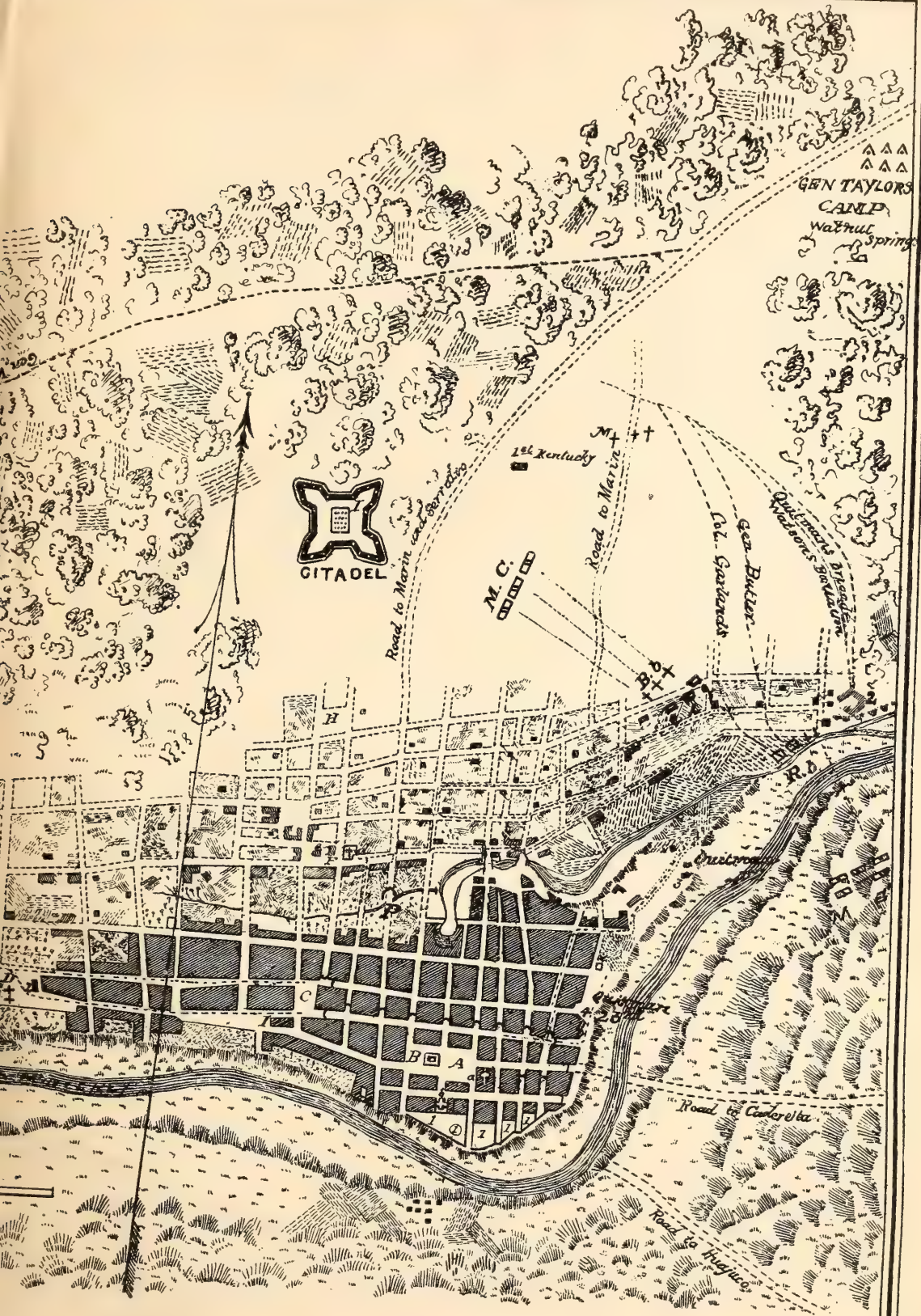
EXPLANATION

- A Grand Plaza
- B Market
- C Meat
- D S. Antonio "Mor. Battery"
- E La Virgen del Roble
- F Hospital Plaza
- G Capuchins
- H Citadel
- I Teneria
- J Fort Diablo
- K " Libertad
- L Bishops Palace
- M Cemetery
- N 2-24 lb. Howitzers
- + 1-10 inch Mortar
- a Cathedral
- b Francisco
- c S. Antonio
- d S. Capuchins
- e Virgin del Roble
- f Punsima Bridge

BATTLE OF MONTEREY

SEPTEMBER
20TH 21ST 22ND & 23RD
1846





moned to surrender, Colonel Najera refused, and resisted his assailants until faint from loss of blood, he fell from his horse and rolled down to the foot of the mountain, dead.

When the engagement began, Ampudia ordered Gen. Garcia Conde, with two pieces of artillery and the Battalion of Aguas Calientes, to march rapidly to the threatened point. Garcia had just begun to move, when he received a second order to return to the city and send the battalion to the bridge of Purisima.

To make a strong diversion in favor of Worth's attack on the morning of the 21st, General Taylor ordered Twiggs' division and the volunteers under General Butler, leaving a company from each regiment to guard the camp, to march towards Monterey. The Second Dragoons, under Bvt. Lieut.-Col. May, and Col. George T. Wood, Second Texas Cavalry, the two commands being under General Henderson, moved over to the right, to support Worth if required or to make an effort against the upper part of the city if possible.

When the infantry and artillery, under Twiggs and Butler, arrived at the mortar and howitzer battery (established during the night), the volunteers were halted under cover of a slight ridge in rear; but the First and Third Regiments of Infantry, the Washington and Baltimore battalion, under Lieutenant-Colonel Watson, and Bragg's battery, all under Lieut.-Col. John Garland, Fourth Infantry, continued the march, inclining towards the lower part of the city, to make a strong demonstration and carry one of the enemy's advanced works if it could be done without too heavy loss.

Major Mansfield, of the engineers, Captain Williams, and Lieut. John Pope, of the Topographical Engineers, accompanied the troops; the former, charged with the direction of the march, was to indicate the points of attack.

The 10-inch mortar and the two 24-pound howitzers, the former under Capt. George D. Ramsay, of the Ordnance, the latter, under Capt. Lucien B. Webster, of the First Artillery, opened upon the Citadel and the town a fire which was responded to promptly by the former and by numerous guns of heavier metal than the howitzers. A rapid discharge of artillery, mingled with lively musketry of considerable volume, was heard in the direction of Garland's command. Major

Mansfield had pushed forward and entered the suburbs of the town with a small infantry support, which was soon increased, and had drawn a heavy fire, both artillery and musketry. Having secured partial cover, he sent a message to Colonel Garland, requesting him to advance within supporting distance, and a second message to advance in line.

The forward movement of Garland was, in direction, to the right of Teneria, his men being exposed at the time to artillery fire from the right and rear, the Citadel,¹ and from his left, the Teneria,² and from Diablo³ in front, and musketry fire from houses and other small works also in front and on his flanks. The Washington and Baltimore battalion moved on a road leading directly to the work, Teneria. Under a heavy fire, inflicting much loss, Garland reached the suburbs of the town, where partial cover for the men was found. The Maryland and District of Columbia volunteers were broken and many of them retired beyond range, but Lieutenant-Colonel Watson, the commander, several other officers, and some seventy men remained and fought gallantly; the former fell near the work mortally wounded.

In the meantime Bragg's battery had advanced to the suburbs; but a few discharges proved its inefficiency. His horses and men fell under the fire of an unseen enemy, whose guns in No. 2 were heavier and fired through embrasures. The object of Garland's move, directed by the engineer, was to get in rear, if possible, of No. 2 and force its capture or evacuation by a fire from that direction. This demonstration had thus far been attended with severe loss and had developed considerable strength of position on the part of the enemy.

When the rapid fire previously referred to was heard in the direction of Garland, General Taylor ordered the Fourth Infantry and three regiments of Butler's division to march towards the Teneria No. 2, in support. The First Kentucky, Col. Stephen Ormsbey, remained as a guard to the mortar^m and howitzer battery. Two companies of the Fourth Infantry did not receive the order and remained near the battery. General Butler, in the immediate command of his regiments, moved towards the Teneria. The leading brigade, Quitman's, advanced upon the work, preceded by three

companies of the Fourth Infantry, whilst the division commander, with the First Ohio Regiment, Col. A. M. Mitchell, entered the town to the right. The companies of the Fourth Infantry had advanced within short range of the work when they were received by a fire that struck down in one moment one-third of the officers and men, rendering it necessary to retire and join the remaining two companies, then advancing; Quitman's Brigade, though suffering most severely, particularly in the Tennessee regiment, continued to move on, and finally carried the work, Teneria, as well as a strong building in its rear. Five guns, a considerable amount of ammunition, and thirty prisoners, including three officers, were captured.

The First Infantry, under Maj. John J. Abercrombie, passing the enemy's advanced work No. 2, gained possession of several houses on the left of the Third and Fourth; Captains E. Backus and J. M. Scott, of the First, with their companies, gained the roof of a large building in rear, and were pouring in upon that work a rapid fire when it was captured. Capt. J. H. La Motte, First Infantry, was doing valuable service at this time, when he received two wounds which forced him to retire. In this operation loss in the killed and wounded in these three companies was severe. Lieut. R. Dilworth, of La Motte's company, had his leg taken off by a 12-pounder before entering the town. With the wounding of La Motte, there being no officer with the company, it was incorporated with others of the regiment.

General Butler, with the First Ohio, Hamer's Brigade, felt his way gradually into the suburbs of the town, assailed at every step by heavy fire in front and flank, and meeting Major Mansfield, who had directed the move made by Garland, was informed by him that it had failed, and advised the withdrawal of his command. General Butler reported this to the commanding general, who ordered a retrograde movement, and it was commenced but immediately countermanded, Quitman's success having been just then reported. The direction of General Hamer's brigade was instantly changed and Monterey entered by another route, which, after exposure to a heavy artillery fire, brought it confronting the enemy's second work, No. 3, Rincon-del-Diablo. General Butler, regarding it as a strong position, resolved to attempt to carry it by assault,

and was in the act of directing the advance when he received a wound which compelled him to halt. Colonel Mitchell, First Ohio, and his adjutant, Lieutenant Armstrong, were wounded at the same time. General Butler's troops were falling fast under the converging fires of the three different batteries that swept the intervening space over which the men must pass. He had not previously discovered that the enemy's work was defended by a heavy infantry force, firing from crenelated walls and the azoteas of surrounding houses. Under these circumstances he advised the withdrawal of the troops to a less exposed position and relinquished the command to Brigadier-General Hamer. Fragments of various regiments were under cover of the Teneria and buildings near it, and the batteries of Bragg and Ridgely were placed in it, but an incessant fire was kept up against them from the Rincon-del-Diablo, from other works on its right, and from the citadel, on all approaches to it. General Twiggs, although quite unwell, joined at this time and caused the captured artillery, served by Ridgely, to be brought to bear against No. 3 until Captain Webster came up with the 24-pound howitzer.

In the meantime General Taylor directed all the men that could be collected of the First, Third and Fourth Infantry and the Baltimore Battalion to enter the town, penetrate to the right and capture the Rincon-del-Diablo if possible. This command, under Lieutenant-Colonel Garland, advanced to the right several hundred yards beyond the Purisima^(P) Bridge, and finding it impossible to gain the rear of No. 3, a portion of it remained under a terrible fire for some time in their advanced position, but failing to make any permanent impression at that point the command, including Ridgely's battery which had joined it, was withdrawn to No. 2. Garland's command, in this move, after forcing several barricades in streets raked by artillery in the *tete-de-pont* of the Purisima, found themselves under musketry fire, the hostile infantry being on house-tops, behind garden walls and terraces, or stationed along the parapet of the *tete-de-pont* and along a low wall extending on the southern bank of the rivulet. The men in some confusion, commands being mingled, passed beyond, not over, the Purisima Bridge, and

entered yards of houses on the street next the stream, driving the Mexicans from adjacent buildings. With such spirit, intermingled and broken as they were, did they contend that the Battalion of Aguas Calientes was sent by Ampudia to reinforce his line at this point. Ridgely used a section of his battery, but his fire was not effective against heavier guns in position.

In this struggle, under marked disadvantages to the Americans, much courage was shown, and many valuable officers and men of unquestioned courage and some of a high order of ability were killed or wounded. Of the number Major Lear, commanding the Third Infantry, Capt. L. M. Morris succeeding to the command of the regiment, and Second Lieut. Robert Hazlitt, while endeavoring to place his commanding officer under shelter, were mortally wounded; Second Lieut. G. P. Field, Brevet Maj. P. N. Barbour, First Lieut. and Adjt. D. S. Irwin, all of the Third, killed; Capt. Henry Bainbridge, of the Third, slightly wounded. In the Fourth Infantry Lieut. Charles Hoskins, adjutant, was killed, an officer deeply regretted by his regiment, as well as by those of other commands who knew him; Bvt. First Lieut. James S. Woods, Second Infantry, serving with the Fourth, killed. It was after such losses and the impracticability demonstrated of getting in rear of No. 3 that Garland's command retired upon No. 2.

While Garland was engaged near the Purisima Bridge the Mexican cavalry (M. C.), the Third and Seventh Regiments, commanded by General Garcia Conde, were seen approaching from the direction of the citadel. Bragg galloped with his battery (B'b) to a suitable position, and after several discharges the enemy was brought to a halt. Capt. Albert S. Miller's company, First Infantry, was actively employed in driving the enemy from hedges and stone fences near No. 2, and having succeeded with considerable loss, he then took command of what remained of Companies C, E, and G of his regiment, and accompanied by Lieut. Schuyler Hamilton as adjutant, Major Abercrombie and Adjt. John C. Terrett being both wounded, moved to aid ^(C E G) and support Bragg in repelling the threatened attack of lancers. After a few discharges from Bragg's guns and the appearance of the infantry they

fell back. These companies of the First Infantry subsequently operated with Hamer's brigade in the suburbs of the town until near night.

* The Mexican lancers had previously charged upon the Ohio and a part of the Mississippi Rifles at a distance from the edge of the town, near some fields, but were repulsed with considerable loss. A display of cavalry^(M. C.) made on the opposite side of the river was driven off by Ridgely's battery,^(R. B.) and retired into the city. At dusk all the troops engaged returned to camp, except Ridgely's battery and the regular infantry of 'Twiggs' division, which remained as a guard for No. 2 during the night, Garland being in command. A battalion of the First Kentucky reinforced this command, intrenching tools were brought up and the works strengthened during the night under the direction of Lieut. J. M. Scarritt, of the engineers.

When the volunteers moved forward they were under a heavy artillery fire, and one shot from the citadel killed nine Tennesseans. Quitman inclined further to the left than the troops preceding him, and, coming within musket range, formed line; the Mississippians on the right and confronting No. 2, the Tennesseans on the left, the advance preceded by four companies of the Fourth Infantry, who were terribly cut up by the first fire. When in close range there was a halt for a few minutes. The two regiments opened fire, and soon charging at full speed carried the work with a rush, not halting until a large house in rear was captured and a portion of the enemy chased across a small stream in rear and others back into the Rincon-del-Diablo.⁽³⁾ In this spirited charge Lieut.-Col. A. K. McClung, of the Mississippi Rifles, was severely wounded and the horse of General Quitman was killed.

The main object proposed in the movement was effected. A powerful diversion had been made to favor the operations of Worth's command on the Saltillo road. One of the advanced works of the enemy had been carried, and Taylor's forces had secured a strong foothold in the town. The order to Colonel Garland was to "make a strong demonstration and to carry one of the enemy's advance works if it could be done without too heavy a loss." General Taylor soon gave per-

sonal direction to this demonstration. The most advanced work just at the outer edge of the city had been taken with its five guns and thirty prisoners, three being officers. This outer work, abandoned at one time by the Mexicans and partly destroyed, and then restored and reoccupied the night before the attack, had been captured with the loss to the regular army in officers, as above stated, and of volunteers Lieutenant-Colonel Watson, Baltimore and Washington battalion; Capt. William B. Allen and Lieut. Silas M. Putnam, First Tennessee, Lieut. Matthew Hett, First Ohio, killed. The mortally wounded, regulars and volunteers, were Maj. W. W. Lear, Third Infantry, and Lieut. Richard Hill Graham, Fourth Infantry. The slightly and seriously wounded were General Butler, Major Abercrombie, Major Mansfield, Captain La Motte, Lieutenant-Colonel McClung, Mississippi Rifles; Colonel Mitchell, First Ohio, and his adjutant, Lieut. A. W. Armstrong. Total killed and wounded, 394.

On the Mexican side General Mejia was charged with the defense of the part of the line attacked by 'Twiggs' and Butler's commands, extending from the 'Teneria, No. 2, to the Purisima Bridge.^(P) Describing the struggle at these advance points on this part of their lines, the Mexicans say: "There broke forth to the northeast a vivid flash of musketry and artillery on the points of the line of General Mejia. A rude, sustained and desperate shock took place in the redoubt of the Teneria, whose limited garrison, with only four guns, was multiplied by their glowing heroism. The attacks were renewed. The impulse of the invaders was vehement. The general-in-chief sent the Third Light to reinforce us. The enemy came up close to the work; we now had not one cartridge for the cannon. An assault was evident; our reinforcements had come; an order was sent to the lieutenant-colonel of the Third Light to sally forth and charge the enemy. This order, it is reported, was cheered by the troops, but it was not obeyed. The lieutenant-colonel instead of obeying the order rushed out through the gorge of the work, plunged into the river and fled, followed by cries of scorn and indignation. It was the desertion of this officer that led to the capture of the Teneria. The little garrison, with the exception of thirty men, retreated to the Rincon-del-

Diablo,⁽³⁾ Devil's Corner, within musket range of the Teneria, and there fought courageously, as Taylor's troops can bear witness." Distinguished among the Mexican officers on this part of their line, and referred to in terms of highest praise, were Lieut.-Col. D. Calisto Bravo and Captain Arenal, of the artillery.

The stubborn contest was revived at the bridge of the Purisima,* under the immediate presence of General Mejia; it was, to use their own language, "tenaciously prolonged with great carnage," and as shown by our official reports, so well had the Mexican engineer officers planned their system of defensive works, that General Taylor's troops were subjected to direct and flank fires both of artillery and musketry as they advanced, and at the Purisima were arrested and forced to retire with the loss of valuable officers and men.

[During the battle of Monterey, as in other rencounters between the invading and defending forces, the Mexican women were by no means idle spectators, but like the heroines of ancient Greece and Rome and modern Spain and France, aided and encouraged their compatriots, and on occasions when fathers, husbands, and lovers fell, took their places, manned the guns and wielded lance and sabre. One young girl, rich, beautiful, and of distinguished lineage, Señorita Zozaya, compared by native authors to the beautiful deities of pagan mythology, took an active part, now on the *azoteas*, now at the batteries, everywhere encouraging and aiding the soldiers, and like the maid of Zaragossa, proving herself aid, avenger, consoler.]

As already stated, General Worth reached the Saltillo road with but slight opposition, and to favor movements made by him, regarded as important, the demonstration above described was made. The first of the works approached by Worth was the Loma de Federacion; the second, El Soldado, they being about 600 yards apart.

At 12 m. a force was detached under Capt. C. F. Smith, Second Artillery, with orders to assault the nearest work,

* Immediately at the bridge of Purisima were 3,000 soldiers of Aguas Calientes and Queretaro, commanded by Lieutenant-Colonel Ferro, and commander of Battalion D. Jose Maria Herrera; D. Patricio Gutierrez commanded the artillery.



PERSIFOR F. SMITH,

BRIGADIER GENERAL, U. S. A.

BORN IN PENNSYLVANIA.---APPOINTED FROM LOUISIANA.

Federacion, and this having succumbed, to storm Soldado; these being carried, there would yet remain the Loma de Independencia to be taken. Smith's command was composed of four companies, two of the Third Artillery and two of the Fourth Artillery, and Green's, McCown's, Gillaspie's, Chandler's, Balowe's, and McCulloch's companies of Texas Riflemen under Maj. Michael H. Chevallie acting in co-operation, in all about 300 effective men. On approaching the base of the mountain, the guns of both batteries opened a plunging fire, and numerous light troops were seen descending and arranging themselves at favorable points on the slopes.

Perceiving these indications of determined resistance, Captain Miles, Seventh Infantry, was detached with that regiment to support the First Infantry, and in a short time the fire became general, the enemy gradually yielding and retiring up the rugged declivity, and our men as steadily pursuing. The appearance of heavy Mexican reinforcements on the summit, and the importance of the operations, induced General Worth to order forward the Fifth Infantry under Maj. Martin Scott, and Blanchard's company of volunteers, accompanied by Brigadier-General Smith, who was instructed to take command in that quarter. On reaching the advance parties General Smith discovered that, under favor of the ground, he could by directing a portion of the force to the right and moving it obliquely up the hill carry Soldado, simultaneously with the Federacion. He accordingly very judiciously moved and accompanied the Fifth and Seventh Regiments and Blanchard's company in that direction.

Capt. C. F. Smith's command having most gallantly carried the first position, Federacion, promptly turned the captured gun (a 9-pounder) upon the second, and moved on with his main body to participate in the assault upon Soldado, which was carried in gallant style by the forces under Scott, Miles, Blanchard, and Hays. The latter had been detached on special service, but returned in time to share with fifty of his men in the first assault, and to take a prominent part in the second, the whole directed by Gen. Persifor Smith. At this point another 9-pounder was secured, and immediately both pieces were brought to bear upon the Bishop's Palace,

midway the southern slope of the hill Independencia and north of the Saltillo road, a valley of about 600 yards in width intervening. A violent rain setting in, and night approaching, operations were suspended; the men had been thirty-six hours without food and actively engaged, and such rest as could be had in a rainy night, without cover was sought until 3 a. m. of the 22d.

The operations of Worth against both positions were successful and with but little loss, the only officer killed being Captain McKavett, Eighth Infantry. The heights had been imperfectly fortified and the works had but one gun each. Experience shows that heights are generally carried without entailing heavy losses.

The Mexicans devote but little space in their history to the capture of these positions, saying: "The Americans, masters of the Saltillo road, now launched rapidly upon the feeble detachments situated on the hills fronting the Obispado. They gained two pieces and waved their victorious flag over the small fort of the Federacion."

Offensive movements by Worth began at 3 a. m. of the 22d under Brevet-Colonel Childs, First Artillery, in command of three artillery companies—two of the Fourth and one of the Third—and three companies of the Eighth Infantry under Captain R. B. Screven, with 200 Texas riflemen under Colonel Hays and Lieut.-Col. S. H. Walker (captain subsequently of Mounted Rifles), conducted to the point of attack by Capt. John Sanders, of the engineers, and Lieut. George G. Meade, Topographical Engineers. Under cover of the night, this command by daybreak arrived within about 100 yards of the crest, where, among clefts of rocks, the enemy was encountered, but retreated, delivering a weak fire, which was not returned until Colonels Childs and Hays had ascended to within a few yards of the summit. A well-delivered and destructive fire, followed by the bayonet of the regulars and the rush of the Texans, gave Childs possession of the work, the cannon having been previously withdrawn.

No impression could be made upon the massive walls of the palace or its outworks without artillery. Lieut. John F. Roland, of Duncan's battery, was ordered from the main camp with a 12-pound howitzer, and in two hours, aided by

fifty men of the Line, under Captain Sanders, of the engineers, that enterprising officer had his guns in position, having ascended a rugged and steep acclivity between 700 and 800 feet. A fire was immediately opened from the howitzer upon the palace and its outworks, 400 yards distant, and soon produced a visible sensation. Meanwhile, to reinforce the position, the Fifth Infantry, Maj. Martin Scott, and Blanchard's company of volunteers had been passed from the first heights, Federacion, and reached the second in time to participate in the operations against the Bishop's Palace.

Upon this point, the capture of the Bishop's Palace, General Worth states: "Lieutenant-Colonel Childs had advanced under cover two companies of light troops, commanded by Capt. John R. Vinton, acting major, and had judiciously drawn up the main body of his command, flanked on the right by Hays' and on the left by Walker's Texans. The enemy advanced boldly; was repulsed by one general discharge of all arms; fled in confusion, closely pressed by Childs and Hays, preceded by the light troops of Vinton, and while they fled past our troops entered the palace and fort. The captured guns, one 6-inch howitzer, one 12 and two 9-pounders, brass guns, together with Duncan's and Mackall's field batteries which came up at a gallop, were in full and active play upon the retiring and confused masses that filled the streets (of which we had the prolongation) leading to the nearest plaza, also crowded with troops. At this moment the enemy's loss was heavy. The investment was now complete."

The Mexican account of this affair is as follows: "The Americans at dawn of the 22d reached the west peak of the highest mountain of the Obispado, surprising seventy men of the Fourth Light, who defended it against the predictions and assurances of General Garcia Conde, who had insisted it was inaccessible. The enemy brought up artillery and opened fire from this point and that of the Federacion upon the work of the Obispado, which Lieut.-Col. D. Francisco Berra defended with 200 men and three pieces. The commander sent some guerrillas to proceed beyond the works and check the enemy. * * * Our guerrillas finally repelled the enemy, aided by a small reinforcement of fifty cavalymen,

whom General Torrejon commanded. The Americans with intrepidity detached three columns upon the disputed work and charged with confidence, while ours, overpowered by numbers, fell back in disorder."

In continuation the Mexicans say : " It was 4 o'clock in the afternoon when the Americans, in high spirits, approached the work (Bishop's Palace). The soldiers (Mexicans) in their hurry, full of fright, descended and penetrated to the interior of the place, spreading terror, when a tardy reinforcement, the Battalion of Sappers and the First of the Line, was sent to the Obispado. Our communication with Saltillo remained then absolutely cut off."

With Twiggs' division in the lower part of the city, the 22d passed without active operations. Guns from the citadel, as well as from other Mexican works, fired during the day at parties exposed within range and at the works occupied by the United States forces. The guard left in the Teneria the night of the 21st, except Ridgely's battery, was relieved at mid-day by Quitman's brigade. Bragg's battery was placed under cover in front to repel any demonstration of cavalry in that quarter.

The brigade of Quitman, as it moved to the front to take post in the Teneria, was exposed to a severe fire of artillery for a short distance from works still in possession of the enemy on that side of the city, and also to a flank and rear fire from the citadel. Quitman planned an assault of the works confronting him, but when his attention was called to a body of 1,500 Mexicans in line in front, his own force being but little over half of that, he did not risk it. During the night of the 22d he sent out scouts to approach as near the Mexican works as possible, but at break of day it was discovered that the enemy had evacuated El Diablo, which was soon after occupied by a portion of the Mississippi Rifles, under Colonel Davis, and a part of the Tennessee Regiment, under Lieutenant-Colonel Anderson.

Another Mexican⁴ work, called in Quitman's report a half moon, a triangular redoubt, was to his right and front and connected with heavy stone buildings and walls. He asked and received permission to advance and attack it. A lieutenant with a small party led off, reinforced by one com-

pany, followed soon by Colonel Davis with two companies of his own and two from the Tennessee regiment. This work had also been abandoned, but was found to be exposed to fire from walls, as well as from heavy stone buildings in rear. The men were posted with a view to protection, and further orders awaited. All attempts to reconnoitre attracted the fire of infantry from house tops or from walls that had been loopholed. Reinforcements were sent Quitman, and a brisk fire began on both sides, the most annoying coming from the roof of a large house on the left. The action soon became lively and general, all of Quitman's brigade, except a detachment left in Teneria, taking part. The fighting consisted in entering houses by digging through the walls, then mounting to the roofs and opening fire. The enemy was made to yield gradually, and after an hour's contest a detachment of Texans, under General Henderson, joined Quitman. Buildings and streets were successively occupied without much loss. In five hours the troops had penetrated to within a square of the grand plaza. Ammunition being nearly exhausted, active operations were suspended until the effect of the artillery brought to the front could be determined. The defensive works of the enemy near the plaza being such as to resist effectually the fire of our light guns, the men were ordered to retire slowly to the work,³ which had been abandoned by the Mexicans during the night.

In reference to the withdrawal of the Mexicans to their interior line the night of the 22d their historians say: "Our communications with Saltillo being cut, a silent fear preceding defeat was the result. This feeling, with few exceptions, pervaded the officers. Ampudia himself was affected. This apprehension increased. Finally an order was given to withdraw to the interior line, abandoning all the more advanced works east and west, preserving only a few to the south, on the bank of the river, at seventy yards from the plaza. The withdrawal was executed at 11 o'clock at night in the midst of a noisy confusion, arising from the troops refusing to abandon their positions without fighting. Grumbling and discontent were openly shown, military *morale* suffering from it in a manner beyond description. One hundred and fifty men remained in advance on the west and in the approaches to the

Obispado and five hundred garrisoned the citadel under Colonel Uruga."

General Worth during the night of the 22d had made preparations for assaulting the city the next morning. In his official report he says: "About 10 a. m. on the 23d a heavy fire was heard in the opposite quarter. Its magnitude and continuance, as well as other circumstances, did not permit a doubt that the General was conducting a main attack, and that his orders for my co-operation having to travel a circuit of six miles, had miscarried or failed to reach me by means of the numerous cavalry of the enemy. Under these convictions the troops were instantly ordered to commence operations which, if not otherwise directed, I had designed to execute in part under favor of the night.

"Two columns of attack were organized to move along the two principal streets leading from our position in direction of the grand plaza, composed of light troops slightly extended, with orders to mask the move whenever practicable, avoid those points swept by the enemy's artillery, press on to the first plaza, San Antonio, get hold of the ends of the streets beyond, enter the buildings, and by means of picks and bars break through the longitudinal section of the walls, work from house to house and ascending to the roofs to place themselves upon the same breast height with the enemy.

"Light artillery by sections and pieces under Duncan, Roland, Mackall, Martin, Hays, and Curd followed at suitable intervals, covered by reserves to guard the pieces and the whole operation against the probable enterprise of cavalry upon our left. This was effectually done by seizing and commanding the head of every cross-street. Streets were at different and well chosen points barricaded by heavy masonry walls, with embrasures for one or more guns, and in every instance well supported by cross-batteries.

"These arrangements of defense gave to our operations a complicated character, demanding much care and precaution, but the work went steadily on, simultaneously and successfully. About the time our assault commenced the fire ceased from our force in the opposite quarter. Disengaged on the one side, the enemy was enabled to shift men and guns to our quarter, as was soon manifested by accumulation of fire. At



CAPTURE OF MONTEREY.

SEPTEMBER 21ST. 1846.

dark we had worked through the walls and squares and reached to within one block of the Grand Plaza, leaving a covered way in our rear; carried a large building, which towered over the principal defenses, and during the night and ensuing morning crowned the roof with two howitzers and a 6-pounder. All things were now ready to renew the assault at dawn, when a flag was sent in asking a momentary suspension of fire, which led to the capitulation upon terms so honorable to our arms.

“As the columns of attack were moving from the Bishop’s Palace, Major Munroe, chief of the artillery, arrived with a 10-inch mortar, which was immediately advanced to the Plaza de Capilla, put in position, masked by the church wall, its bed adjusted as rapidly as possible, and by sunset opened upon the Grand Plaza. At this period our troops had worked to within one square of the Plaza. The exact position of our comrades on the opposite side was not known, and the distance to be assailed from the bomb battery but conjectural; 800 yards was assumed, and fuse and charge regulated accordingly. The first shell fell a little short of the point on which it was directed, and beside our troops. A slight increase of the projecting charge gave exact results.”

In reference to the operations of the 23d, the Mexicans say: “Early in the morning of the 23d it was supposed that the enemy’s force, situated in the mountain of the Obispado, had been considerably reinforced with infantry and artillery, occupying the Quinta-de-Arista, Campo Santo and other contiguous positions. At the points we abandoned in the night, in the midst of frightful disorder, soldiers might be seen still remaining, through carelessness or laziness, drunk, discharging their pieces in the air, committing excesses, and giving a clear idea of the want of concert which prevailed. We labored with eager anxiety on the works undertaken, topping roofs of houses with sand bags and loop-holed those bearing upon the approaches to the central part of the city. By 11 a. m. the enemy had reached with his musketry to within a short distance of the main Plaza.” They represented the attack as ceasing at 1:30 p. m. to be renewed at 5:30 with great violence, and only ceasing near dark.

At 3 a. m. on the 24th General Ampudia addressed the following communication to General Taylor :

HEADQUARTERS, MONTEREY,
SEPTEMBER 23, 1846—9 o'clock p. m.

GENERAL: As I have made all the defense of which I believe this city capable, I have fulfilled my obligation, and done all required by that military honor which to a certain degree is common to all armies of the civilized world, and as a continuance of the defense would only bring upon the population distresses to which they have already been sufficiently subjected by the evils consequent upon war, and believing that the American Government will appreciate these sentiments, I propose to Your Excellency to evacuate the city and citadel, taking with me the personnel and material of war which is left, and under the assurance that no prosecution shall be undertaken against the citizens who have participated in the defense. Be pleased to accept the assurance of my most distinguished consideration.

PEDRO DE AMPUDIA.

Senor DON Z. TAYLOR,
General-in-Chief of the American Army.

To which General Taylor replied as follows :

HEADQUARTERS ARMY OF OCCUPATION,
CAMP BEFORE MONTEREY, *September 24, 1846—7 a. m.*

Your communication bearing date 9 o'clock p. m. of the 23d has just been received by the hands of Colonel Moreno. In answer to your proposition to evacuate the city and fort with all the personnel and material of war, I have to state that my duty compels me to decline acceding to it. A complete surrender of the town and garrison, the latter as prisoners of war, is now demanded. But such surrender will be upon terms ; and the gallant defense of the place, creditable alike to the Mexican troops and nation, will prompt me to make those terms as liberal as possible. The garrison will be allowed, at your option, after laying down its arms, to retire to the interior, on condition of not serving again during the war, or until regularly exchanged. I need hardly say that the rights of non-combatants will be respected. An answer to this communication is required by 12 m. If you assent to an accommodation, an officer will be despatched at once under instructions to arrange conditions.

I am, sir, respectfully, your obedient servant,

Z. TAYLOR,
Major-General U. S. A. Commanding.

Senor DON PEDRO AMPUDIA,
General-in-Chief, Monterey.

It was arranged at the interview between General Taylor and Colonel Moreno that there should be a cessation of fire until 12 o'clock, at which hour the former would receive the answer of the Mexican General at General Worth's headquarters, to which he soon repaired. "In the meantime," says General Taylor, "Ampudia had signified to General Worth his desire for a personal interview with me, to which I acceded, and which finally resulted in a capitulation, placing the town and material of war, with certain exceptions, in our possession." The terms were, briefly, the Mexican army to retire, the infantry and cavalry carrying their arms and accoutrements, but the artillery to retain one field battery, not to exceed six pieces, with twenty-four rounds of ammunition. The Mexican flag, when struck at the citadel, to be saluted by its own battery.

In addition, it was agreed that the Mexican armed forces should retire within seven days from date beyond the line formed by the Pass of the Rinconado, the city of Linares, and San Fernando de Presas, and that the forces of the United States were not to advance beyond this specified line before the expiration of eight weeks, or until the orders or instructions of the respective Governments be received. It was further agreed that all doubts as to the meaning of any of the preceding articles should be determined by an equitable construction and on principles of liberality to the retiring army.

Upon occupying the city it was found to be of great strength in itself, with approaches carefully and strongly fortified. The town and works were armed with forty-two pieces of cannon, well supplied with ammunition and manned with a force of at least 7,000 troops of the Line and from 2,000 to 3,000 irregulars. The force under General Taylor before Monterey, as shown by the returns, was 425 officers and 6,225 men; aggregate, 6,650. The artillery consisted of one 10-inch mortar, two 24-pound howitzers, and four light field batteries of four guns each, the mortar being the only piece suited to the operations of a siege.

His loss was 12 officers and 108 men killed, 31 officers and 337 men wounded; aggregate, 488. The loss of the enemy is not accurately known, but it is believed to have been heavy. Major Lear, of the Third Infantry, Captain Williams,

Topographical Engineers, and Lieutenants Graham, of the Fourth and Terrett of the First Infantry, and many soldiers died of their wounds soon after the battle. The proportion of killed to wounded was unusually large.

Upon the subject of the capitulation, under date of September 25th, General Taylor wrote to the War Department as follows: "It will be seen that the terms granted the Mexican garrison are less rigorous than those first imposed. The gallant defense of the town, and the fact of a recent change of Government in Mexico, believed to be favorable to peace, induced me to concur with the commission in these terms, which will, I trust, receive the approval of the Government. The latter consideration also prompted the convention for a temporary cessation of hostilities. Though scarcely warranted by my instructions, yet the change of affairs since those instructions were issued seemed to justify this course."

Monterey was not invested by General Taylor's army; there remained two roads yet open to the enemy by which he could retire. Had it been the purpose of the Government to order General Taylor to move at once upon San Luis Potosi he could not have made the needful preparations within the specified time—eight weeks' suspension of active operations—and the difficulties attending said movement, even with ample transportation, were such as would hardly have warranted the attempt.

PART SECOND.

MY JOURNEY TO MONTEREY.

The Battle of Monterey had been fought just one month when I joined the Fourth Infantry, October 23, 1846, as a brevet second lieutenant. That regiment at the time was encamped near Walnut Springs, three miles north of Monterey. I had given myself ample time, as was supposed, to join it by September 30th, the expiration of my leave of absence.

Arriving at Memphis, I descended the Mississippi River by boat to New Orleans, was detained there several days waiting for a steamer for Brazos Santiago, and sailed from New Orleans on the steamer Sea, Captain Deshon. Among the half-dozen passengers on board were Lieut. William M. Gardner,

of Georgia, a West Point classmate, like myself, under orders to join his regiment in Mexico, and Maj. Alfred H. Colquitt, of Georgia, a newly-appointed paymaster, *en route* to report to General Taylor. The first mentioned was subsequently severely wounded in the battle of Churubusco, and again in the "late war" in the battle of the First Bull Run, where he was a field officer of a Confederate Georgia regiment. The latter served on the staff of General Taylor at Beuna Vista, was a Confederate brigadier general, Governor of his native State, Georgia, and is at present a distinguished United States Senator.

We were fortunately favored with good weather and had an unruffled sea. We ran close in along Galveston Island; no houses were seen where the present pretty city of that name now stands. The coast was low, level, monotonous and uninteresting to the eye. Entered Matagorda Bay through the Paso de Cavallo and ran up to Port La Vaca, the base from which Wool's column marched for the invasion of New Mexico, and on landing found a train of wagons being loaded for San Antonio. Capt. James R. Irwin, assistant quartermaster, in charge of the depot at this point, was a graduate of the Military Academy, had been adjutant of his regiment, the First Artillery, and brevetted captain for the action at Fort Drane, Florida, August 21, 1836. He was chief quartermaster of the army commanded by General Scott, and was distinguished in the battle of Chapultepec and for the energy and ability displayed in the management of his department. Assistant Surgeon W. L. Wharton was sick at La Vaca and never recovered, dying October 4, 1846. There were several newly-made houses at this place, but none where the present town of Indianola stands.

The steamer next passed into Corpus Christi Bay through Aransas Pass and landed against the wharf at St. Joseph's Island, several hundred yards inside the Pass. On St. Joseph's Island was a general hospital in which were a few sick, still some of the Palo Alto and Resaca wounded. Several one-legged soldiers were seen hobbling about with crutches. Early in the morning I left the boat, strolled along the beach, strewn with beautiful shells of every color, size and form. Since the army under General Taylor encamped

at Corpus Christi the newspapers had been filled with letters describing the wild country, its advantages and drawbacks, pleasures and annoyances ; among the latter being the scorpions and tarantulas, frequently seen in the officers' tents, reinforced by centipeds, alacrans and an occasional rattlesnake, all even more abundant on the Rio Grande.

When near camp we encountered some creatures that we mistook for tarantulas, with shell backs, circular and slightly convex, bodies an inch from the ground, supported by numberless legs, enabling them to move backward or forward, right or left, and on their backs two vertical cylindrical stems an inch high, on the ends of which were their eyes. We moved back, they ran forward, we jumped on a large box, and a soldier near came up and asked, saluting us : " What is the trouble ? " " Tarantulas," we said. " Where ? " " There ! " pointing to the friendly little beasts. He smiled and said : " The lieutenants need have no fear ; those are only fiddlers and perfectly harmless." Lieutenant Gardner and I walked several miles on the beach and returned over the prairie, seeing any number of deer, but not a tree or bush of any kind.

Steaming south along the coast the following morning, the captain, it being cloudy, ordered the lead to be thrown, and when a sailor had used it several times I asked if we were in shallow water. " No," he replied, " but we can make no observations, and I sound to determine how far we are from the shore." The depth of water, a fact mentioned by Humboldt, varies in a regular manner, increasing in a certain ratio, and the depth gives the distance from land.

At Brazos sailing vessels were anchored outside and some within the bar unloading, the freight being then taken on steamers to the mouth of the Rio Grande, nine miles south, and over the bar to be landed on shore, then to be reshipped on river boats to Matamoros and Camargo. At Brazos, lying on the sand and exposed to the sun, we saw a number of sick, one of whom was a West Point classmate, all terribly emaciated and unfit for duty. They were to be taken on board the steamer Sea to New Orleans. Walked from the Brazos to the mouth of the Rio Grande ; found there a large wagon train being loaded with subsistence stores, also a river

steamer, on which we took passage for Camargo, and arrived at Matamoros the following morning. Here, the first Mexican town seen, we found the stores open and the citizens, mostly Mexicans, moving about attending to their business as though there was no war. We were two days making the trip to Camargo, and on our arrival heard that a severe battle had been fought at Monterey, that Taylor had been successful, though no details were known.

Maj.-Gen. Robert Patterson, in command on the Rio Grande, had his headquarters at Camargo, and near it were encamped the volunteer brigades of Brigadier-Generals Pillow and Marshall; Lieutenant Kane, Second Dragoons, was the civil and military Governor of the town. Major McCall was on duty with General Patterson as adjutant-general, and at this point were stationed various officers of the general staff, it being the base from which all reinforcements and supplies for Taylor's army were forwarded.

The depot commissary at Camargo was Lieut. Forbes Britton, of the Seventh Infantry, a graduate of the Military Academy of the year 1834, and as well known and universally esteemed as any officer of the army of his rank. Of splendid physique, he had a wonderful capacity for work, and was inimitable as a raconteur.

The second day after our arrival at Camargo, the Hon. Baillie Peyton, of Tennessee, and Mr. George W. Kendall, editor of the New Orleans *Picayune*, arrived direct from Monterey; the former had served on the staff of General Taylor as volunteer aid-de-camp; the latter had marched from Santa Fe to the City of Mexico as prisoner, and in a book written after his return to the United States, gives an interesting account of his capture, his march to the Mexican capital and detention as prisoner in the Castle of Perote. From these gentlemen previous reports of the battle were confirmed, and further details given, proving it to have been a bloody affair, at least for one portion of the regular army, of which many officers were killed and wounded.

While detained at Camargo I saw what was reported at the time in the newspapers as General Pillow's fortifications, with the ditch on the inside. Being recently from West Point, with our minds full of what the text books prescribed in such

cases, I and my classmates were greatly amused, and one, Lieut. James Stuart, of South Carolina, mounted on a Texas mustang, and riding at a fast gallop, leaped both parapet and ditch. Probably General Pillow had nothing to do with their construction ; and that he should have been so credited, was due possibly to some active newspaper correspondent.

After a delay of two weeks at Camargo a command consisting of a detachment of recruits for the regular army, under Capt. E. K. Smith, Fifth Infantry, and Capt. Francis Taylor's battery, First Artillery, marched for Monterey October 13th, and after a short march of nine miles, bivouacked for the night near the Rio Grande. Most of the officers with the recruits were young graduates, and with the command was Paymaster Dashiell, having a large amount of funds for payment of the troops under General Taylor.

It was very dusty and hot at Camargo, and it was therefore a great relief to leave it and be on the road, *en route* for Monterey, 150 miles in the interior. The second day's march over a good road brought us to the town of Mier, twenty-five miles from Camargo, no houses being seen between these two towns. The latter was rather a pretty little place, famous in Texas history as the tragic scene of the capture and cruel treatment of the soldiers of the memorable Mier expedition. The next day the road was good and slightly ascending, and after a march of sixteen miles camp was reached early in the afternoon. Near by was a clear, running stream (Chicharon) and wood in abundance ; only one house seen, the Casa Blanca, several miles from the road on an eminence to the right and then unoccupied. The following day after a march of sixteen miles the command encamped at Punta Auguda, and after a like march we reached Cerralvo, half way between Camargo and Monterey.

This was a small though pretty place, Lombardy poplars shading the streets through which water flowed in a number of *acequias*, and was garrisoned by companies of Col. G. W. Morgan's regiment of Ohio volunteers under Lieut.-Col. William Irvin, a graduate of West Point. Five days more marching and the command arrived at Walnut Springs, having been ten days from Camargo, though the troops were in a better condition than when they began the march. This

was my first practical experience as a soldier ; there were no real discomforts, nor was I fatigued at any time during the 150 miles march. A portion of the recruits and young graduates were assigned to regiments encamped at this place ; the remainder continued on into Monterey, and joined regiments of Worth's division quartered there.

Walnut Springs are in a slight depression ; their waters rise to the surface in considerable volume, flow off rapidly in a shallow, narrow bed, and near them the headquarter tents of General Taylor were pitched. The Third and Fourth and four or five companies of the First Infantry, with Bragg's battery of the Third Artillery, were encamped within three or four hundred yards, while the Second Regiment of Dragoons was over a half mile, and the volunteer brigades of Quitman and Hamer a full mile below. The troops were in a healthy location, with an abundant supply of good water and wood, the Sierra Madre Mountains looming up grandly in front, at the base of which, stretched along the banks of the San Juan, was the city of Monterey.

The Fourth Infantry, to which I had been assigned, belonged to Garland's brigade of Twiggs' division, and was commanded at the time by Bvt.-Maj. William M. Graham, who entered the military academy in 1813, was twice wounded in the battle of Withlacooche, October 31, 1836, and for gallantry on that occasion brevetted major. Dr. Madison Mills, surgeon of the regiment, was appointed assistant surgeon in 1834 ; First Lieut. Granville O. Haller, appointed in 1839, was the commissary ; First Lieut. Charles Hoskins, a graduate of 1836, and the adjutant, had been killed September 21st in the battle of Monterey, and Second Lieut. John A. Richey, a graduate of 1845, was then acting adjutant, and Second Lieut. U. S. Grant, a graduate of 1843, was quartermaster. The regiment, together with the Third Infantry, with which it was brigaded, had lost heavily in the late battle.

Joining his regiment and being assigned to duty to take his place among those who are to be his companions and associates in the future, all of whom are his superiors in rank, is an interesting incident in the military life of the young graduate. Being well posted in the tactics of the three arms of service, he is at once competent and efficient in drilling en-

listed men, either as cavalry, artillery, or infantry, and in charge of details to construct batteries or field fortifications he directs with intelligence, due to his familiarity with the text books in use at the Academy. Subordination, deference, and respect for superior officers have been thoroughly inculcated during his four years' instruction and training at West Point, and to the usages of the service he readily adapts himself.

For mutual convenience in active campaigning, company officers form messes and the one I was invited to join had three. Besides myself were First Lieut. Sidney Smith, of Virginia, appointed in the army in 1839; Second Lieut. Jenks Beaman, of Vermont, a graduate of 1842, and Second Lieut. U. S. Grant, of Ohio, a graduate of 1843.

Among the senior officers of the Fourth Infantry at this time were Capt. and Bvt.-Major R. C. Buchanan, a graduate of 1830, captain in 1838, brevetted major for gallantry in the battle of Resaca, where he commanded a battalion of skirmishers, and brigadier-general of regulars in the civil war; Capt. and Bvt.-Maj. Charles H. Larnard, a graduate of 1831, captain in 1841, and brevetted major for gallantry in the battles of Palo Alto and Resaca de la Palma. He was an officer of studious habits, fine abilities, great general information, was intimately associated with Maj. William W. S. Bliss, the able, distinguished, and accomplished adjutant general on duty with General Taylor, and was unfortunately accidentally drowned in Puget's Sound, near Fort Madison, Washington Territory, March 27, 1854.

Bvt.-Col. John Garland, of the Fourth Infantry, and commanding the brigade, was appointed lieutenant in 1813, served with distinction in the Florida Seminole war under General Worth, was brevetted colonel for gallantry in the battles of Palo Alto and Resaca de la Palma.

The division commander, Brig.-Gen. David E. Twiggs, entered the army as captain of the Eighth Infantry in 1812, at the reorganization of the army was retained as captain of the Seventh, in 1825 made major of the First Infantry, lieutenant colonel of the Fourth in 1831, colonel of the Second Dragoons in 1836, and appointed brigadier-general June 30, 1846.

Maj. Gen. Zachary Taylor, commander of the Army of Occupation, entered the service May 3, 1808, as first lieutenant of the Seventh Infantry; made captain in November, 1810; brevetted major for gallant conduct in defense of Fort Harrison September 5, 1812; promoted to major of Twenty sixth Infantry 1814; commanded in an affair with the British and Indians near mouth of Rock River August 30, 1814; retained May, 1816, as major of the Third Infantry; lieutenant-colonel of the Eighth April, 1819; colonel of the First Infantry April 4, 1832, and commanded a brigade (under Brigadier General Atkinson) in the battle of Badaxe; transferred July, 1843, to the Sixth Infantry; brevetted brigadier general for distinguished services in the battle of Okeechobee with the Seminole Indians December 25, 1838, and in which he commanded; was promoted to major general June 29, 1846. These officers, whose military histories have been briefly sketched, were in my immediate vicinity on active duty in the field, and had been with the army while encamped at Corpus Christi.

I recall the interest with which I met officers who had been with their companies and regiments in active field service, and the marked attention I paid when in conversation they referred to incidents connected with the battles in which they had taken part. I esteemed it good fortune that Lieutenants Smith, Beaman, and Grant, with whom I was most intimately associated, had been with the army at Corpus Christi, on the march to the Rio Grande, and in the battles of Palo Alto, Resaca de la Palma, and Monterey—in the latter where the battle had been fiercest and most destructive to the Third and Fourth Infantry. There seemed to be an impression that the war would terminate with the battle of Monterey, and all who had seen field service, especially if they had been in battles, were regarded with high favor.

I remember a day or two after reporting for duty seeing a superb-looking horse, with arched neck and flowing mane, pass at a sweeping gallop; his rider, tall and of soldierly bearing, with long hair and beard, graceful and easy in his seat, reigned up and dismounted at the headquarters of General Taylor. This was Bvt. Lieut.-Col. Charles A. May, of the Second Dragoons, the hero of Resaca, and frequently seen at headquarters. Of the same regiment was Capt. L. P.

Graham, who had been in the charge on La Vega, and his guns at Resaca, and was frequently in our camp. Lieuts. W. H. Saunders, Phil MacDonald, Fowler Hamilton, Toney (John H.) Hill, and Dan Rogers, all of the same regiment, also often visited the Fourth Infantry. The first was clever and original, a writer of poetry and songs; the second (aid to General Twiggs) was a great favorite and a fluent writer—all boon companions—dashing cavalrymen, as reckless and peerless a set as ever flashed a sword; they all passed away, save Graham, while low in rank, to be remembered in their profession by only a few surviving comrades.

In the Third Infantry, encamped beside the Fourth, were Lieuts. Don Carlos Buell and George Sykes, the former just made adjutant in place of Lieut. Douglass S. Irwin, killed in the battle of Monterey; the latter, commissary. Buell was frequently seen on horseback, but whether mounted or on foot, the eye always followed him as he passed, attracted by his fine soldierly air and a natural and easy dignity of manner. Near the Third Infantry was Bragg's battery, and with it were George H. Thomas and John F. Reynolds. The tall, spare form of the first, his large black eyes and heavy brows, nervous, tremulous voice, attracted notice; and his industry, attention to duty, and strict regard for discipline, ensured the efficiency and gallantry subsequently exhibited with such splendor and success on the field of Buena Vista.

Of the officers whose names have been recalled, and who were at Walnut Springs when I joined, and others not mentioned, many became in subsequent years greatly distinguished, known and honored in our own country, and, in some instances, all over the civilized world; of the latter, the most remarkable career being that of a second lieutenant of infantry. This subaltern, in manners quiet, plain and unobtrusive, of good common sense, with no pretension to genius, or, as believed at that time, to a high order of talent, but much esteemed among his immediate associates for kindly disposition and many excellent qualities, eclipsed all contemporaries, rose to the highest grade in the army, commanding successfully more soldiers than any general of modern times, and attaining the highest position of general-in-chief, not through political influence, but, as claimed, for ability dis-



U. S. Grant
Bvt. 2^d Lt. 4th Infy.

played and victories won on well-contested fields, these giving an irresistible prestige to his name and fame. The hero of a series of triumphs culminating at Appomattox, and as distinguished for magnanimity to his opponents as for the skill and courage with which he had led his conquering troops, he was borne on the tide of popular favor from the camp to the White House and made chief of the nation he had served so ably and faithfully. Re-elected to a second term as President, and even advocated by many prominent citizens for a third term, he died mourned and regretted by the whole country, and as sincerely and deeply by those he had confronted on bloody battle-fields as by those he had led to victory.

A few days after my arrival at Walnut Springs I obtained permission to be absent from camp and visit Monterey. I walked, accompanied by Lieut. Sidney Smith, and followed the line of march of Twiggs' division and Butler's volunteers, to the point where the 10-inch mortar and the 24-pounders were placed in battery. The citadel or Black Fort, as called by the United States soldiers, was 1,200 yards off to the right, and, though not completed, gave evidence of having a competent engineer. The guns from this work had both a flank and reverse fire on the forces attacking the TENERIA, and if carried by assault would have entailed heavy loss. Though well located, it had been hastily constructed, as had also the TENERIA and Rincon.

We followed the line of advance of our troops from these forts to the Purisima Bridge, and thence to the grand plaza, where Ampudia's troops, pressed by Worth on one side and by Quitman on the other, made their final and desperate stand, and, recognizing the strength of a Mexican town fortified by engineers for defense, we could appreciate the difficulties and dangers confronting our troops in their gallant attack, undismayed by a constant artillery fire from secure cover, and were inspired with admiration for their courage and nerve. We passed through the suburbs of the town to the Saltillo road, and ascended the Loma de Independencia, a steep height to the right, up the rough surface of which Child's assaulting party, having taken position under cover of the night, climbed and fought. We visited and ex-

amined thoroughly the Obispado with its massive fortifications and complicated works, then went to the Loma de Federacion and from there back to Monterey, having had an object lesson materially enlightening us as to the struggle made by our soldiers.

The casualties in Garland's brigade were severe, and if the fruits of victory were great the price paid for them was dear. There was evidently much dissatisfaction at the way the battle had been fought in the northeastern part of the city, and harsh and unfavorable criticism, even the general-in-chief not escaping, was universal, all condemning the subjection of our troops to a cross-fire of artillery from invisible assailants. There was, however, unstinted praise of Worth, who, detached and free to plan his own movement, had conducted with consummate skill and rare good judgment the operations confided to him, carrying many fortified places by assault and fighting his way into the heart of the city with the trifling loss of two captains killed, less than a half dozen officers wounded. He was without doubt the favorite in the army at the time. He entered the army in 1813 as a lieutenant of infantry, served on the staff of Major General Lewis as aid-de-camp, also as aid to Brig.-Gen. Winfield Scott in 1814, brevetted captain for gallantry in the battle of Chippewa, July 5th, major, July 25th, for distinguished service in the battle of Niagara, in which he was severely wounded, served at the Military Academy from 1820 to 1828, most of the time as commandant of cadets, the duties of which position he discharged ably and faithfully; was appointed colonel of the Eighth Infantry in 1838, and brevetted brigadier general for distinguished service in the Florida war March, 1842.

Owing to difference of opinion between General Taylor and himself on the subject of brevet rank, and aggrieved, as he believed, by the action of his commanding officer, he tendered his resignation and returned to the United States, but his resignation was not accepted, and he rejoined the Army of Occupation, the battles of the 8th and 9th of May having been fought during his absence from the army. His course naturally occasioned some adverse criticisms, but, detached at Monterey, he at one bound recovered what may have been lost, and was at the time lauded by all with no unfavorable comments from any quarter.

As stated, the adverse criticisms upon the battle of Monterey made by officers and men included the commanding general, but with a full knowledge of the facts before us we do not see that General Taylor was at fault. Congress passed a resolution of thanks to General Taylor for courage displayed at Monterey, but attached to it a proviso censuring* him for the terms of capitulation. Riding in advance of his army, with the Texas troops under General Henderson, he came in full view of Monterey about noon of the 19th of September, and with but little delay took in the situation. The Texans were ordered back a short distance into the Santo Domingo woods, and reconnoitering parties were instantly despatched to examine, first, Monterey on the side of Saltillo, to determine if the road leading to that town, south of Monterey, could be cut and occupied, thus securing the main line of communication of the enemy. This party was under Major Mansfield, his senior engineer. The second party was ordered to examine Monterey and approaches to it from the north and east. The report made by Mansfield was favorable, and Worth was ordered to move on the 20th and cut the enemy's communication south. Worth's operations were to be the main or most important. The other move directed against the east and southern portion of the town was to aid Worth's, the true attack.

That General Taylor had reached the proper and correct conclusion, and that his orders and movements of troops were wise and opportune, well conceived and directed, no one can deny. He had shown himself equal to his high position in every respect; his orders were executed, and the city occupied by his army. That there were severe losses sustained by a portion of the troops engaged is true, but that could not be laid as a charge against him. It was not his duty, nor could it be expected of him, to lead in attacks. It may be that a portion of the operations in the northeastern section of the city could have been better conducted; had General Taylor had more and heavier artillery, six or eight 10-inch mortars, the place could have been taken with less loss, but his limited transportation rendered this impossible, and for this deficiency he should not be held responsible.

CHAPTER VII.

CALIFORNIA AND NEW MEXICO.—WOOL'S EXPEDITION.—COLONEL DONIPHAN'S MARCH TO CHIHUAHUA.—ACTIONS AT BRAZITO AND SACRAMENTO.—THE MARCH FROM EL PASO TO CHIHUAHUA.—A REVOLT IN NEW MEXICO.

Lieut. John C. Fremont, of the Topographical Engineers, made several exploring expeditions to the Western plains, crossing even the Rocky Mountains, which range had not been visited by any officer acting under orders of the Government, except Captain Bonneville, Seventh Infantry, since the time of Lewis and Clarke. He was brevetted captain as a reward for his explorations, which were published by authority of Congress. In the spring of 1845 he was charged with a third expedition, with the view of further explorations and discoveries. It was necessary both for protection against savage Indians and as a means of support that his party should be armed, the game found on the plains and in the mountains supplying it with food.

In January, 1846, he found himself 100 miles east of Monterey, in the San Joachim Valley, in which game was abundant. It was covered with the finest of grass, and as his animals were thin and required rest, he determined to encamp and recuperate both men and horses. Leaving his party, he proceeded to Monterey, and received from the commandant, Gen. D. Jose Castro, permission to remain in the valley during the winter.

It is represented that De Castro, having granted permission to Fremont to winter in California, and after the latter had rejoined his party, received orders from the Mexican Gov-

ernment not to allow him to enter the province, and accordingly took steps to rouse the people against him. Fremont, it is also claimed, was informed of De Castro's conduct by Mr. Larkin, the American consul at Monterey, and when it became known a number of Americans (settlers in the valley) offered to join him; but, not wishing to compromise his Government, he declined their aid, marched his small party of sixty-two backwoodsmen to within thirty miles of Monterey, took a position on the Sierra Nevada, from which he had a fair prospect over much of the surrounding country, hoisted the American flag, and prepared for resistance. De Castro moved out towards Fremont's party, but did not attack them, and the latter, finding no probability of hostilities, started on his march for Oregon.

Fremont's presence in California, as well as his conduct, was reported by De Castro to the Mexican Government, and increased the excitement resulting from the annexation of Texas and the concentration of troops at Corpus Christi. Pursuing his march to Oregon, he was overtaken by Lieut. Archibald H. Gillespie, of the Marine Corps, who, in November, 1845, was ordered by the President and the Secretary of the Navy, Mr. Bancroft, to proceed to California by way of Vera Cruz, thence to the City of Mexico, and on by the shortest route to Mazatlan, to watch over the interests of the United States and counteract the influence of any foreign or European agents in that country with objects prejudicial to the United States. He bore the duplicate of a dispatch to the United States consul at Monterey, T. O. Larkin, esq., a packet for John C. Fremont, esq., and a letter of introduction to the latter from the Hon. James Buchanan, Secretary of State; the first he destroyed before landing at Vera Cruz, having previously committed it to memory. He had been informed that he would find Fremont in California on the Sacramento, and when joined he was to confer with and acquaint him fully with his instructions, it being important that they should act in concert, and great vigilance and activity were required.

A feverish state of excitement pervaded Mexico, and for his own security Gillespie passed himself off as a merchant, and, as already stated, destroyed the official dispatch to the consul at Monterey, the character of it being such as to have

compromised him should it have come into the hands of Mexican officials. He was delayed in the City of Mexico by the Paredes revolution in December, 1845, and being subsequently sent by Commodore Sloat to Monterey by way of the Sandwich Islands, arrived in California a month later than had been anticipated. He did not tarry in Monterey, but hastened to the Sacramento Valley in search of Fremont, and reached the last settlement (Lassin's), in the extreme north end of the valley, May 1st, to learn that Fremont had set out eight days before for Oregon.

Gillespie, knowing that Fremont must move slowly, determined to follow him, and, taking four men, besides himself and negro servant, pressed on May 2d to the north, against the advice of settlers, who warned him of the Indians being hostile; and about sunset May 9th Fremont was overtaken. Gillespie had made a long and enterprising overland trip, the latter portion of it in the midst of hostile Indians. The night after he joined Fremont, their camp was attacked, three men killed, one wounded; one Indian also killed.

He delivered the letter of introduction and the packet to Fremont and informed him of the instructions from the Government. Without loss of time they began the return march, not halting until they arrived at the settlement in the Sacramento Valley, May 24, 1846, where they found the sparse and scattered population much excited, fearing an outbreak of the Indians at any moment, and believing General De Castro to be instigating them to rise and burn their wheat crops. There was also much excitement among the Indians near Suter's Fort. Segumne, the chief, informed Captain Suter that General Castro had offered him a liberal reward if he would cause the Indians to burn the crops of the American immigrants, and had told him that he intended to drive them out of the country.

Fremont having rested two days at Lassin's, moved down the valley to Dutton's on Bear Creek. It soon became known at Suter's Fort that he had returned to California and was encamped in the upper end of the valley. Samuel Hensley, subsequently captain, had just returned to Suter's from San Francisco, remained there but a day, and continued on north to Fremont's camp. Upon arrival there he promptly apprised

him of the condition of affairs in California, of the designs of the leading citizens, and expressed the opinion that though an effort would be made to drive the Americans from the country, they would not abandon it without resistance. Settlers, old and young, men and women, sought Fremont, begging protection.

Hensley's arrival in Fremont's camp was followed by Neal's, direct from San Francisco by way of Sonoma, who represented the whole population of California as being greatly incensed against the Americans, that troops were being collected at Santa Clara, and that General Castro had passed into Sonoma for the purpose of organizing the Spaniards and Indians in one body against the immigrants and Fremont's party. The settlers made repeated appeals to Fremont on the ground that they were Americans. Hensley and Neal traversed the Sacramento Valley up and down, warning the settlers to organize and concert measures for a common defense. The camp of Fremont, who had moved down the valley to the Buttes, about sixty miles above Suter's, was proposed as the rendezvous. At Bear Creek, Fremont ordered Lieutenant Gillespie to proceed to San Francisco for supplies, as his men were in need both of provisions and clothing, and had only meat to eat, with neither salt nor bread. Gillespie started May 28th, arrived the following night at Suter's, left there June 1st, was in San Francisco on the 7th, and there learned that General Castro had gone to Sonoma to confer with Vallejos and procure horses with which to commence operations.

Captain Montgomery, of the sloop of war Portsmouth, furnished Gillespie with all the supplies that could be spared from his vessel and turned over a small sum of money to him for Fremont. Gillespie left Sausalita in the launch of the Portsmouth, commanded by Lieutenant B. F. Hunter, accompanied by Purser Watmough and Assistant Surgeon Duvall, who had volunteered to visit Fremont's camp, arrange his medicine chest, and render any assistance in his power. Gillespie returned to Suter's Landing June 12th at 12 p. m., and learning that Fremont was not there passed into the American fork, where Fremont arrived with part of his men on the 13th

and went into camp not far from Gillespie's party, near the Sacramento.

On June 16th Capt. Ezekiel Merritt arrived with a small escort, bringing General Vallejos, Colonel Vallejos, Colonel Prudon, and Mr. Jacob Leese prisoners. A party of forty settlers had surprised and captured Sonoma, and among the prisoners were the above, who were taken to Suter's Fort and there confined. On the 17th the stores brought by Gillespie were delivered to Fremont; the launch of the Portsmouth returned. There was much correspondence and many conferences between the settlers and Fremont, for the danger seemed imminent and a junction of forces was deemed prudent. In this manner what was styled the revolution commenced. The settlers claim they were driven to it in self-defense; they would probably, however, not have risen but for the expected aid and protection of Fremont, whose party was relatively strong, well armed and well disciplined. The name of Fremont, known to be an officer of the United States Army, gave confidence and served to unite the settlers. It was also known, both in camp and among the American immigrants, that Lieutenant Gillespie had brought from Washington orders to Captain Fremont, which, when received, caused him to face about and return to California, and they knew or believed he had authority for what he was doing.

Before Fremont halted June 13th near Suter's he had been joined by a few settlers; others, who had greater distances to travel, were known to be *en route* for his camp, and it being reported that a small party of Mexican soldiers were in the vicinity collecting horses for General Castro, he determined to act at once, and sent a small force to recover the horses, which they did, first dispersing the party in charge. Previous to this Captain Merritt had come into collision with the Californians.

Some days before Fremont sent out his small party, Hensley had been despatched to communicate with Dr. Marsh, an American resident on the south side of the bay of San Francisco, from whom he learned that Castro was gathering a large force and proclaiming his intentions to expel from the country the American settlers, including Fremont's party.

Hensley returned to Fremont's camp reporting Castro's intentions, and the same day information was received that a large force under Joachim de la Torre was crossing the bay to retake Sonoma, and that the little garrison of fourteen men and the citizens begged to be assisted. Fremont instantly started with all his own force and the settlers in his camp, arrived at Sonoma on the 25th at 2:30 a. m., and learned that the settlers, twenty-four in number, had had a collision the day before with seventy Californians under De la Torre, had defeated them and captured many horses. A settler had issued a proclamation setting forth the causes of the revolution, declaring California independent and free from Mexican authority, and a flag was displayed, a grizzly bear upon a white field, as the insignia of the new State.

Being informed that reinforcements under de Castro were crossing San Pablo, Fremont moved out immediately to San Raphael to meet them. No hostile force was at this place, but there was one on the point of San Pablo waiting an opportunity to cross, and it was ascertained that horses were to be sent to the point the following morning to mount eighty men, who would then be pushed forward for immediate action. Fremont had but 160 men. The Mexicans did not cross the straits. A letter was intercepted, addressed to General Castro, announcing the intention of attacking Sonoma the next morning, and urging him to send men to thier aid. Fremont returned promptly to Sonoma, leaving a few men to hold San Raphael; but the force that was to have attacked Sonoma became alarmed and retired precipitately to Sausalita, where it seized a launch and escaped over the bay, the northern side of which embracing the districts of Sonoma, Bodega, and Napa, was now free of armed Californians. All the section known as New Helvetia was considered as American territory, and the population represented to be content with the new state of affairs.

In the afternoon of July 4th Fremont returned to Sonoma where the anniversary of American independence was celebrated for the first time in California, and the national salute fired. On the 5th the people assembled and organized a battalion of four companies, in all 224 men. One company was left to hold Sonoma, and the other three (under Fremont)

marched in pursuit of Castro by way of the Sacramento Valley. Captain Hensley was sent with a small party to communicate with Dr. Marsh, and upon his arrival learned that war was raging between the United States and Mexico; that Commodore Sloat had arrived at Monterey and raised the American flag. Returning to rejoin Fremont with this intelligence, Hensley was advised that he, too, had been informed at Suter's Fort, July 10th, of the war, and had set out immediately to meet and confer with Commodore Sloat. Hensley joined Fremont at the mission of San Juan, near Monterey, where they arrived July 19th.

We have given a brief account of what transpired in California before Fremont knew that war had been declared between the United States and Mexico. It will be found to differ but little from the report (No. 75) made by General Cass, chairman of the Military Committee of the Senate, first session of the Thirtieth Congress. It is stated in this report that, in an interview between Commodore Sloat and Fremont on board the United States frigate Savannah at Monterey the latter part of July, 1846, Fremont informed the former that "he had acted on his own authority and not from orders of the Government."

It is seen from the deposition of Fremont, included in the report of the committee, that Lieutenant Gillespie brought him a letter of introduction from the Secretary of State, and also letters and papers from Senator Benton* and family. The Secretary's letter, Fremont says, was addressed to him in his private or citizen capacity, and, although importing nothing beyond the introduction, accredited the bearer to him as coming from the Secretary of State, and "in connection with the circumstances and place of its delivery indicated a purpose in sending it, which was intelligibly explained to him by the accompanying letter from Senator Benton and verbally by the bearer." Lieutenant Gillespie had been directed to find Fremont and to acquaint him with his (Gillespie's) instructions, which had for their object to ascertain the disposition of the California people, to conciliate their feelings in favor of the United States, and to find out, with de-

* Fremont was the son-in-law of Senator Benton.

sign to counteract them, the schemes of the British Government upon that country. These communications made and received caused Fremont to turn back and seek again the Sacramento Valley.

From the statement of Lieutenant Gillespie before the committee it is seen that he delivered his letter of introduction to Fremont and made known to him the wishes of the Government, which required of Fremont what he (Gillespie) had been instructed to do, viz, "to watch over the interests of the United States in California and to counteract the influence of any foreign or European agents who might be in that country with objects prejudicial to the United States."

Fremont's admission that he had acted on his own authority and not upon the orders of the Government, if accepted, would conflict somewhat with Gillespie's statement, who says he was ordered by both the President and Secretary of the Navy to seek Fremont, who would probably be found upon the Sacramento, and to confer with and make known to him his (Gillespie's) instructions, it being desirable they two should act in concert. Fremont, if Gillespie states correctly, must then have had orders, and great vigilance and activity, he was informed, were expected of both. Gillespie, when he overtook Fremont, made him acquainted with the wishes of the Government, and the latter began his return march to California promptly the next morning.

What were the interests to be guarded by these two officers, one of the Marine Corps, the other of the army, may be inferred from the questions asked by the committee. One that most of the witnesses were required to answer was "whether or not they knew or understood from a credible report that California authorities were granting or selling the national domain or the missions, and on what terms," and the answers were that certain missions, and at low rates, had been sold, and that a large grant of land had been made to an Irish Catholic priest, who was pledged to bring a considerable number of immigrants to occupy and cultivate these fertile lands. Several of the witnesses stated that efforts had been or were about to be made to place California under the protection of some foreign power, and England was believed to be that power.

The supposed design of seeking foreign protection for California rests, as far as the report of the committee shows, upon the statements of Capt. Samuel Hensley and Lieutenant Gillespie. The former says, being in San Francisco early in May, 1846, he met General Vallejos, a prominent and influential Californian, and understood from him that he had recently attended a convention composed of General Castro, himself, and five other Californians, at which the proposition had been made and debated to separate from Mexico and establish a government in California under the protection of some foreign power, believed by us to be England, but the General positively stated that though he was, the majority was not in favor of placing the country under the protection of the United States. General Vallejos was, of course, guarded in conversation on so dangerous a subject. The convention of seven delegates from different districts of California had not, as appears from Hensley's statement, advanced very far in the supposed scheme of foreign protection for California.

The letter of Lieutenant Gillespie says: "A Junta was to have assembled at Santa Barbara June 15th, the purpose of which was to ask foreign protection and to give an immense tract of land in the Valley of San Joachim for settling 10,000 Irishmen, all of which was defeated and broken up by the timely and prompt operations of the settlers under the directions of Fremont." The intention of the California authorities, as also that of the central government, to encourage immigration to the department by giving grants of land, appears to have been pretty well established, but not so the determination to have foreign protection. It was upon reports such as the above that the Government of the United States justified the operations of Fremont in California before it was known to him that there was war between the two countries. When the instructions given to Minister Slidell in the autumn of 1845 with reference to the purchase of California are considered, and that he was informed the further south of San Francisco he could secure the better, and that Gillespie was despatched about the same time with orders and instructions for Fremont, which, when delivered, made him leave Oregon at once and return to California, then his subsequent course of conduct, there seems to be little or no

cause to doubt that the Government had determined to take California from Mexico, and that this would have been accomplished had there been no war existing at the time.

Upon the arrival of Commodore Sloat at Monterey, the Mexican authorities believing Fremont and party to be a lawless band, addressed to him an official communication, as follows :

HEADQUARTERS, SAN JUAN DE BAPTISTA, *July 9, 1846.*

The undersigned, commanding-general of Upper California, has the honor to represent to the Senor Commander-in-Chief of the naval forces of the United States in the Pacific Ocean, now in Monterey, that a band of adventurers headed by J. C. Fremont, a captian in the United States Army, forcibly took possession of the port of Sonoma, hoisting an unknown flag, making prisoners of the chiefs and officers there, and committing assassinations, and every kind of injury to the lives and property of the inhabitants. The undersigned is ignorant to what Government belong the invaders of that part of the department, and a party of them who are in the neighborhood of Santa Clara ; and as he cannot believe that they belong to the forces commanded by the Senor Commodore, he will be obliged to him if he will be pleased to make to him an explanation on this subject, in order that he may act in conformity with his reply, for neither the undersigned, nor a single citizen of the country will permit excesses of any kind to be committed by these bands.

"God and Liberty!"

JOSÉ DE CASTRO.

TO SENOR COMMANDER-IN-CHIEF OF NAVAL FORCES

Of the United States in the Pacific Ocean, in Monterey.

The Mexican history states that, "although it was positively known that arms, munitions, and clothing were sent on shore to the adventurers, the commander replied that neither the Government of the United States nor the subalterns had any part in that insurrection, and that the Mexican authorities ought, therefore, to punish its authors in conformity with the laws."

Mr. Brancroft, Secretary of the Navy, advised May 15, 1846, Commodore Sloat, commanding naval forces in the Pacific, that a state of war existed between the United States and the Republic of Mexico, that henceforth he would exercise all the rights belonging to him as commander-in-chief of a belligerent squadron, and that he would consider it of the first importance to take possession of without fail and to hold

San Francisco, Mazatlan, Guaymas, Monterey, and such ports as his force would permit. The towns he could not hold he would blockade ; as opportunity offered he would conciliate the inhabitants of California and Sonora, endeavor to render their relations with the United States as intimate and friendly as possible, and to so conduct himself as to render the occupation of San Francisco and other ports a benefit to the inhabitants. He was authorized to intercept Commodore Biddle, who had sailed for China, on his arrival at the Sandwich Islands, and order him to sail at once for California, or Sonora, and was advised that the frigate Potomac and sloop Saratoga, having been ordered to the Pacific, to send orders to Callao and direct them where to meet him (Sloat). He was also advised that other reinforcements would be sent him, as the wants of the service might require, and was instructed to send reports across the country to the Rio Grande and so on to Washington.

June 8th the Commodore was again instructed by the Navy Department to take, first San Francisco, next Monterey, then such other ports as he could hold and to blockade as much of the coast as his force would permit, also to endeavor to establish the supremacy of the American flag without strife with the people of California. "You will bear in mind generally that this country desires to find in California a friend, and not an enemy, to be connected with it by near ties, to hold possession of it at least during the war, and to hold that possession, if possible, with the consent of its inhabitants." He was informed that the sloop of war Dale, Commodore McKean, had sailed from New York on the 3d to join his squadron ; that the Lexington, Lieut. Theodorus Bailey, would sail as soon as she could take her stores on board. July 12th Captain Tompkins, company of artillery, with guns, mortars, and munitions, had sailed in the Lexington to report to him, to act under his directions, and in the absence of an army officer higher than captain he would select the ports or posts to be occupied. He was advised that the object of the United States was, under its rights as a belligerent nation, to possess itself entirely of Upper California, so that when peace is made the basis of *uti possi ditis* is established. "The Government

expects through your forces to be found in actual possession of Upper California."

Having secured Upper California, if his force would permit, he would take and hold the harbors on the Gulf of California as far down at least as Guaymas, but this was not to interfere with the permanent occupation of Upper California. Copies of confidential instructions from the War Department were inclosed to him for Brig.-Gen. S. W. Kearny, ordered overland to California. A regiment of volunteers from New York had been called for and would sail about August 10th, and August 13th instructions were sent to Commodore James Biddle or Commodore R. F. Stockton, or the senior officer in command of the United States naval forces in the Pacific, reiterating the previous orders, advising of the ordering of General Kearny overland to California, and recommending and enjoining cordial co-operation between the naval and land forces.

Commodore Sloat, learning at Mazatlan, June 7th, that the United States and Mexico were at war, sailed on the *Savannah* for the coast of California, leaving the *Warren* at that port; arrived at Monterey July 2d, found there the *Cyane* and *Levant*, and learned that the *Portsmouth* was at San Francisco. Having examined the defenses of Monterey, he sent at 9:30 a. m., by Capt. William Mervine, a summons to the military commander to surrender the place to the United States forces under his command, and received a reply from an artillery captain, Mariano Silva, that he had no authority to surrender, but would forward his note to the commandant general. All arrangements having been made, 256 seamen and marines embarked in the boats of the squadron, landed at 10 a. m. under the guns of the ships, formed and marched to the custom house, where the commodore's proclamation was read to the people and the United States flag hoisted with three hearty cheers from the troops and foreigners present and a salute of twenty-one guns fired by all the ships. Captain Mervine, assisted by Commander Hugh N. Page, commanded the force that disembarked and occupied the town. A courier was then dispatched to General Castro, military commander of California, summoning him by letter to surrender the forces and munitions belonging to the Mexican Government.

UNITED STATES SHIP SAVANNAH,

MONTEREY, July 7, 1846.

SIR : The Central Government of Mexico having commenced hostilities against the United States of America, the two nations are actually at war. In consequence I call upon you, in the name of the United States of America, to surrender forthwith to the arms of that nation, under my command, together with all troops, arms, munitions, and public property of every description under your control and jurisdiction in California.

The immediate compliance with this summons will probably prevent the sacrifice of human life and the horrors of war, which I most anxiously desire to avoid.

I hereby invite you to meet me immediately in Monterey, to enter into articles of capitulation, that yourself, officers, and soldiers, with the inhabitants of California may receive assurances of perfect safety to themselves and property.

JOHN D. SLOAT,

Commander-in-Chief of the U. S. Naval Forces in the Pacific Ocean.

To SENOR D. JOSE DE CASTRO, *Commandant General.*

July 9th a letter was addressed to Don Pio Pico, Governor of Santa Barbara, inviting him to surrender :

FLAG SHIP SAVANNAH, BAY OF MONTEREY, July 9, 1846.

SIR : I have the honor to enclose herewith to Your Excellency copies of my summons to General Castro to surrender the country, etc., under his jurisdiction to the United States forces under my command, together with a copy of my proclamation to the inhabitants of California, and the general order issued to the forces under my command just previous to the landing, and I assure Your Excellency that not the least impropriety has been committed, and that business and social intercourse of the town have not been disturbed in the slightest degree.

I beg Your Excellency to feel assured that although I come in arms with a powerful force I come as the best friend of California, and I invite Your Excellency to meet me at Monterey, that I may satisfy you and the people of California of that fact. I pledge the word and honor of an American officer that Your Excellency will be received with all the respect due your distinguished situation, and that you can depart at any moment you may think proper, and feel every confidence that an American officer expects when his word of honor is pledged. I have already employed all means in my power to stop the sacrifice of human life by the party in the North, and trust I shall succeed, provided there is no further opposition. I tender Your Excellency my cordial and high consideration.

JOHN D. SLOAT,

Commander-in-Chief U. S. Naval Forces in Pacific Ocean and the Territory of California.

To SENOR DON PIO PICO, *Los Angeles.*



ROBERT F. STOCKTON,

COMMODORE U. S. NAVY.

BORN IN AND APPOINTED FROM NEW JERSEY.

Upon landing, Commodore Sloat issued a conciliatory proclamation, from which we extract the following: "He came as a friend and would protect all peaceable Mexicans, would pay for such supplies as were furnished the troops, etc.; henceforth California will be a portion of the United States, and its peaceful inhabitants will enjoy the same rights and privileges they now enjoy, together with the privilege of choosing their own magistrates and other officers for the administration of justice among themselves, and the same protection would be extended to them as to any other States in the Union." He pointed out the great benefits to flow from the change of government, in the increase in value of real estate and the products of California.

July 6th orders, despatched by sea to Commander Montgomery to take immediate possession of the bay of San Francisco, were received on the 8th, and at 7 a. m. on the 9th the flag was hoisted at San Francisco, where the proclamation, being read, was posted.

July 7th Captain Fremont marched with his forces by land to Monterey and captured the artillery and supplies found on the way, which the commandant-general could not transport on his retreat to Los Angeles. Thus was completed the occupation of all towns in Northern California.

Commodore Sloat, on the 23d, directed Commodore Stockton to assume command of the forces and operations by land and sea, and being sick and believing no further resistance would be made (General Castro having less than 100 men), sailed on the 29th for Mazatlan and Panama.

July 24th, the day after assuming command, Commodore Stockton organized the California Battalion of Mounted Rifles and received them as volunteers into the service of the United States, appointing Captain Fremont major and Lieutenant Gillespie captain of the battalion. On the 25th they were embarked on the sloop of war Cyane, Commander DuPont, and sailed from Monterey for San Diego, to be landed south of the Mexican forces (about 800 strong) under General Castro and Governor Pico, who were well fortified at Camp Mesa, three miles from the city of Los Angeles. A few days after the departure of the Cyane, Commodore Stockton sailed in the Congress for San Pe-

dro, the port of entry for Los Angeles and surrounding country, and thirty miles from that town he landed his sailors August 7th and marched directly for the Camp of Mesa. As they approached, General Castro retired; and the Governor of the territory and other officers separated into parties and fled in different directions. The Battalion of Mounted Rifles did not get up in time to pursue, but joined August 13th and occupied Los Angeles.

The Commodore reported that "in less than a month after assuming command the Mexican Army had been chased more than 300 miles along the coast and pursued thirty miles into the interior, routed and dispersed, and the territory secured to the United States; the war ended, peace and harmony restored among the people, and a civil government put into successful operation." Commodore Stockton had under his command 360 men from the frigate Congress and the eighty rifles under Fremont.

He reported the Cyane and Warren would blockade the coast below San Diego, that he would sail with the Congress on the arrival of the store-ship, and, believing there would be no more fighting, would cruise for the protection of our commerce; and, when he left the territory, would appoint Fremont governor and Gillespie secretary. He issued a conciliatory proclamation to the people and announced California as belonging to the United States.

August 22d he issued a proclamation ordering elections in the several towns and districts of California, at the places and hours where elections have usually been held, for alcaides and other municipal officers for one year. He had previously declared what the government of the territory would be, until altered by proper authority of the United States, also regulations for custom-houses and tariffs.

Leaving California under the government prescribed by Commodore Stockton, with garrisons holding Monterey, San Francisco, and the southern towns of San Diego, Los Angeles, and Santa Barbara—the greater number of troops being in the first two places—we will describe the invasion and occupation of New Mexico, and next the march of General Kearny from Santa Fe to California, first giving the character and numbers of troops comprising the army commanded by him.

Hostilities had barely commenced when the Government began preparations for the invasion of Mexican territory at several points. One expedition was to advance from the Missouri River, west, to New Mexico, the capital of that department (Santa Fe) being its objective point, and had scarcely been organized when it was determined to continue the march over to the Pacific Ocean and occupy Upper California. The body of troops that invaded New Mexico was known as the Army of the West, and was commanded by Col. Stephen W. Kearny, First Dragoons. A third command, referred to in the newspapers of the day (as well as in the histories) as the "Center Division," was organized at San Antonio, Tex., having Port La Vaca, on the bay of Matagorda, for base, and moved towards Chihuahua, under command of Brig. Gen. John E. Wool.

Orders for the organization of the Army of the West, to be composed principally of volunteers from the State of Missouri, were issued on May 13th and 14th, 1846, and as the organization progressed, written instructions from the War Department, of date June 3d, were forwarded to Colonel Kearny, stating that the object of the move was to take possession of Upper California, after having occupied New Mexico. To enable Kearny to take with him to California the greater portion of the troops he then commanded, an additional requisition was made upon the Governor of Missouri for 1,000 mounted volunteers to follow in his rear. He was also authorized to enlist from among the Mormon emigrants *en route* to California as many as he might deem proper, not exceeding the third of his entire force, and to accept in California the services of American settlers who might volunteer.

With reference to the civil governments of the conquered Territories of New Mexico and California, his instructions were, "to establish temporary civil governments therein, abolishing all arbitrary restrictions that may exist, so far as may be done with safety. * * * The duties at the custom houses ought at once to be reduced to such a rate as to be barely sufficient to maintain the necessary officers, without yielding revenue to the Government. You may assure the people of those provinces, that it is the wish and design of the United States to provide for them a free government,

with the least possible delay, similar to that which exists in our Territories. They will then be called upon to exercise the rights of freemen in electing their own representatives to the Territorial Legislatures." It will be seen that it was intended to be a permanent occupation. Colonel Kearny ordered forward in detachments the volunteers first called out with instructions to halt at Bent's Fort, on the Arkansas River, and leaving instructions for the organization of the volunteers last called, and for their speedy march, he set out to join those ahead. The route pursued by the troops was the old Santa Fe trail from Fort Leavenworth.*

The Army of the West when concentrated at Fort Bent was near 1,800 men, composed of eight companies of United States Dragoons, two of United States Artillery, two of United States Infantry, and nine companies of the First Missouri Regiment of twelve-months cavalry under Colonel Alexander W. Doniphan.

June 5th Secretary Marcy wrote to General Kearny that he had enclosed to him a few copies of a proclamation prepared for General Taylor to issue to the Mexicans, but observing that parts of it were unsuitable for New Mexico and California, not to publish it, as the needed alterations would be made and sent him before there would be occasion to use it.

The Army of the West after being organized marched August 1, 1846, from Bent's Fort for Santa Fe, the capital of New Mexico, General Kearny having issued the day before a short proclamation addressed to the Mexican people. He said, "he entered New Mexico with a large military force for the purpose of seeking union with and ameliorating the condition of its inhabitants. This he did under instructions from his Government, and, with the assurance that he will be amply sustained in the accomplishment of this object, admonished all citizens of New Mexcio to remain quietly at their homes, continue their peaceful avocations, and they would not be interfered with by the American army, but would be respected and protected in their rights, both civil and religious ; those, however, taking up arms and resisting will be treated as enemies, etc."

* Beyond the Arkansas River there were two routes, known as the *Cimaron* and the *Raton*, the latter the more northern, and it was this that Kearny followed.

Between Fort Leavenworth and Las Vegas, 700 miles, there was no house except at Bent's Fort, nor was there wood save along the few water-courses crossed, *bois-de-vache* being the fuel relied on for cooking. The wide, intervening plain was covered with grass, and thousands of buffaloes were seen daily from the Arkansas to within a few days' march of Las Vegas; deer were also abundant, and bears occasionally seen. The march partook more of the nature of a summer excursion, such as had been in years past made by bodies of cavalry, to visit and make treaties with the Indians, than of a warlike expedition.

When it became known to Armijo, Mexican Governor of New Mexico, that an American force was advancing upon his department, he exerted himself to raise troops to oppose, check, and defeat it. He had but a handful of soldiers of the Mexican army; but of militia, New Mexicans and Indians, quite a number, supposed to have been between three and four thousand, with six pieces of artillery, and these were encouraged by reports of large reinforcements to arrive under Gen. D. José Urrea.

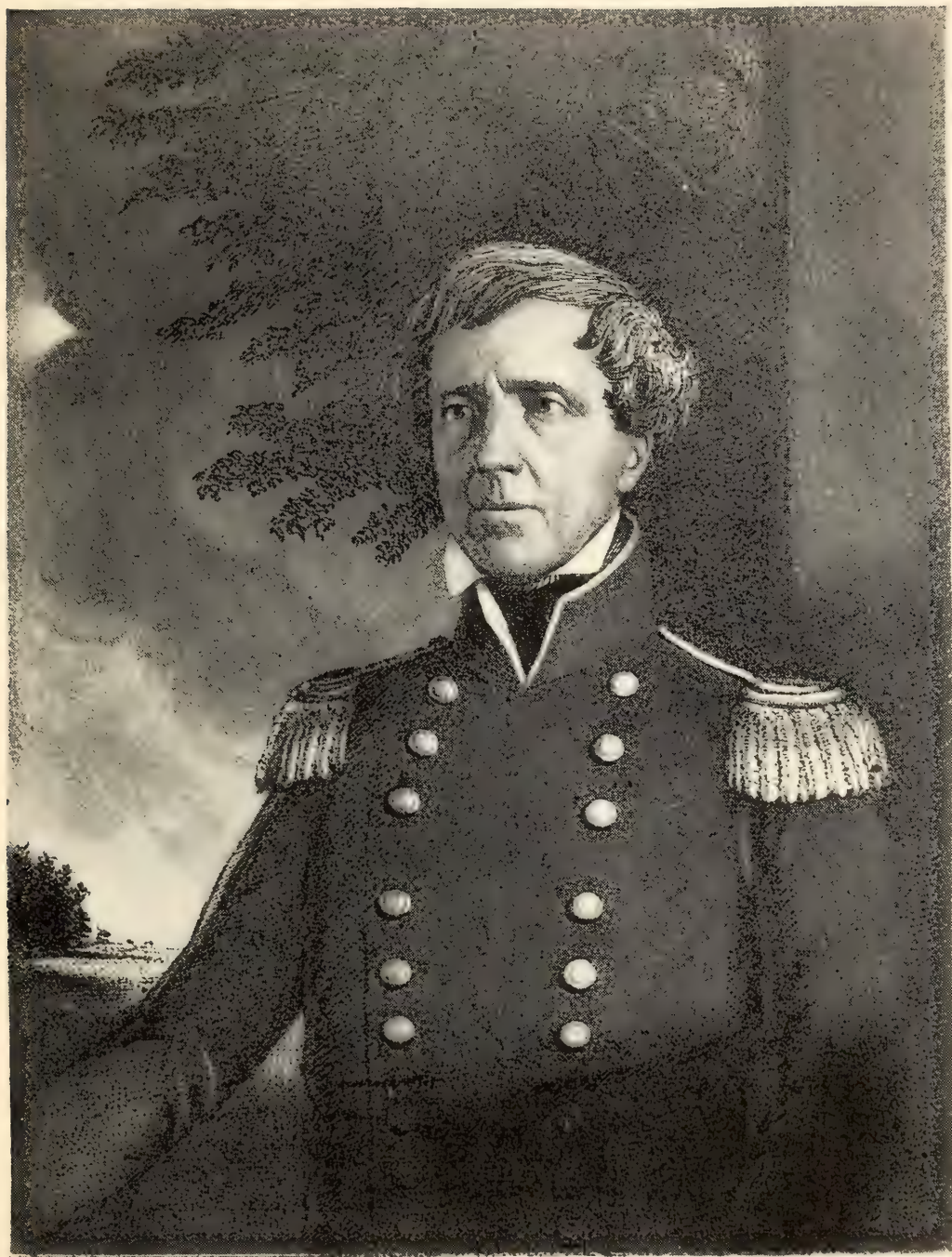
New Mexico was remote from the Central Government, and General Taylor's army had so fully occupied its attention that no assistance was given to Armijo. Kearny's command entered and took possession of Las Vegas on the morning of August 14th, no Mexican soldiers being seen. Armijo advanced fifteen or sixteen miles east of Santa Fe to Apache Pass, where he proposed to resist the further advance of the Americans.

On the 15th the officials of Las Vegas took the oath of allegiance. The people submitted quietly, and the village, if it deserved the name, so small was it, passed under the Government of the United States, and the same ceremony was enacted the next day at San Miguel. Upon Kearny's approach Armijo called a *Junta* of officers, when a retreat was advised, and, being commenced, continued through Santa Fe south as far as Albuquerque. On the 17th the Mexicans retreated, and on the 18th Santa Fe was occupied without opposition, and General Kearny courteously received by the lieutenant-governor, Vigil, who had not retired with Armijo.

On the 19th the citizens assembled in the plaza, and General Kearny addressed them in kindly tones, such as had been used at Las Vegas and San Miguel; the 22d he issued a proclamation declaring his intentions of occupying and holding the department with its original boundaries on both sides of the Rio Grande. "The United States hereby absolves all persons residing within the boundaries of New Mexico from any further allegiance to the Republic of Mexico, and hereby claims them as citizens of the United States. Those who remain quiet and peaceable will be considered good citizens and receive protection; those who are found in arms or instigating others against the United States will be considered as traitors and treated accordingly."

He reported to General Wool "that he had taken possession of Santa Fe without spilling a drop of blood, and had that day (19th) issued his proclamation claiming the whole department with its original boundaries for the United States. He represented the people as quiet and peaceable, understanding and appreciating the advantages to be derived from a change of Government; that other troops would soon arrive, and then he would send those he did not need to him, and if he did not want them they could be despatched to General Taylor or they could be discharged. He stated he would leave for Upper California in a few days." He communicated to the adjutant-general these facts and in addition his purpose to move down the Rio Grande, visit some of the principal towns, and on his return organize a civil government and appoint officers. This accomplished, he would be ready to march for California about the end of November. He reported he had heard nothing of Colonel Price and the command he was to raise and follow him with, nor had he heard of Capt. James Allen and the Mormons, but supposed they would arrive in a few weeks.

September 2d General Kearny, leaving Santa Fe with 700 mounted men, marched down the Rio Grande, his purpose being to see the people and quiet the minds of those excited by idle rumors. He was absent two weeks, and on his return reported to the adjutant-general that the people seemed delighted at the change, and were prompt in civilities and in providing supplies for men and horses. He anticipated no



STEPHEN W. KEARNY

BRIGADIER GENERAL, U. S. A.

BORN IN NEW JERSEY.---APPOINTED FROM NEW YORK.

organized resistance, but intended to protect the inhabitants from depredations committed by the Navajo Indians. He had determined to leave for California on September 25th, and as he had no information of Captain Allen he would take with him Major Sumner with 300 dragoons and leave orders for Allen to follow. His line of march would be down the Rio Grande for 200 miles, then cross to the Gila, down that to near its mouth, leave it, cross the Colorado, and keep near the Pacific, on up to Monterey. Large numbers of troops were constructing, under direction of Lieut. Jeremy F. Gilmer, of the engineers, an earthwork for the protection and defense of the capital of the Territory, which would be called Fort Marcy, if approved by the authorities. Nothing had been heard of Colonel Price.

On September 22d he forwarded to Washington a copy of the laws he had prepared for the government of the Territory, in which he was aided greatly by Colonel Doniphan and Private William P. Hall, of his regiment. He also announced that by authority of the President he made the following appointments of officers for the Territory :

Charles Bent, governor.

Donaicano Vigil, secretary.

Richard Dallan, marshal.

Francis P. Blair, United States district attorney.

Charles Blumer, treasurer.

Eugene Seitzendorfer, auditor of public accounts.

Joab Houghton, Antonio Jose Otero, and Charles Beaubian, judges of the Supreme Court.

General Kearny, having with him five companies of the Second Dragoons, under Major Sumner, and a small party of topographical engineers, under Lieut. William H. Emory, left Santa Fe for California September 25th, the date mentioned to the War Department. At Albuquerque, sixty-five miles south of Santa Fe, he crossed to the west bank of the Rio Grande and continued on down that river until October 5th, when he met Kit Carson with a party of sixteen men on his way to Washington with a mail and papers, an express from Commodore Stockton and Lieutenant-Colonel Fremont, "reporting California already in possession of the Americans under their command, the national flag flying from every im-

portant position in the Territory, the country forever free from Mexican control, the war ended, and peace and harmony established among the people."

In consequence of this information he ordered Major Sumner with three companies to remain in New Mexico, and with the remaining two companies, and two mountain howitzers, under Capt. Benjamin D. Moore, First Dragoons, continued the march 230 miles south of Santa Fe. October 15th he left the river and marched west for the copper mines, beyond the mountain chain, where he arrived on the 18th, reached the Gila on the 20th and continued on down, crossing and recrossing it when necessary. On November 11th he passed about eighty miles from a settlement in Sonora and through the Pimos villages. These Indians were found living comfortably, had made good crops, were honest, and furnished provisions for both men and horses—corn, flour and beef. The mouth of the Gila was passed November 20th. Ten miles below the Colorado was crossed, and after a march of thirty miles down it the command bore off west and crossed a desert sixty miles wide, without grass or water, reached December 2d Warner's ranche, Agua Caliente, a frontier settlement in California on the road leading to Sonora; marched to Mrs. Stokes' ranche, Santa Isabella, and was met on the 5th by a small party of volunteers, under Captain Gillespie, sent out from San Diego by Commodore Stockton to give information of the enemy. Throughout the Territory there were supposed to be 600 or 700 men in arms, determined to oppose the Americans. Kearny encamped the night of the 5th near San Maria, a second ranche of Mrs. Stokes, forty miles from San Diego.

Having followed Kearny in his long march, we will return to the operations in California. Commodore Sloat regarded the war in California as terminated when he turned over the command to Commodore Stockton, but the latter soon found it necessary to make an expedition to Los Angeles, thirty miles in the interior, where there was an armed force, represented to be several hundred, holding a strong position. Mexican history represents hatred of the invaders as "the prevailing feeling among the Californians, this disposition being more pronounced in the first district, where the impolitic and despotic

conduct of the military authority exasperated their minds." In the town of Los Angeles it is represented that several citizens were imprisoned on suspicion and cruelly treated. The people were incensed, and nothing but the want of arms prevented a prompt uprising.

California under Mexican rule was organized into two districts, the first consisting of Los Angeles (the capital), San Diego and Santa Barbara, its inhabitants not exceeding 6,000; the second, composed of the towns of San Luis Obispo, Monterey, and other settlements north to Sonora, with a population of near four thousand, the resistance having been greater in the towns south, in the first district.

September 23d, two days before General Kearny set out from Santa Fe to California, a number of the citizens of Los Angeles, led by a captain of auxiliaries, Cervulo Varela, and indifferently armed, attacked the Americans in their quarters, but were repulsed. As news of this uprising spread over the sparsely settled country, the excitement increased; the Mexicans, with and without arms, hurried towards Los Angeles, and in two days there were 500 in the vicinity of the town, commanded by Jose Maria Flores, a captain of the regular army.

On the 26th a party of Americans, *en route* to assist those in Los Angeles, were intercepted on a little stream, El Chiro, and after a sharp collision surrendered to Captain Varela and Lieut. Diego Sepulveda. Military operations were directed against the town on the 27th, 28th, and 29th; and on the 30th the Americans, under a capitulation in which it was stipulated they should retain their arms, withdrew, and marched to San Pedro to embark for Monterey.

After the reoccupation of Los Angeles, it was believed the towns of San Diego and Santa Barbara could be recovered, and two detachments were soon marching for that purpose—one under the commandant of the squadron of auxiliaries (Manuel Garfias) against Santa Barbara, the other under Capt. Francisco Pico, of the regular army, leaving the garrison in Los Angeles much reduced. October 6th an American frigate anchored at San Pedro and on the 7th debarked a force which marched promptly for Los Angeles. The commander there ordered Jose Antonio Camillo, commanding an auxiliary

squadron, to march with fifty horsemen and check them, while he collected all the force possible. These fifty horsemen caused the Americans to halt at the rancho of San Diego, three leagues from the port and six from Los Angeles. At 7 p. m., same day, Flores joined him with fifty more horsemen and one gun, a 4-pounder. On the 8th, early in the morning, the Americans advanced; the engagement was spirited for an hour; the Americans then retreated to San Diego and re-embarked, but remained at anchor in the bay. The towns of San Luis Obispo, Santa Barbara, and Los Angeles were re-occupied; and on the 29th the Legislature met in session and appointed Flores governor and commandant-general, with extraordinary powers, to provide for the defense of the country. A general enthusiasm is represented to have prevailed, and garrisons remained in the reoccupied ports, while a larger force held the capital.

The American forces that remained on shipboard at San Pedro were reinforced by Commodore Stockton, and a landing made November 1st with a large command and several guns, but they re-embarked and sailed to San Diego, where they were landed fifty leagues from Los Angeles, and supplied by means of their vessels with provisions from Lower California. A small detachment under Manuel de Castro moved up north and had a collision with Fremont November 16th at La Natividad, eight leagues from Monterey, and the Mexicans report that they repulsed Fremont.

Near the close of November, Kearny's command of 300 Americans entered California by the Sonora road from New Mexico. The Mexican commandants, though overestimating Kearny's force, knew of his advance and exact locality, and, wishing to prevent his junction with the other American forces occupying San Diego, sent Andres Pico with 100 horsemen to oppose and attack him if the opportunity offered.

Learning through Captain Gillespie that there was an armed party of Mexicans with a number of horses some three leagues from San Maria, General Kearny sent Lieut. Thomas C. Hammond, First Dragoons, with a few men to reconnoiter. He returned at 2 a. m., reported he had found the party at the place mentioned, and, although seen by them, was not pursued. General Kearny made preparations to march and

attack them at daylight of the 6th. His aid-de-camp, Capt. A. R. Johnston, First Dragoons, was assigned to the command of the advance guard, consisting of twelve dragoons, mounted on the best horses of the command; then Captain Moore followed with fifty men, mounted, with few exceptions, on mules that had been ridden from Santa Fe, 1,050 miles; then some twenty volunteers under Capt. Samuel Gibson, and Gillespie's men; next came two mountain howitzers, with dragoon artillerymen, under Second Lieut. John W. Davidson, of the First Dragoons. The few remaining cavalry (volunteers) and citizens employed by officers of the staff were placed under the command of Maj. Thomas Swords, quartermaster, with orders to follow on the trail with the baggage.

At dawn of day the enemy, already in the saddle, were seen at San Pasqual; Captain Johnson charged them with the advance guard, followed and supported by the dragoons, and they gave way; Captain Moore led off rapidly in the pursuit, accompanied by the dragoons (mounted on horses) and followed, though slowly, by those on the tired mules. The enemy, well mounted and superb horsemen, after falling back half a mile, halted, and seeing an interval between Captain Moore with the advance and the dragoons coming to his support, rallied their whole force and charged with lances. Moore held his ground for some minutes, but was forced back, when those in rear coming up, the enemy were in turn driven back and fled, not to rally again. Kearny occupied the field and encamped upon it. But few of Moore's men escaped without wounds. Captain Johnston was shot dead at the commencement of the action; Captain Moore was lanced and killed just before the final retreat of the Mexicans; Lieutenant Hammond was also lanced, surviving the wound but a few minutes; two sergeants, two corporals, and ten men of the First Dragoons, one private of volunteers, and a citizen engaged with the engineers were killed.

General Kearny received two wounds, Lieut. Wm. H. Warner, Topographical Engineers, three, and Captain Gillespie three, Captain Gibson, of the volunteers, one sergeant, one bugler, and nine privates of the dragoons wounded, most of them when unhorsed and incapable of resistance. The howitzers were not used in the action; the mules became

frightened, escaped from their drivers, ran off among the enemy and were lost. The Mexicans were commanded by General Andres Pico, brother of the late Governor of California. There were six of the enemy's dead left on the field; their wounded and a portion of the dead were carried off. Ambulances for the American wounded were made, the dead buried the morning of the 7th, and when the march was resumed the enemy were seen on the hills in front, from which they retired as Kearny advanced; they made a halt at San Bernardo, occupied a hill near and held it until attacked by the advance, when they were driven off, leaving five killed and wounded; the Americans suffered no loss.

Upon his surgeon's advice Kearny remained at San Bernardo until the 11th, was then joined by Lieut. A. F. V. Gray, of the navy, commanding a party of sailors and marines sent out by Commodore Stockton from San Diego. Leaving San Bernardo no enemy was seen, and on the 12th they arrived at San Diego, having been seventy-eight days on the march from Santa Fe.

December 29th General Kearny left San Diego with 500 men, consisting of sixty dismounted dragoons under Capt. Henry S. Turner, First Dragoons, fifty California volunteers, and the remainder sailors, and marines with a battery of artillery. Lieutenant Emory, Topographical Engineers, acted as assistant adjutant-general, and Commodore Stockton accompanied the expedition. The march was made for some days without seeing the enemy, but on January 8th they showed themselves, about 600 well-mounted men with four guns commanded by Governor Flores. They held a height in front commanding the crossing of the San Gabriel, and evidently intended to prevent further progress. Having made the necessary disposition, Kearny advanced to the ford, crossed, and drove the enemy off after a fight of one and a half hours, during which they charged his left flank but were repulsed, leaving the Americans in possession of the field.

The march was resumed the 9th, the enemy was seen in front and on the flanks, and when the plains of the Mesa were reached the Mexican artillery opened fire, which was returned by Kearny's battery as his men advanced. After hovering around and near for two hours, occasionally skir-

mishing during the time, they concentrated their force and made a charge a second time upon the American left flank, which was quickly repulsed, and soon after they retired. The march of the Americans was resumed, and in the afternoon they encamped on the banks of the Mesa, three miles below Los Angeles, which was occupied the next morning (10th), without further molestation. The loss on the 8th and 9th was one soldier killed, two officers and eleven privates wounded, the former being Rowan, of the navy, and Captain Gillespie.

Referring to this affair, the Mexican history says: "This was the last exertion made by the sons of California for the liberty and independence of their country, whose defense will always do them honor, since without supplies, without means or instruction, they rushed into an unequal contest, in which they more than once taught the invaders what a people can do who fight in defense of their rights. On January 10, 1847, the city of Los Angeles was occupied by the American forces, and the loss of that rich, vast, and precious part of the Mexican Territory was consummated. The commanding general was now without means of defense and without supplies. His force consequently dispersed, being overwhelmed by superior numbers. He was therefore obliged to emigrate with some of the natives of the country to the State of Sonora, passing immense deserts and suffering unheard of privations."

The expedition against Chihuahua, commanded by Brig.-Gen. John E. Wool and known as the "Centre Division," was the last to be set in motion. The necessary supplies were forwarded to San Antonio, Tex., through Port La Vaca, situated on the western shore of Matagorda Bay. The troops composing this command were concentrated at San Antonio, where the expedition was organized. Two companies of the Second Dragoons, forming part of it, had been stationed there since the annexation of Texas. The Arkansas volunteers, three companies of the United States Sixth Infantry, and the additional companies of the Second Dragoons came down by land from Arkansas. Washington's battery marched through the country from Carlisle Barracks, Pennsylvania; the First and Second Illinois Regiments of volunteers were transported

by the Mississippi River in steamboats to New Orleans, thence by transports to La Vaca, and thence to San Antonio.

General Wool left Port La Vaca for San Antonio August 8, 1846, having previously directed the concentration of his forces there. The command was composed of five companies United States dragoons, three companies Sixth Infantry, one light battery of artillery, six guns, Capt. James H. Prentiss; one regiment of Arkansas cavalry, Col. Archibald Yell; two of Illinois infantry, Col. John J. Hardin commanding the First and Col. Wm. H. Bissell the Second, and one company of Kentucky volunteer infantry, Capt. John S. Williams.

The expedition was encumbered with a large number of wagons, as the line of march was near 200 miles, over a country known to be wholly unsettled and deficient in all kinds of supplies, and it was uncertain if they could be obtained even after having crossed the Rio Grande. Leaving San Antonio September 28th, a march of 182 miles was made in eleven days, bringing the advance of the column to the Rio Grande, opposite Presidio, where the river was 270 yards wide, with a rapid current.

General Wool issued promptly a proclamation, which was distributed broadcast over the country, informing the Mexicans that he did not invade their country to make war upon citizens who remained at their homes occupied with their own affairs, but to compel the Mexican Government to render justice to the United States. Those who did not take up arms would be undisturbed, either in property or person, and if they would furnish supplies to his troops would be kindly treated and liberally compensated.

After a bridge had been constructed under the supervision of Capt. William D. Fraser, of the engineers, the material for which had accompanied the column in wagons, the army crossed over into Mexico, numbering at the time 1,954 men. The ends of the bridge were protected by field works, and a garrison of two companies was left under Inspector-General Churchill, who remained temporarily at this point to superintend the forwarding of supplies. The army pushed out from the river to the town of San Juan de Bautista, a place of 2,000 inhabitants, and occupied it without resistance.



JOHN E. WOOL,
BRIGADIER GENERAL, U. S. A.
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Several companies of Mexican cavalry that had been stationed there were recalled to Monterey before the battle at that place. The country in the vicinity of San Juan was very fertile, abounding in all kinds of vegetables and fruits. Among the latter were figs, oranges, and peaches, abundant supplies of which were furnished at very reasonable rates. The next march was twenty-six miles, without water, the command being halted near the town of San Juan de Nava, a place of 1,200 inhabitants, three-fourths of the houses being uninhabited and the people wretchedly poor. From the river to this place was a dead level, and between San Juan de Bautista and Nava there was not a house. San Fernando de las Rosas, the next town occupied, was a place of three or four thousand inhabitants, in a fertile plain, well watered by the Arroyo Escondido, a clear, full stream. The people were friendly, and provided all needful supplies, for which they were liberally paid.

From San Fernando de las Rosas the line of march was more southerly, leading toward a pass in the Sierra de San Jose. The country was sterile and broken, long ranges of mountains lying off to the right and left, valley after valley opening to view; the road tortuous and ascending until the summit was reached, then descending the narrow, winding gorge to Llano de San Jose, a broad plain thirty miles wide, across which the route lay directly. Midway in this plain and but three miles apart were two rivers, serious obstacles for the army, the Alamos and Sabinos, which uniting form the Salado and empty into the Rio Grande, each with a strong current four feet deep and forty yards wide. These streams were torrents and with currents of such force that horses and mules had difficulty in maintaining their footing, but, by the aid of the men, with extended ropes, the troops, artillery and over two hundred heavily-laden wagons were crossed without serious accident or loss. The march was now directed upon Santa Rosa, at the foot of the mountain of the same name, and entered it October 24th without opposition. Abundant supplies, purchasable at reasonable rates, were found there.

Generol Wool before leaving San Antonio endeavored to obtain information of the various routes leading to Chihuahua, and learned that as they all passed near or through Santa

Rosa he could select from one of the following : (1) Through Nacimiento del Rio, via San Carlos and Alamo ; (2) through Puerto de Obayos, via Cuatro Cienagas and Santa Catarina ; (3) or through Monclova and Parras. The whole extent of country between Santa Rosa and Chihuahua, as far north as Paso del Norte and south to Monclova, was mountainous with extensive intervening arid plains, there being few inhabitants and scant supplies, water being scarce. At Santa Rosa these reports were confirmed, and the first two routes being regarded impracticable he moved by the Monclova route and from thence marched to Parras on the road from Chihuahua to Saltillo. His course was south in a valley between Santa Rosa and San Jose, where sheep and goats were found, the country sterile to Rosa de las Hermanas, in which was an extensive hacienda, owned by Señor Blanco, an influential citizen of Coahuila. The course then was southerly on to Monclova, where the troops encamped without resistance, occupied it November 3d and displayed the flag from the Governor's Palace. A depot was here established in which to store corn and flour, thus doing away with the inconvenience of the long hauling from Port La Vaca, or even from Camargo, 480 miles nearer. Much of the supplies for the Mexican troops at Monterey was drawn from this place, and 10,000 pounds of flour were seized in the act of being sent to Saltillo.

Wool halted here by reason of the Monterey Armistice and was joined by Colonel Churchill with the rear column and 100 more wagons, well filled with supplies. November 24th, expiration of armistice, he left 250 men to guard the stores, then moved for Parras, 180 miles distant. The general course was nearly southwest by way of Costaña, Marques, Bajan, La Joya, Punta de Estañosa, Punta de Reata, Jaral, San Antonio, Teneja, Cienaga Grande, Calera and Ojuelos, on to Parras, where they arrived December 5th. Parras was said to have 6,000 people, and was capable of a good defense. It is 100 miles from Saltillo, 200 from Durango, 300 from San Luis Potosi, 156 from Monterey, 450 from Chihuahua, and in the center of a good grain-growing country. The grape is cultivated extensively, and large quantities of wine and brandy of a superior quality are made and sold in the large towns of the country. It was a strategic position and would have been oc-

cupied much earlier but for the Monterey armistice. Chihuahua could be reached on a good road, the same with Durango or Zacatecas, and besides from it General Taylor's army could be readily reinforced. December 17th, as will be seen hereafter, General Wool marched from Parras to Agua Nueva under a call made by General Worth to be reinforced, he expecting an advance and attack from Santa Anna. The command arrived at its destination, La Encantada, December 21st, and it was this force, known as the "Centre Column," that enabled General Taylor to resist Santa Anna successfully at Buena Vista, February 22 and 23, 1847.

When General Kearny marched from New Mexico into Upper California Col. Alex. W. Doniphan remained in command with orders, upon the arrival of the second column of Missouri mounted volunteers, to move south and report to Brig.-Gen. John E. Wool, supposed to be in the city of Chihuahua. He was directed, before obeying this order, to make an expedition into the country of the Navajo Indians, conciliate and make a treaty, binding them to keep the peace with their neighbors, citizens of New Mexico. General Kearny regarded it as an obligation to protect New Mexico, having required the people to remain at their homes and follow their ordinary industrial occupations, and the various officials having taken the oath of allegiance to the United States.

October 26th Colonel Doniphan left Santa Fe and marched west, intending to enter the country of the Navajos at several different and widely separated points. Maj. William Gilpin, of the regiment commanding the more northern detachment, consisting of 200 men, marched north from Santa Fe, and leaving the Rio Grande at the mouth of the Chamas, crossed the dividing chain of mountains separating the Rio Grande from the Colorado, and on arriving at the San Juan moved down it, crossed the Techunica Mountains, and marched by the Red Lake to the valley of the Little Colorado. This march was the first made by United States troops into that remote country.

A second detachment moving south from Santa Fe crossed and left the Rio Grande at Albuquerque and moved up the valley of the Púevia, of the west, to near its source. Capt.

John W. Reid marched with a detachment through the centre of the Navajo country, while Capt. Monroe M. Parsons penetrated further south, and the remainder of the regiment still further in that direction. Nearly the entire country was visited and many of the Navajos, perhaps three-fourths of the tribe, assembled at Ojo Oso, where a permanent treaty was made with them. These various detachments of Doniphan's regiment returned to the Rio Grande, striking it at Socorro December 12th; it had been crossed by the last detachment moving west on November 2d. Much of the Navajo country was traversed in the winter, mountains and valleys being covered with snow.

With his regiment reunited at Socorro, Colonel Doniphan marched down the Rio Grande to Valverde, and a large caravan of American merchants awaiting there his arrival and protection, he at once began preparations for the march to Chihuahua to report to Brigadier-General Wool.

The advance of Doniphan's command, 300 men, under Major Gilpin, marched from Valverde December 14th, and followed the road leading across the well-known *Jornado de los Muertos*, a plain of ninety miles with neither wood nor water. This detachment was to wait at Doña Aña the arrival of the remainder of the command. On the 16th 200 men under Lieut.-Col. Congreve Jackson followed, and on the 18th the remaining forces under Doniphan, with an escort of ninety men under Lieutenant-Colonel Mitchell, of the Second Missouri Mounted Volunteers. Mitchell's command had been ordered by Col. Sterling Price to open communication between Santa Fe and Chihuahua, and had marched south while Doniphan's command was in the Navajo country. Doniphan's entire force was 856 effective men, though he had no artillery.

Before leaving Valverde Doniphan learned that a Mexican force had been sent north to El Paso from Chihuahua to defend it against the Americans, and to meet this force, he ordered Major Clark, of the volunteer artillery, then in Santa Fe, to join him at the earliest moment with a battery of four 6-pounders, two 12-pound howitzers, and 100 men.

The disasters of Palo Alto, Resaca, Monterey and New Mexico were well known in Chihuahua, and, filled with alarm

and anticipating invasion, her officials sent earnest appeals to the Central Government for aid, not only to defend themselves but the cause even of national independence. The administration made a vain effort to respond to this appeal by sending a thousand muskets to Chihuahua, and making arrangements by which General Reyes was to march with a force from Zacatecas to Durango to organize a suitable defense of that frontier, but these preparations were frustrated, and the hopes of Chihuahua blighted. General Heredia was appointed general-in-chief without increase of force, much to the disappointment of the people. General Trias, at the head of the State Government, hoping everything from the patriotism of the citizens, though without arms, artillery, disciplined troops, or money, determined to attempt some resistance. Preparations had barely commenced when it became necessary to send a force of 1,500 men to meet the enemy—Doniphan. At El Paso, more than 100 leagues from Chihuahua, a few men from Presidial companies joined this force, together with armed men of the disbanded squadrons of Gen. Garcia Conde and seventy men of the active infantry company of the District. These additions swelled the force to 2,000 men, with four pieces of artillery; supplies and money were given to the commander, Col. Gavino Cuilty, at El Paso, and the people of the country tendered horses, that the cavalry might be well mounted. This was the force at El Paso when the report came from the North that the advance of the Americans—Gilpin with 300 men—had reached Doña Aña. At this critical moment Colonel Cuilty announced that he was sick, and upon advice of his surgeon gave up the command to Lieut.-Col. Luis Vidal, but Antonio Ponce, commandant of squadron, protested against this order.

When Doniphan's several detachments were reunited at Doña Aña, sixty miles north of El Paso, he was informed that 700 of the enemy were at El Paso with four guns. The march south was resumed December 23d; on the 25th the advance, 500 men, halted about 3 p. m., with orders to encamp; and the volunteers were scattered in small groups getting wood and water, when the guard on the road in front reported the enemy to be close at hand, moving rapidly.

Colonel Vidal marched out of El Paso December 21st, halted his forces at Presa after a march of one league, erected slight fortifications, and on the 24th ordered Ponce to advance on the Santa Fe road with 500 horse, seventy infantrymen of the Active Company of El Paso, fifteen artillerymen, and one howitzer; Ponce marched four leagues and encamped. Resuming the march the morning of the 25th, he discovered the American vanguard in a bend of the Rio Grande at a place known to the Mexicans as Temascalitos, eight leagues from El Paso, and the two forces being now in contact, a battle followed.

Lieut.-Col. Jackson, in command of the American rear, was several miles off when the presence of the enemy was reported and the alarm sounded. The volunteers soon formed on foot, in open order as skirmishers, Lieutenant-Colonel Mitchell on the left, and to guard his flanks Doniphan threw them back so as to rest on the river. The Mexicans represent the Americans as having encamped and, taking no precautions, permitted Ponce to reconnoiter them unobserved; that he then gave orders to leave the road so as not to raise any dust, and had approached quite near before being discovered. He then ordered the formation for battle, the infantry being in the center; on the left the company of Collame, the auxiliary squadrons of El Paso, and a part of the company of Chihuahua; on the right a company of the Second Cavalry, the company of the North, that of San Elizario, and the remainder of the Chihuahua, having the howitzer in rear.

The Mexican history says: "We feel an invincible repugnance at having to describe acts so shameful as those we are about to relate, caused by unskillfulness so inexplicable that they seem to have been produced by fatality." The Mexicans advanced, opened fire, having deployed as skirmishers while moving forward; the howitzer accompanied the skirmishers; the cavalry of the left wing advanced in line, led by Ponce himself; the cavalry on the right extended more to the right. The fire was opened at rather long range for infantry; the Mexicans represent the first line of the Americans as being thrown into disorder and retreating rapidly towards the woods, where their officers rallied and led them back into action. They further represent that Ponce ordered the charge

to be sounded (which was understood to be the retreat), and that the cavalry retired in good order, leaving the infantry fighting, the enemy having reformed and returned. Ponce was wounded and ordered the infantry to retreat, then turned the command over to Captain Carabajal. The howitzer was abandoned, but the retreat continued in good order.

The Mexicans had opened fire—the howitzers having discharged three times—but Doniphan ordered his men to reserve their fire until the enemy came within good range; then, perceiving an effort to turn his flanks, he ordered a fire, which checked their advance and threw them into great disorder. Captain Reid, with twenty mounted men of his company, attacked the Vera Cruz Dragoons, which, breaking while rallying to charge the left flank, fled to the mountains.

Doniphan had seven men wounded—none killed; he reported the enemy as having forty-three killed and 150 wounded. Doniphan calls the place where this affair occurred Brazito; the Mexicans, Temascalitos. The latter did not report their casualties.

Vidal, informed of what had taken place, made arrangements to retire from El Paso with the whole force, which he represented as having suffered little or no loss. He, supposing he would be pursued, left El Paso and made forced marches for Chihuahua, taking all the troops except those of El Paso, and the disbanded.

On the 27th Doniphan occupied El Paso, and learned that Wool was not at Chihuahua; the artillery from Santa Fe joined him February 1st, the trains on the 5th; and on the 8th he commenced the march for Chihuahua.

El Paso being lost, the Chihuahuans redoubled exertions to prevent the occupation of their capital; enthusiasm with its illusions had inspired hopes of not only successfully defending Chihuahua, but also of being able to aid in expelling the Americans from New Mexico, the inhabitants of which, though without arms, were anxious to be free and independent.

Doniphan, having made the requisite preparations, moved out from El Paso the evening of February 8th, encumbered with a merchant train of 315 wagons, and marched towards Chihuahua, a little over 100 leagues south. His effective force was 924 men and six guns. The march was uneventful

for seventeen days, when the enemy was reported to be in force twenty-five miles in front, at Encinillas, the country-seat of Governor Trias; but when Doniphan arrived there (on the evening of the 26th) he ascertained that the enemy had retreated, and arriving at Sauz on the 27th, he learned through spies and scouts that he was in strong force at the Sacramento Pass, to which point he had fallen back and fortified.

At sunrise on the 28th the march was resumed; the 315 wagons, merchant train, the company, commissary and quartermaster wagons were formed in four columns to shorten the line; the artillery and all the command, except 200 cavalry proper, marched between the columns of wagons. Within three miles of Sacramento they halted and made a reconnoissance of the Pass without difficulty, the road running over a level plain, flanked on both sides by sterile mountains. From the range on the right a spur extended to the left, reducing the width of the valley to about one and a half miles; on the left was a deep *arroyo*, between which and the mountain-spur the surface rose abruptly sixty feet.

General Heredia and Governor Trias agreed to resist the advance of the Americans at Sacramento Pass if they could not be attacked before reaching that point, and speedily fortified it. General Pedro Garcia Conde, who had fought at Monterey, reported to Heredia, and being assigned to the command of the cavalry, was ordered to move with 700 horse, meet the enemy, observe his movements and attack without hazarding a general engagement. February 21st Heredia and Trias marched North with their main force, consisting of seventy men of the Seventh Infantry, 250 of the Active Battalion of Chihuahua, 180 National Guards, 50 of the Second Dragoons of Durango, acting as infantry, not having horses, 10 pieces of artillery, 4, 6 and 8-pounders, and 119 artillery men. The cavalry under Conde advanced north as far as Encinillas, twenty-two leagues from Chihuahua, and learning that the Americans had possession of the Well of Gallego, Conde reported this fact to Heredia and fell back to the Hacienda de Sauz with the view of a speedy junction with the main army, in the event of the Americans moving by Agua Nueva to Tabalopan. Heredia and Trias on arrival at the Hacienda de Sauz met the cavalry, and it being reported that the Americans were advancing,

ordered Conde to retire to Sacramento, where he arrived and encamped the night of the 27th. The whole force, amounting to 2,200, was here reunited under Heredia, with Trias second in command and Conde and Major-General Justiniani as the principal officers under them.

The Mexican history says: "Small, indeed, in numbers, put perfectly well armed, supplied with provisions of all kinds for a campaign in a desert for months, all paid to the last dollar, and with funds in the chest for the future, the good Chihuahuans looked with pride upon the results of their labors, and in every gun and musket they saw the fruits of their personal exertions. Of all this nothing existed three months before. All was created by them, all was new, all was brilliant, and they were filled with delight in noting the maiden enthusiasm of the troops. * * * The enemy, according to reports, were to appear on the following day, and that night there was a festival in camp. In every tent, in every friendly group, cheerful toasts were drunk to the liberty of the country, the young men abandoning themselves to the illusive delirium of expected triumph, and thinking more of their expedition to New Mexico to assist their brethren, to cast off the American yoke, than of the approaching encounter, which they looked upon as less important than it was."

The reconnoissance, made by Capt. Phil. R. Thompson, First Dragoons, discovered a number of batteries on the elevated ridge over which the road passed, one to the right with four guns, one on the left, and near the centre a third, and intermediate to these three were others, all protected by epaulements, and on a ridge to the left, near and parallel with the road, a number of redoubts in which were infantry well protected. The Mexican cavalry appeared first on the plain at the foot of the ridge, but retired and formed to the left of the infantry.

Doniphan's main force halted within a mile and a half of the enemy's line; his cavalry advanced nearer, when suddenly and at a quick pace his whole force, including wagons, moved rapidly to the right and ascended the ridge, beyond the extreme left battery of the enemy, which move turned the intrenched batteries commanding the road. The enemy, perceiving Doniphan's march, ordered his cavalry to antici-

pate and check it, and they moved, taking with them four guns. The Americans advanced so rapidly that the ridge was mounted by the troops and many of the wagons in time to form, before the Mexican cavalry came within reach of their guns and halted. Doniphan's men advanced to within a thousand yards to enable the wagons to reach the crest of the ridge and form compactly. The Mexican cavalry then advanced within reach of the artillery, which opened fire, killed and wounded many, and caused disorder which the officers could not prevent. The Mexican artillery opened fire, but did not restrain the cavalry, which now broken and in confusion, dispersed, involving the infantry advancing in rear. Captain Weightman with the 12-pound howitzers dashed forward, supported by the cavalry, under Captains Reid, Parsons, and Hughes, the remainder of the First Regiment, dismounted, followed rapidly on foot, accompanied by Major Clark with the remaining four guns, and all, infantry and artillery, opened fire upon the Mexican infantry in the line of redoubts, drove them back and cleared and captured the redoubts. On the left of the line of infantry a battery surrounded by an infantry force still remained in possession of the Mexicans and continued a rapid fire. Major Clark directed his guns upon this battery, Lieutenant-Colonels Jackson and Mitchell charged it, and when it fell the rout of the enemy was complete.

Colonel Doniphan estimated the Mexican force at 2,900; the enemy reported it at 2,000. Doniphan had 924 effective men, 100 of whom were not engaged, being with the wagons or holding horses. The Mexicans lost all their artillery, ten guns, but do not give their casualties. They refer to the fact of the last and severest fighting being at the left redoubt, where Captain Rosales and Lieutenant Quintana were killed whilst encouraging their troops. Colonel Oinz, of the cavalry, also fell, and his men then fled. The whole camp, with all the public property, fell into the victor's hands. Trias and Conde withdrew, preceded by Heredia, to Chihuahua, leaving behind their wounded. "Then faded away the last light of that day, whose rising sun had shone upon so many hopes. That night was a frightful one for Chihuahuans. In the city where, blinded by the expectations of victory, they were pre-

paring with enthusiasm for a triumphal festival, the sound of cannon had been heard in the evening with the liveliest anxiety, and when news was received of the disaster the utmost terror spread among the people. Such was the sad picture presented to the unhappy Chihuahuans the night of February 28, 1847, in the very places where in the preceding evening they had gaily drank toasts to independence and liberty. The next day, March 1st, the State Government removed to Parras, a town near the frontier of Durango."

Doniphan lost but nine men, killed and wounded. With him of the regular army were Capt. Phil. R. Thompson, First Dragoons, and Capt. Charles F. Wooster, Fourth Artillery. Major Clark and Lieutenant-Colonel Gilpin had been in the regular army, and Captain Weightman had received a military education.

March 1st Chihuahua was occupied, but General Wool, to whom Doniphan had been ordered to report, was near Saltillo, whither he had been ordered from Parras in February to aid in resisting the advance of Santa Anna.

Col. Sterling Price, Second Missouri Volunteer Cavalry, remained in command of New Mexico on the departure of Doniphan for Chihuahua, and in December, 1846, received reports of attempts being made to excite the people of the Territory against the American Government, Thomas Ortiz and Diego Archuleta, Mexicans, being represented as instigators of the movement. A list of the disbanded Mexican soldiers near Santa Fe was found in the possession of a former Mexican officer who was seized. Ortiz and Archuleta escaped arrest and fled, as supposed, to Chihuahua, and with the flight of these two conspirators the excitement apparently died out.

On January 14th Governor Bent left Santa Fe for Taos, and on the 19th he and five others were seized at Fernando de Taos by Mexicans and cruelly murdered; on the same day seven Americans were murdered at the Arroyo Honda and two others on the Rio Colorado. The purpose of these revolutionists seems to have been to kill every American, and even Mexican, who had accepted office under the new Government. Colonel Price received this information January 20th at Santa Fe through captured letters, calling upon the

inhabitants of the lower Rio Grande for aid, and the further intelligence that these malcontents were approaching Santa Fe, their numbers being increased by the people of the towns through which they passed. Colonel Price, prompt to act, ordered up from Albuquerque Maj. Benj. B. Edmonson, Second Regiment Missouri Volunteers, and Capt. John H. K. Burgwin; First Dragoons, with their commands, directing the latter to leave one company at Santa Fe and join him with the other, and the former to remain at that place. Capt. N. B. Giddings, Second Missouri, was ordered to join Colonel Price when relieved by one of Burgwin's companies. Leaving Lieutenant-Colonel Willock in Santa Fe, Colonel Price marched north with five companies—Capts. Thomas Barber's Wm. C. Halley's, Sam. H. McMillan's, Wm. Y. Slack's, and Williams'. Capt. Wm. Z. Angney's battalion Missouri Volunteers, a company of Santa Fe volunteers under Capt. Ceran St. Vrain, and four mountain howitzers under Lieut. A. B. Dyer, of the ordnance. All of this force, 353 men, were dismounted, except St. Vrain's company. On the march, Captain Williams being ill, Lieut. B. F. White commanded his company. About 1 p. m., January 24th, the mounted company in the advance reported the Mexicans in considerable force near the town of Cañada, situated upon a small stream. They occupied three houses at the base of the hills beyond the stream, and also the crests of hills in rear. The attack was ordered at once, the shells of the 12-pound mountain howitzers were directed upon the houses and the heights beyond, and St. Vrain's company detached to meet a party of Mexicans who threatened the trains in rear. Angney's battalion charged the enemy in the houses on the right, drove them out, and the line held on the heights were charged at once, while St. Vrain, who had rejoined, moved around to cut off the retreat. The Mexicans were soon dispersed. Their force numbered, as estimated, 1,500, with and without arms. Thirty-six of them were killed; the number wounded not known. Price's loss was two killed and six wounded. The town was occupied during the night, and the following morning some 400 of the enemy were seen on distant heights, but as they retired without resistance on the approach of Price's men the latter returned to the town.

On the 27th Price moved up the Rio Grande as far as Luceros, where early on the 28th he was joined by Captain Burgwin's company, First Dragoons, a company of the Second Missouri Volunteers under Lieut. D. M. Boone, and Lieut. Clarendon J. L. Wilson, First Dragoons, with a 6-pounder, sent for from Cañada. Burgwin's company was dismounted, and had made a long and rapid march from Albuquerque. The entire force under Price was now 479, and with this he marched on the 29th to La Joya, where he learned that sixty or eighty of the enemy had taken position on the steep, rugged acclivities of the mountain enclosing the cañon leading to Embudo. The road being here impracticable for artillery and wagons, Captain Burgwin was ordered forward with 180 men from his own, St. Vrain's, and Lieutenant White's companies, accompanied by Lieut. Robert Walker, adjutant of Price's regiment, and Lieut. C. J. L. Wilson, First Dragoons, who volunteered as a private in St. Vrain's company. Burgwin moved forward and discovered the enemy, estimated to be between six and seven hundred, posted on both sides of the road where the cañon contracted so as barely to admit the passage of three men abreast. The mountain sides were abrupt and covered with a thick growth of scrubby cedar and ledges of rock that gave good shelter. St. Vrain dismounted his men, scaled the mountain on the left, and engaged the Mexicans; other flanking parties under Lieutenants White, Second Missouri Mounted Volunteers, McElvain, and O. H. P. Taylor, First Dragoons, ascending the mountains rapidly, the Mexicans soon began to retire toward Embudo, bounding along the steep and rough sides of the mountains with an ease and speed that defied pursuit.

When firing was heard in the cañon Captain Slack was ordered forward with twenty-five mounted men, and on reaching the field relieved Lieutenant White; Lieutenants McElvain and Taylor were recalled, and Lieut. Rufus Ingalls, First Dragoons, and Captain Slack led the pursuit. The Mexicans having retreated beyond reach, Burgwin resumed the march through the cañon, on the far side reunited his command, and marched into Embudo without opposition, several persons meeting him with a white flag. Price had one

man killed and one severely wounded ; the Mexicans twenty killed and sixty wounded.

January 30th Captain Burgwin led off in the march for Trampas, with orders to await there the main force, obliged on account of the artillery and wagons to pursue a more southern route. With the united force, Price marched on the 31st to Chamisal, reached the summit of the Taos mountains (covered with snow two feet deep), and halted February 2d at a small village called Rio Chiquito, on the edge of the Taos valley. With commendable constancy and patience, the troops endured the sufferings of the two days' marching in snows, several being frost-bitten and all severely tried. On the 3d Price marched to Fernando de Taos, and, ascertaining the Mexicans had fortified themselves in the Pueblo de Taos, continued on to that place.

The Pueblo was capable of a good defense against the force confronting it, being surrounded by an *adobe* wall and picket fence, and the buildings within the enclosure being of the heavy, thick *adobe* style usual to Mexico. Near both the northern and southern wall were two large buildings, seven or eight stories high, each capable of sheltering five or six hundred men. The church was large and situated in the northwestern angle of the town, a passage being left between it and the surrounding wall. The exterior walls, as well as those of the buildings within, were loop-holed for the use of small arms.

The place having been reconnoitered, Lieutenant Dyer ordered a charge against the southwestern side of the church, his guns (the 6-pounder and the howitzer) being within 250 yards. This fire continued for several hours, but the ammunition wagons not having arrived, the troops (suffering from cold and fatigue) were withdrawn to Fernando de Taos for the night. Colonel Price returned to the attack the following morning; Burgwin, with his dragoons, was posted within 250 yards of the western side of the church; St. Vrain and Slack on the opposite side of the town to observe and intercept any Mexicans that might attempt to escape either towards the mountains or to Fernando de Taos. The remainder of the troops were within 300 yards of the north side of the walls, and here Lieutenant Dyer posted the 6-pounder and two of

the howitzers, while Lieutenant Hassandeubel, of Major Clark's battalion (light artillery), was posted near Burgwin with two howitzers. A cross-fire swept the front and eastern side of the church.

The artillery opened on the town at 9 a. m., and finding by 11 o'clock that it was impossible to breach the walls of the church with pieces of such small calibre, Price ordered the town to be assaulted; Captain Burgwin, with his own and Captain McMillan's company, charged upon the western side, while Captain Angney's battalion (Captain Barber and Lieutenant Boone, Second Missouri,) charged the northern wall. When Burgwin reached the western wall, axes were used to breach it, and a temporary ladder made with which the roof was reached and set on fire. He then crossed the outer wall with a small party and endeavored to break or force the door of the church; in this exposed position he received a wound of which he died on the 7th. Lieutenants McElvain (First Dragoons), Royall, and George E. Lackland (Second Missouri) followed Burgwin over the wall, but all efforts to force the door failed, and they again sought the protection of the wall.

In the meantime small holes had been made through the western wall of the church, shells were thrown in by hand and did much execution. The 6-pounder was brought up to within 200 yards, fired grape into the town, at 3 p. m. it was run up to sixty yards of the church, and after ten rounds one of the holes cut by axes was made into a practicable breach. The storming party, led by Lieutenants Dyer (of the ordnance), Wilson, and Taylor (First Dragoons) entered through it and took possession of the church.

The troops that supported the guns on the north side now charged; the enemy abandoned the western part of the town, many taking refuge in the large houses on the east side, while others endeavored to escape to the mountains, but were pursued by the mounted companies of Slack and St. Vrain; fifty-one of them were killed, only two or three escaping. The fight terminated about dusk, and the town was occupied, the troops being quartered in the abandoned houses. The next morning the enemy sued for peace, which was granted on condition that Tomas, the main instigator of the uprising and

one of the party who murdered Governor Bent, be delivered to the Americans.

The number of Mexicans engaged in Taos was between six and seven hundred, of whom 150 were killed; wounded not known. Price's loss was seven killed and forty-five wounded; many of the latter died. The principal leaders in the insurrection were Tofoya, Pablo, Chavis, Pablo Montoya, Cortez, and Tomas, a Pueblo Indian; of these the first named was killed at Cañada; Chavis at Pueblo; Montoya was hanged at Fernando de Taos on the 7th, and Tomas was shot by a private soldier while a prisoner in the guard room at Taos. It is not recorded that these men were tried by any tribunal, civil or military.

The spirit of revolt, or desire to resist invasion was not confined to that part of New Mexico visited by Colonel Price; every village and settlement east of the mountains, except Las Vegas and Tuccolote, was excited, and the want of arms alone prevented thousands from aiding the uprising. At Mora, January 20th, five Americans who had been captured were robbed and then shot. On the 24th a party of eighty men under Capt. Israel R. Hendley, of Price's regiment, hearing that an armed band of Mexicans was at Mora, marched from Las Vegas and attacked them, killing fifteen or twenty. Hendley, however, was killed in the collision, and it being reported that Mexican reinforcements were approaching, the Americans returned to Las Vegas.

CHAPTER VIII.

CORRESPONDENCE BETWEEN GENERAL TAYLOR AND THE WAR DEPARTMENT.—EVACUATION OF TAMPICO.

Monterey having been occupied, General Taylor renewed efforts to increase his transportation and to accumulate there an abundant supply of subsistence stores. He also caused two depots of clothing to be established in rear, one at Camargo, from which the garrison there and the forces under its immediate command could be supplied ; the other at Point Isabel, for the troops stationed there and at other points along the Rio Grande.

Near the middle of October he advised the War Department that he had received its communications of the 21st and 22d of September, delivered by Lieut. Lewis A. Armistead, of the Sixth Infantry, and in which certain movements of troops were suggested. In reply, he informed the department that the terms of the capitulation at Monterey would prevent military operations south of a certain line, beyond which the department wished troops to be dispatched, and he promised a more detailed reply in a few days.

October 15th he wrote that no detachment could be made to Tampico without contravening the Monterey capitulation, advised the department of the whereabouts of Ampudia and his army, and that Santa Anna was reported in San Luis, actively engaged in organizing a large force. Saltillo, the capital of Coahuila, and 300 miles from San Luis, was already virtually in possession of the United States forces, and could be occupied as soon as the armistice expired, but such occupation would increase by seventy-five miles the line over which supplies would have to be drawn.

The letters from the War Department of September 21st and 22d were written during the battle, which continued until late on the 23d, and the department did not, of course, at the dates of these letters know of this battle. General Taylor was informed by them of the determination of the Government to make a descent upon the gulf coast of Mexico as soon as it could be undertaken, with a due regard to the health of the troops, and that Tampico would probably be the point of attack. The possession of this seaport and adjacent country would facilitate the further prosecution of the war, and in the event of the occupation of San Luis Potosi would be indispensable. Upon this matter he was requested to express an opinion, also to indicate the kind and number of troops necessary to attain the end in view. The department believed 1,500 or 2,000 would be ample, one-half being regulars which could be furnished without detaching from Taylor's army.

In the communication of September 22d General Taylor was informed that the Mexican Government had refused to consider at that time proposals for the restoration of a peace, just and honorable to both sides; that it had, in fact, deferred definite action until the meeting of their Congress, December 6th. To impress this Congress and to create a desire among the people for peace, the department believed they should be made to feel the war, and Tamaulipas or the most important places in it occupied.

General Taylor was also informed that under the usages of civilized warfare, either of three modes may be resorted to in obtaining supplies: First, to purchase at such prices as the inhabitants of the country may choose to ask; second, to pay a fair price, without regard to the enhanced value resulting from the presence of a foreign army; third, to take without compensation,* this last method being the ordinary way, and

* Under "the usages of civilized warfare" supplies are obtained, as the Secretary states, but history records departures from these three methods; burning, sacking, destroying what the invading army does not at the time stand in need of. These exceptions, due to the will of particular commanders, do not affect the general rule or usage, only demonstrate their humanity and wisdom. When we refer to usages of civilized warfare, we mean those practiced by Christian nations, but we find the Mahometans were and are abreast of the Christians in

he was instructed to adopt it if he believed the demands of the army could be supplied in that way. If this could not be done, then he must pay, as had been the practice up to that time. The President was hopeful of supplying the army from the hostile country, but if this was not practicable, then to do so in the most inexpensive manner.

Relative to Tamaulipas, to be occupied at the earliest period possible, it was suggested that a route dependent upon the Gulf at that season of the year was liable to serious objections, that the land route from the Rio Grande might prove impracticable, and for the debarkation proposed, two points had been considered, viz: the bay of Santander and that of Soto la Marina, from either of which ports important places in the State of Tamaulipas could be easily reached.

Such were the subjects that occupied the attention of the War Department whilst the battle of Monterey was being fought, and inasmuch as they were military, could have been properly left to General Taylor's judgment.

General Patterson was designated as the officer to command the expedition, with Generals Shields and Pillow commanding brigades under him. The move was to be made with the least possible delay consistent with the health of the troops, and it was left to General Patterson, under General Taylor's instructions, to decide whether the movement was to be made by land or water, or partly by both.

General Taylor was requested to give his views in regard to the best mode of prosecuting this expedition, particularly as to the amount and description of force, and the quantity and kind of ordnance required. The Secretary believed that General Taylor, on the receipt of his letters, would have arrived at Monterey, perhaps even Saltillo, and have been enabled to form some estimate as to his ability to advance upon San Luis. This move, if practicable, would be facilitated

the observance of these rules. Abubeker, who succeeded Mahomet as Caliph, in dispatching his army into Syria, instructed the commander as follows: "When you meet with your enemies quit yourselves like men, and don't turn your backs, and if you get the victory kill no little children, nor old people, nor women; destroy no palm trees nor burn any fields of corn; cut down no fruit trees nor do any mischief to cattle, only such as you kill to eat." (*History of the Saracens* by Edward Gibbon and Simon Ockley.)

by the contemplated expedition to Tampico, which would enable him to effect a co-operation with the squadron and with the column under General Patterson on a line in advance of the Rio Grande.

To General Patterson the department also addressed a communication, September 22d, as follows: "As soon as you learn from General Taylor that a sufficient force for the enterprise can be spared, and receive his directions in regard to it, you will lose no time in putting them into execution. If General Taylor should not give direction as to moving by land or water, the choice would then be left to your determination. The Department will expect from you, without delay of sending through General Taylor, a reply to this communication, embracing your views and the facts you may possess having a bearing on matters connected with the proposed expedition."

General Taylor replied October 15th saying that the further his army penetrated into Mexico, the longer the line over which supplies must be transported, until San Luis Potosi be occupied; and to march against that city would require an army of 20,000, half of which should be regulars, with an additional 5,000 to keep open his line of communication and to secure his base. At the date of his letter he had 9,000 volunteers and 3,000 regulars. With this small force, 3,000 of which were required to keep open his communications, he regarded his numbers as entirely inadequate, and as he had but half the force requisite to move against San Luis, it was quite impossible for him to make the double move, and that nothing less than twenty-five or thirty thousand men could justify those two moves, on any military principle. Largely increased means and material of every kind would be equally necessary to render the army effective, such as cavalry and artillery horses, means of transportation and ordnance stores, in all of which the army he had led against Monterey was deficient when it marched from Camargo, and over six thousand troops had to be left on the Rio Grande for want of transportation. He limited his remarks to the position of the army on the Monterey and Rio Grande line, and the essentials for a campaign against San Luis, the suggestions in the Secretary's letter being confined to this general theatre of operations, but he stated that should the Government deter-

mine to strike a decisive blow at Mexico, it was his opinion that the force should land near Vera Cruz or Alvarado, and after establishing a secure depot, march thence on the capital. The amount of troops required for this service would not fall short, in his judgment, of 25,000 men, of which at least 10,000 should be regulars.

In conclusion he said: "I feel it my duty to make some remarks which I would gladly have been spared the necessity of submitting. I feel it due to my position and to the service to record my protest against the manner in which the Department has sought to make an important detachment from my command, specifically indicating not only the general officers, but to a considerable extent the troops that were to compose it. While I remain in command of the army against Mexico, and am therefore justly held responsible by the Government and the country for the conduct of its operations, I must claim the right of organizing all detachments from it and regulating the time and manner of their service. Above all do I consider it important that the War Department should refrain from corresponding directly with my subordinates and communicating orders and instructions on points which, by all military precept and practice, pertain exclusively to the general-in-chief commanding. Confusion and disaster alone can result from such a course. The reason alleged, viz, the loss of time in communicating with General Patterson, has no application, for the Secretary's despatch came from that officer to my headquarters in sixty hours, and he could not move, at any rate, without drawing largely upon this column for artillery and regular troops.

"I beg to be understood that my remarks have no personal application. It was quite probable, in the event of making such a detachment, I would have placed it under General Patterson, but I conceive that mode of regulating details and ordering detachments direct from the Department of War to be a violation of the integrity of the chief command in the field, pregnant with the worst evils and against which I deem it my duty respectfully but earnestly to protest."

This manly letter from General Taylor must be approved by all intelligent soldiers of practical knowledge in the command of troops, and will be endorsed certainly by all who

have been intrusted with the command of armies during war, and who are competent for such positions. General Taylor, of course, knew it was the President and not the Secretary who gave the orders, and he also knew the President had the power to give them if he chose; but it was a departure from well-founded and long continued usage of the service, and he conceived it to be his duty and that the interest of the country through that of the service demanded that he protest against such action on the part of his legal superior, whose orders his oath of office required him to obey.

A communication, dated October 15th, was the first to General Taylor after the receipt at Washington of his dispatches announcing the battle and capitulation of Monterey. It contained well-expressed compliments to General Taylor and the troops under his command, and no one can question their sincerity; but, touching the capitulation, the Secretary said: "The President instructs me to say that he regrets it was not deemed advisable to insist upon the terms which you had first proposed. The circumstances which dictated doubtless justified the change. The Government did not contemplate, as you will perceive by the tenor of the dispatches of September 21st and 22d from this Department, that there would probably happen any contingency in the prosecution of the war in which it would be expedient to suspend hostilities before the offer of acceptable terms of peace. The Government is fully persuaded that if you had been aware of the special reasons disclosed in the dispatches of September 22d, and the intentions of the Government still entertained, you would not have acceded to the suspension of hostilities for even the limited period specified in the articles of capitulation, but as its continuance depends upon the orders of your Government, you are instructed to give the requisite notice that the armistice is to cease at once, and that each party is at liberty to resume and prosecute hostilities without restriction."

In reply to the above letter, General Taylor, after reciting several good reasons why the capitulation was agreed to, and such as were entirely satisfactory to the army present at the time, showed conclusively that the United States, in the condition his army was in, and not from any oversight on his part, had lost nothing by the armistice.

In regard to the armistice, the fact that in eleven days the period fixed by the convention would terminate, and that he was not prepared to advance in force, is sufficient explanation of the military reason which dictated the suspension of arms. It paralyzed the enemy during a period when, from the want of the necessary transportation and supplies, General Taylor could not possibly move. Other good reasons (not military) were assigned for agreeing to the capitulation of Monterey.

He concluded his letter thus: "The result of the entire operation, the move upon Monterey, and the battle of three days there fought, has been to throw the Mexican army back more than 300 miles beyond Monterey to the city of San Luis Potosi, and open up the country to us as far as we choose to penetrate it up to the same point."

At this late date, when the actors in these movements have passed away and with all the facts and official correspondence before us, the conclusion is evident that General Taylor displayed good judgment in agreeing to the convention of Monterey, and that he was always straightforward and honest in his correspondence with the War Department, clear, intelligent, and forcible, his logic unanswerable, and his style a model for the military profession.

November 9th he advised the department that in obedience to instructions contained in the communication of October 13th he had formally notified the general-in-chief of the Mexican forces that the armistice agreed to at Monterey would cease on the 13th instant, the date at which the notice would probably reach San Luis Potosi. November 8th the order was issued for the occupation of Saltillo, the march to begin on the 13th, the detachment detailed for that purpose to be under General Worth and consisting of the Fifth and Eighth Regiments of Infantry, eight companies of the artillery battalion, Lieutenant-Colonel Duncan's battery, and Captain Blanchard's company of Louisiana Volunteers.

The War Department was under apprehensions, October 22d, that recent political changes in Mexico would tend to unite the people, arouse war feeling, and, under the leadership of Santa Anna, inspire a more powerful and determined resistance. Hopes of disaffection and luke-warm support of the war in the more northern States of Mexico could no longer

be indulged, and the question of supplies as Taylor's troops advanced beyond Saltillo being a serious one, the move in that direction being mainly dependent upon it, doubts were entertained whether or not he should advance beyond his present position. Should he concur in this opinion he would turn his attention to making his position at Monterey secure and keeping open his communications with the Rio Grande. The department, however, did not intend to restrain him if he wished to make expeditions from Monterey into Nuevo Leon, as these might prove beneficial by confusing the Mexicans as to his real design or purpose.

General Taylor was also informed that a move upon Vera Cruz was under advisement, that it was believed that city might be taken, the castle of San Juan de Ulua reduced or compelled to surrender, and if he should decide to remain at Monterey and call General Worth to his immediate command the requisite number of troops could be withdrawn from his forces and sent to Vera Cruz.

He would therefore, unless it materially interfered with his own plan of operations or weakened him too much in his present position, make the necessary preparations for having 4,000 men, 1,500 or 2,000 to be regulars, ready to embark for Vera Cruz or such other destination as may be designated, at the earliest practicable period, and Brazos was indicated as the probable point of embarkation. It would be well to make the impression that Tampico was to be the point of attack. General Patterson, who was to command the expedition, had been furnished with a copy of this letter to General Taylor.

It must impress many, and even those not soldiers, that it was unusual, and a selection that could not have been anticipated, to order General Patterson to take charge of an enterprise like that of the siege of Vera Cruz, an operation that demanded, besides a general knowledge of the military profession, so much that was purely technical and in such operations most essential. It is not the purpose to underestimate General Patterson, but his previous life-long avocations were not such as to encourage the belief that he was a competent leader for such an expedition.

November 25th the War Department informed General Taylor that it had been determined not to push invasion be-

yond Monterey unless it be to occupy Saltillo as an outpost, this conclusion having been reached mainly through his own letter. Hence offensive moves being suspended on his line, a sufficient force could be detached for a successful attack upon important places on the coast, which would take more forces than had been previously suggested, and the President having decided to send Major-General Scott to the seat of war, had communicated this decision to him on November 18th.

The Secretary referred then, reluctantly, to the protest of General Taylor against interference with the army while he was in command, and said nothing was further from his purpose, that he was only the *medium of communication* between the President and the army, but that General Taylor could not question the right of the President or general-in-chief to give orders. He then added : " With the disposition, which I am sure you possess, to judge fairly on the subject, I allow myself to hope that on reflection you will perceive that the reasons alleged for a direct communication with General Patterson were not idle ones, and perhaps you may regard it, as it was and still is here regarded, of sufficient importance to justify the course adopted." And in conclusion: " I assure you that nothing could be further from the views of the department than any intention to interfere with or derogate from the authority belonging to you, by right or usage, as commanding general, and allow me to add that after full consideration of the part of the dispatch deemed by you exceptionable, I am unable to convince myself that either in the manner or matter, all circumstances considered, it furnishes just grounds for your animadversions."

Soldiers well understand that General Taylor was right, while other persons equally honest, but not familiar with the military profession, may not see that he had cause for remonstrance, it being competent under the law for the President to give orders in the case. Military men also know that selecting a civilian to direct siege operations might be a very hazardous experiment, however well the public interests might be supposed to be guarded, by surrounding such commander with an educated and competent staff.

In September, 1846, General Scott addressed the Secretary of War as follows :

HEADQUARTERS OF THE ARMY,
WEST POINT, N. Y., *September 12, 1846.*

SIR: In the letter I had the honor to address to you the 27th of May last, I requested that I might be sent to take the immediate command of the principal army against Mexico, either "to-day or any better time the President may be pleased to designate."

The horse regiments, twelve months' volunteers, destined for that army, being, I suppose, within fifteen or twenty marches of the Rio Grande, and the season for consecutive operations at hand, I respectfully ask to remind the President of that standing request. I do it without any hesitation in respect to Major-General Taylor, having reason to believe that my presence at the head of the army in the field, in accordance with my rank, is neither unexpected nor undesired by that gallant and distinguished commander.

A slight return of chills and fever may detain me here with my family long enough to receive your reply to this note. Should the President yield to my wishes, a few hours in New York and Philadelphia would enable me to make certain arrangements and save the necessity of a return to these cities from Washington. I suppose it would be easy for me to reach the Rio Grande by the end of this month. With high respect, I have the honor to be

Your obedient servant,

WINFIELD SCOTT.

Hon. W. L. MARCY, *Secretary of War.*

To this request of General Scott the following reply was made by the Secretary of War:

WAR DEPARTMENT,
WASHINGTON, *September 14, 1846.**

SIR: I have received your letter of the 12th inst., and submitted it to the President. He requests me to inform you that it is not within the arrangements for conducting the campaign in Mexico to supersede General Taylor in his present command by assigning you to it. I am, with great respect,

Your obedient servant,

W. L. MARCY.

Major-General SCOTT.

Two months later the President decided to send Major-General Scott to the seat of war, and so notified him on November 18th. The following is the order under which General Scott left Washington for Mexico:

WAR DEPARTMENT,
WASHINGTON, *November 23, 1846.*

SIR: The President several days since communicated to you in person his orders to repair to Mexico, to take command of the forces

* Just one year later, September 14, 1847, General Scott after a series of brilliant victories entered the City of Mexico.

there assembled, and particularly to organize and set on foot an expedition to operate on the Gulf Coast, if on arriving at the theatre of action you shall deem it practicable. It is not proposed to control you by definite and positive instructions, but you are left to prosecute them as your judgment, under a full view of all the circumstances, shall dictate. The work is before you, and the means provided, or to be provided for accomplishing it, are committed to you in the full confidence that you will use them to the best advantage. The objects which it is desirable to obtain have been indicated, and it is hoped that you will have the requisite force to accomplish them. Of this you must be the judge, when preparations are made and the time for action has arrived.

Very respectfully your obedient servant,

W. L. MARCY,
Secretary of War.

Maj.-Gen. WINFIED SCOTT, *Washington.*

It will be seen that under this order General Scott was not to be controled in his operations by definite and positive instructions, but to prosecute them as his judgment should dictate in full view of all circumstances. Upon him was the responsibility ; he was to be free to exercise his judgment, and such means as he deemed necessary were to be provided. The day after the receipt of the order Scott left Washington for New York, and the next day addressed the following private or confidential letter to General Taylor. The selection of Taylor to command the Army of Occupation was made with the concurrence of General Scott, as we learn from his autobiography.

[Private and confidential.]

NEW YORK, *November 25, 1846.*

MY DEAR GENERAL : I left Washington late in the day yesterday, and expect to embark for New Orleans the 30th inst. By December 12th I may be in that city, at Point Isabel the 17th, and at Camargo, say, 23d, in order to be within easy corresponding distance from you. It is not probable that I may be able to visit Monterey, and circumstances may prevent your coming to me. I shall regret not having an early opportunity of felicitating you in person upon your many brilliant achievements, but we may meet somewhere in the interior of Mexico.

I am not coming, my dear general, to supersede you in the immediate command on the line of operations, rendered illustrious by you and your gallant army. My proposed theatre is different. You may imagine it, and I wish very much that it were prudent at this distance

to tell you all that I expect to attempt or hope to execute. I have been admonished that despatches have been lost, and I have no special messenger at hand. Your imagination will be aided by the letters of the Secretary of War, conveyed by Mr. Armistead, Major Graham, and Mr. McLane.

But, my dear general, I shall be obliged to take from you most of the gallant officers and men (regular and volunteer) whom you have so long and so nobly commanded. I am afraid that I shall by imperious necessity, the approach of yellow fever on the gulf coast, reduce you for a time to stand on the defensive. This will be infinitely painful to you, and for that reason distressing to me ; but I rely on your patriotism to submit to the temporary sacrifice with cheerfulness. No man can better afford to do so. Recent victories place you on that high eminence, and I even flatter myself that any benefit that may result to me personally from the unequal division of troops alluded to will lessen the pain of your consequent inactivity.

You will be aware of the recent call for nine regiments of new volunteers, including one of Texas horse. The President may soon ask for many more, and we are not without hope that Congress may add ten or twelve to the regular establishments. These by the spring, say April, may by the aid of large bounties be in the field, should Mexico not earlier propose terms of accommodation, and long before the spring (March, it is probable) you will be again in force to resume offensive operations.

I am writing at a late hour of the night and more than half sick of a cold. I may dispatch another note before I embark, but from New Orleans or Point Isabel, you will hear from me officially and fully. It was not possible for me to find time to write from Washington, as I much desired. I only received an intimation to hold myself in preparation for Mexico on the 18th instant. Much has been done towards that end, and more remains to be executed.

Your detailed report of the operations at Monterey and reply to the Secretary's dispatch, by Lieutenant Armistead, were both received two days after I was instructed to proceed south. In haste, my dear General,

Yours faithfully,

WINFIELD SCOTT.

Maj.-Gen. ZACHARY TAYLOR, *United States Army.*

The harbor of Tampico de Tamaulipas was always regarded as one of the best on the Gulf, and its importance in both military and commercial points of view were so appreciated by the Mexican Government that it was well and strongly fortified. Situated on the left bank of the Panuco River, two leagues from the sea and near Lake Carpintero, which lies quite near the river, it formed a point of some strength as a defensive position, and was known in history for the vigorous defense made in 1829 against the Spaniards.

When General Taylor advanced to the Rio Grande the Mexican Government ordered it to be strengthened with field works, having first called upon Gen. D. Anastacio Parrodi for a report as to its condition. He replied that the fortifications had been razed in 1837, as they gave shelter and points of defense to disturbers of public order, who kept the district in constant agitation, and that it was also deficient in troops. Upon receipt of this report orders were given to fortify it, so as to render it capable of good defense. Troops, supplied with a liberal amount of ammunition, were despatched to it, and in October, 1846, it contained a garrison of over 1,000 men, composed of the battalions of the Twelfth of the Line, the Actives of Puebla; the Guarda Costa of Tampico; the Companies Veterana of Tampico; a company of the Sixth Cavalry of Tamaulipas; a detachment of artillery, 120 guns of all calibers and near 2,000 national guards; and in addition to this land force, three vessels of war—Union, Poblano, and the Queretana.

General Parrodi, notified to consider himself under the orders of Gen. Santa Anna, was subsequently ordered to turn the command over to Gen. D. Francisco Garay, and the day this officer arrived to assume command Parrodi was instructed by Santa Anna to evacuate the place and march to Tula de Tamaulipas, seventy leagues in the interior and beyond the Sierra Madre mountains. Tula is a mountain pass on the San Luis and Victoria road, about eighty miles from the latter place.

The order to evacuate Tampico was a surprise to Parrodi, as he had fortified it at considerable expense and had construed the order of the Government to Garay (to relieve him in command) as evidence that it was to be held at all hazards. The order to abandon Tampico produced widespread discontent among the citizens; even the soldiers murmured. The excitement and irration were extreme; it was asserted treason was at the bottom of it, and those who did not believe or utter such sentiments thought the move unwise, as the Government would lose much revenue not only from customs, but those accruing on a multitude of articles already stored in the city. The governor, Nuñez Ponce, in sympathy with his people, and unwilling to witness the great destruction of

property that would follow the retreat from Tampico, offered funds to Parrodi to defray the expense of holding it.

Parrodi, disclaiming any intention of disobeying the order of Santa Anna, sent an express to San Luis, explaining in what way there would be heavy loss of war material and that it would require 800 pack mules to move the public property, while but 300 could be obtained. Incensed by this communication, Santa Anna reiterated the order, indicated October 27th as the day on which the evacuation must take place, and informed Parrodi that he would be held responsible for its faithful and prompt execution.

As but little time was allowed, the war ships—Union, Poblano, and Queretana—were loaded with the valuables that could be saved and placed under charge of Surgeon D. Francisco Marchante, who was to take them to Tamoral, fifty leagues above by the river Tamesis, seven leagues from Villa de Valles, thence by land to the Sierra Madre, and over these to Tula. Some of the vessels could only go as high as Panuco, on the right bank of the Panuco river, where the valuables were transferred to canoes and the three vessels returned to Tampico, having been sold to a merchant.

On the 27th the first detachment of troops marched from the town, to be followed on the 28th by the remainder, accompanied by General Parrodi. Santa Anna, informed of the state of feeling at Tampico and the resistance to the execution of his orders, and blaming Parrodi for it all, sent Gen. D. Jose Urrea to relieve him of the command. This officer met Parrodi October 29th near the point of the Laguna de la Purita, took charge of the troops, continued the march to Horcacitas, Santa Barbara, and thence to Tula, where they arrived November 16th, having been twenty-one days making the distance from Tampico. One of the vessels of the United States blockading squadron in the gulf, cruising off the bar and being near the mouth of the river, learned what had transpired and reported it to the commander of the squadron, who ordered Tampico to be occupied, November 15th, by four or five hundred sailors and marines.

Marchante, who had been detained at Panuco without means, without soldiers to guard his valuable freight—the canoes not coming to his assistance—narrowly escaped. The

officer commanding the United States forces in Tampico, being informed by a Mexican of Marchante's detention at Panuco, ordered several launches, with 100 men, to ascend the river and capture him; but, being warned by a countryman in Tampico, he secured small boats, abandoned eight guns—18 and 24-pounders—threw kegs of powder and other property into the river, and escaped just before the arrival of the launches. The officer in charge of these, being told that he had been gone so long he could not be overtaken, put the cannon and other trophies on the launches and returned to Tampico, where, learning he had been deceived and that Marchante could be overtaken and captured, he despatched a second expedition (consisting of two steamboats with 100 men each) up the river, but this expedition also failed—two of the boats not being able to ascend far enough—and Marchante, though entirely helpless, escaped capture. He had, with great efforts, secured the assistance of citizens and had gotten his stores to the Pugal.

General Urrea, in the meantime, learning from Tampico how serious had been the loss in public property, sought to repair the great wrong in abandoning Marchante, charged with the care of so much that was valuable, and accordingly ordered, November 28th, Commandante D. Jose Barreiro to leave Tula with 200 infantry and a small cavalry force and march at once to Marchante's relief, and to arrest, if necessary, all officers who had caused delay and danger. Barreiro, arriving at Villa de Valles, secured the services of a large body of the national guards and many laborers, and, sending out small parties in many directions, marched alone to Pugal, where he found Marchante. The Americans had steamed up as far as Tamanal, and there, learning of the force sent to the relief of Marchante, returned to Tampico.

Barreiro, being with Marchante in the Pugal, unloaded the stores promptly, and by December 1st returned with the trains to Tula. The rough road, over which neither wagons nor artillery had ever before passed, offered many difficulties, but patience and perseverance finally prevailed; cannon were passed along at many places by hand, other property by muleteers, and the remainder of the supplies were finally saved,

all of which, in the opinion of many intelligent Mexicans, should have been used in defense of Tampico.

Santa Anna, dissatisfied from what he had heard, made grave charges against Urrea and ordered Gen. D. Joachim Morlet, colonel of the Puebla regiment, to be sent to save this train. Morlet set out at once, but met the trains moving along in good order at Villa de Valles. Urrea, vexed at Santa Anna's impatience, went also to meet them, and on December 25th the convoy reached Tula.

No one can read of the sufferings of Arista's army on its retreat from Matamoros without being painfully moved, nor can we think of the labor and almost superhuman efforts, made with scanty means, to save the public property at Tampico, evacuated hastily and under a peremptory order issued at a distance and apparently in ignorance of the condition of affairs at that place, without feelings of lively sympathy and admiration for the energy, courage, and fortitude displayed by Marchante, Arista and others.

When General Taylor threw Worth's command forward to Saltillo, it was regarded by the Mexicans as a menace to San Luis Potosi, and when Patterson was ordered by Taylor from the Rio Grande to Victoria to unite there with the troops from Monterey, Santa Anna conceived his right flank threatened and ordered Tula to be reinforced, General Valencia having already been assigned to its command. Santa Anna ordered the Pass to be fortified and Gen. D. Ignacio Mora y Villamil repaired thither with a section of engineers.

They (engineers) reported that the Pass of Tula had heights on all sides commanding it, and even if fortified and garrisoned, must succumb if attacked, but they indicated other points on this same flank (right) whose importance had been overlooked, and which were capable of an effective resistance. Santa Anna, however, having ordered the Tula Pass to be strengthened, did not heed their suggestions.

Valencia lay idle in the Tula Pass, while the Americans occupied Victoria, some eighty miles distant, and then continued their march on to Tampico, their right flank all the time exposed. He asked permission to be allowed to move upon Victoria and attack the Americans, or if this was

deemed unadvisable, to be allowed at least to advance with a corps of guerillas and harass them by attacking their rear guards and trains, but Santa Anna, annoyed by the repeated requests of Valencia, which he regarded as evidence of insubordination, reprimanded him and relieved him from duty, assigning Gen. D. Ciriaco Vasquez to his place. Valencia was known to be courageous and enterprising, and Santa Anna feared that in his eagerness to fight he might disobey orders, and thus thwart his general plan of campaign, which was to bring his whole force, united, compact, and strong upon Taylor.

Valencia, relieved from command, was ordered to Guajuato. One of the strangest incidents connected with the evacuation of Tampico is that General Parrodi was brought before a court martial and tried for ordering the evacuation of Tampico, but justly acquitted. The Americans having passed through Victoria and on to Tampico, the division of Mexican troops at Tula was withdrawn to San Luis and formed part of the army with which Santa Anna attacked Taylor in February, 1847, at Buena Vista.

CHAPTER IX.

GENERAL SCOTT SAILS FROM NEW YORK TO NEW ORLEANS.—
CORRESPONDENCE, ETC.—THE MARCH TO VICTORIA.

General Scott sailed from New York to New Orleans November 30th, but, owing to head winds and northers after reaching the Gulf, was nineteen days making the trip. On December 20th he informed General Taylor of the object of his being assigned to command in Mexico—viz., to conduct an expedition against Vera Cruz and the castle of San Juan de Ulua, to the end that if successful, a new and shorter line of operations upon the Mexican capital might be opened.

The first difficulty anticipated by General Scott was the concentration in time, off the Brazos, of a force large enough to give reasonable hopes of success before the usual period—end of March—of the return of the black vomit to the coast of Mexico. He regarded 15,000 troops (5,000 to be regulars) and the co-operation of the navy desirable, if not absolutely necessary, but he would go forward if he could assemble 5,000 regulars and 3,000 volunteers. The middle of January was the date named for the general rendezvous off Brazos of the transports with troops and supplies in order that debarkation might be made near Vera Cruz as early as February 1st.

On all these points and others connected with the invasion of Mexico, Taylor's advice was requested; he hoped they might meet at Camargo or lower down the river, and said he would send an officer at an early date to communicate his views in detail. In the matter of the new regiments of volunteers, called for from the States, he could hardly expect more

than four to reach Brazos by January 15th, and he foresaw as he had intimated in his letter of November 25th from New York, that he would be compelled to withdraw so many troops from Taylor's command as to reduce him to the defensive, though it would be of the greatest importance to the success of his own expedition for Taylor to be strong enough to act offensively in the direction of San Luis Potosi.

In addition to the regulars and volunteers at Tampico and *en route* to that place, he wished Worth's division of regulars, two field batteries (Duncan's and Taylor's), 500 regular and the same number of volunteer cavalry, and as many volunteer foot as he could spare to be sent, Taylor retaining only a force adequate to hold Monterey and preserve his communications with Camargo, the mouth of the Rio Grande, and Point Isabel. He wished these troops to be at the mouth of the river January 15th, and as he believed that the troops at Tampico were at a better point for embarking, a garrison would be left there. The second day after his arrival in New Orleans, Scott wrote the Secretary of War acknowledging receipt of several communications and stating that he had seen two letters of the War Department to Col. Thomas F. Hunt, quartermaster at New Orleans, in which the Secretary had directed vessels loaded with ordnance and ordnance stores to rendezvous at Pensacola rather than at Brazos; of this he approved. He expressed fears that most, if not all, the new regiments of volunteers would be backward in organization and embarkation, and would have no time for tactical instruction at Pensacola or elsewhere, before landing in Mexico, in the enemy's presence.

He urged that the chiefs of staff, near the Secretary, be instructed to push forward the volunteers to Brazos, so that as many regiments as possible might be there by the middle of January, and stated he would leave instructions of the same purport with General Brooke, commanding in New Orleans, with reference to the four regiments to pass out of the Mississippi, and that such troops as should reach Brazos after he had sailed south would find requisite instructions where to go. He reported there were rumors of Taylor being about to move a portion of his troops upon Victoria via Linares.

December 23d he wrote the Secretary that the steamship *Alabama* had been detained receiving freight and five companies of mounted rifles, enclosed a copy of a letter written to Commodore Conner, called the Secretary's attention to what he (Scott) had said about Lobos Island as the place for assembling the troops to take part in the expedition against Vera Cruz, and requested that ships with troops and supplies (yet to sail) be ordered there rather than to Pensacola, Brazos, or Tampico. Volunteer regiments not likely to be in time for his descent near Vera Cruz should be excepted, and the rearmost of these ordered to Brazos.

He also addressed a letter to General Brooke, commanding department with headquarters at New Orleans, reminding him of the importance of the position he held in respect to the war in Mexico, which he felt assured he would fill with his usual zeal, energy, and judgment. * * * "As troops and supplies arrived, he wished them despatched to the Brazos, subject to his (Scott's) further orders. Each transport should have on board subsistence for its troops for three months. Boats for embarkation and debarkation, then under construction on the Atlantic coast, should come out with the troops expected from that direction." His instructions covered all points, even to the minutest details.

He also wrote, before sailing for the Brazos, to Commodore Conner, notifying him of his having been ordered to Mexico, and the probability of their being associated in joint operations against the enemy; indicated the date when he hoped to have the fleet of transports assembled at Brazos and Tampico, and of the expected force. The number, he said, would greatly depend on the force the enemy would have to oppose his descent from the open sea, meaning a Mexican army in the field, not the garrisons and guns of any city or fort. Of the probability of meeting such an army, and of its numbers, he relied greatly on information he (Conner) might be able to impart, and on agents which he (Scott) had employed, or was about to employ. "Those agents on leaving Mexico are or will be instructed to report in writing or in person to you, or to some superior officer of your squadron, relying on your kindness to transmit the information rapidly to me," and he begged that instructions be given to board all neutral vessels

coming out of the enemy's ports, say after the 10th of next month, in order to receive such agents or their written reports, otherwise they may be compelled to return, or report from Havana.

Upon information just obtained he thought it quite probable he might appoint the roadstead between the Island of Lobos and the main land some fifty or sixty miles beyond Tampico as a general rendezvous for transports and other vessels with troops and supplies destined for the expedition in question. If as good a harbor as reported, it would serve to mask his views admirably. He desired information on the subject, although he might be compelled to act to some extent before he could hear from him. Having made most detailed reports, and given instructions, both general and special, covering all points connected with the contemplated expedition, General Scott set sail on the steamship *Alabama* December 23d for Brazos Santiago.

Arriving at Brazos on the 29th, he found both there and at the mouth of the Rio Grande exciting and contradictory rumors touching General Taylor's army and the dangers threatening it. He wrote the Secretary, under date of December 30th, from Matamoros, that an officer had just arrived from General Patterson at San Fernando, and reported that the latter had on the morning of the 27th inst. official dispatches from Major-General Taylor, saying that he was about to return with a part of his movable column to Monterey, in order to support Brigadier-General Worth, understood to be menaced at Saltillo by Santa Anna with a powerful army. He continued: "This information has determined me to proceed up the river to Camargo, in order to meet dispatches from Major-General Taylor, and if his outpost should be seriously menaced, to join him rapidly." Otherwise, he would be at Camargo within easy corresponding distance of Taylor, in respect to his (Scott's) ulterior destination. He further stated: "If the enemy be acting offensively with a large force, which I doubt, he must first be repulsed and crippled before I can proceed to the new and more distant theatre."

We will now refer to the move made by General Taylor upon Victoria, with Major-General Patterson from Mata-

moros, Twiggs with his division of regulars and Quitman with his brigade of volunteers, from Monterey. The authorities at Washington had determined not to undertake offensive operations of magnitude on Taylor's front beyond Monterey, but to occupy the State of Tamaulipas, or the most important places in it, before or soon after the meeting of the Mexican Congress in December.

General Taylor, under date of November 26th, from Monterey, reported that he had been officially notified the day before of the occupation of Tampico by the naval forces under Commodore Perry on the 14th, and also that it had been evacuated on the 27th of October by the Mexican garrison. Upon the request of Commodore Perry General Patterson had promptly ordered a battalion of artillery, six companies, to proceed without delay and relieve the marines and sailors then holding it. General Taylor approved of this order of his subordinates and increased the force by one regiment of volunteers. Brigadier-General James Shields was ordered to Tampico, and upon his arrival to assume command. General Taylor still proposed to move upon Victoria, reconnoiter the country, and examine the passes leading from Linares and other points to the interior.

Before leaving Monterey for Victoria he deemed it proper to explain to the Secretary the disposition that had been and would be made for the occupation and defense of that part of Mexico, and, that it might be well understood, enclosed with his communication a map showing the line from Parras to Tampico, which was evidently a strong one and easily defended with competent forces, which need not be great in numbers. The map made it evident that San Luis was equidistant from important points on the line, that a force there would have great advantages, and, notwithstanding the country between San Luis and this line was deficient in water and subsistence, it was the only one practicable for artillery and wagons between Saltillo and Monterey.

It was of prime importance to hold Parras and Saltillo and the intermediate town of Patos, the forces of Wool at the former and those of Worth at the latter making the right flank secure. Worth would be reinforced particularly with cavalry, and a reserve held at Monterey to support the

advanced positions when threatened. Monterey would be the headquarters of General Butler, commanding the reserve ; his own troops proper, Ohio, Indiana, and Kentucky, would be there in echelon on the road to Camargo and the mouth of the Rio Grande. Tampico, the extreme left of the line, was garrisoned by eight companies of artillery and an Alabama foot regiment of volunteers, in all about 1,000 effectives, ample to hold it, as the harbor was already held by the navy. Victoria, between Tampico and Monterey, the capital of Tamaulipas, was an important place, and should be occupied. Its seaport, Soto la Marina, confronted Tula Pass leading through the Sierra Madre, and threatened the flank of an army moving from San Luis towards Saltillo. These considerations, before the evacuation of Tampico, had attracted his attention, and he regarded them as more important now than ever, having reason to believe that General Urrea with a corps of observation was at Tula sending out detachments as far as Victoria.

General Patterson had, accordingly, been ordered to march from Matamoros to Victoria with three regiments of volunteers, two pieces of artillery, a detachment of Tennessee horse serving as cannoneers, commanded by Lieut. C. Roberdeau Wheat, and the engineer company under Lieut. G. W. Smith.

At Montemorelos the Second Infantry, under Lieut.-Col. Bennet Riley, would join Twiggs, and with this force Taylor expected to make a junction with Patterson at Victoria. Having established a depot, if found practicable, at Soto la Marina, examined the passes, and made a careful and judicious disposition of the troops, he would return with a portion of the regulars, unless otherwise ordered, and take up his headquarters at Saltillo, which he regarded as the most important point. Under this arrangement Patterson would be left near the coast, and Butler hold the line of communication from the mouth of the Rio Grande to Saltillo.

The march from Monterey to Victoria began with the regulars under Brigadier-General Twiggs on December 13th, followed on the 14th by Quitman's brigade of volunteers; the general himself followed on the 15th. After Twiggs was joined on the 17th at Montemorelos by Colonel Riley, the whole force, 3,500 strong, was to have marched on the 19th

for Victoria, but before reaching Montemorelos General Taylor received a dispatch from General Worth at Saltillo, reporting that Santa Anna designed to take advantage of the detaching of forces to Victoria, by rapid marches reach and attack him at Saltillo, and, if successful, move on Wool at Parras. Without means of ascertaining the correctness of this report, General Taylor returned with the regulars to Monterey, where he was in position to relieve Saltillo if necessary. Quitman, reinforced with a battery, was ordered to continue his march from Montemorelos upon Victoria and effect a junction with Patterson.

These were the moves and rumors of moves in circulation at Brazos, the mouth of the Rio Grande, and Matamoros upon General Scott's arrival and which he reported to the Secretary in his first communication from Mexico. In the meantime, Major-General Butler and Brigadier-General Wool, informed of the probable attack upon Worth, had moved forward to Saltillo with all the available forces at Parras* and Monterey; and Butler, dispatching orders to the troops in rear to hasten up, assumed command.

General Taylor had, December 22d, gone beyond Monterey towards Saltillo, when he received a dispatch announcing the early arrival of Wool's troops, that the expected movement by Santa Anna did not take place, and that the Mexican advance posts had in fact been withdrawn. Regarding the force at Saltillo ample, Twiggs halted at Monterey, and after a rest of one day marched again towards Victoria, Patterson being well on his way from Matamoros. General Taylor arrived the second time at Montemorelos December 25th, and resumed the march with Twiggs' division for Victoria. A topographical engineer officer with a cavalry escort was ordered to examine the Mountain Pass of Lopadores, distant two days' march, and left Lopadores the morning of the 28th for San Pedro, situated at the entrance of the Santa Rosa Pass. Twiggs' command came up the 26th, and on the 29th Quitman without opposition occupied Victoria, which had been held by General Urrea with a body of cavalry 1,500 strong,

*General Wool marched from Parras with his entire force and trains, arriving at La Encantada December 21st, and, having made 115 miles in less than four days, encamped at Agua Nudia.

having pickets out in the direction of Monterey as far as San Engracia. They fell back through Victoria, and the whole Mexican force retired towards the Tula Pass, halting at Jamaure. Valencia was reported to be at Tula with quite a large force. January 24th General Taylor, with Twiggs' division and General Patterson, reached Victoria. The examination of the Pass of Lopadores determined successfully the character of the route, but the escort was attacked in the Santa Rosa Pass, and the baggage with ten men cut off. General Taylor now learned unofficially that General Scott was in Mexico, and decided to await at Victoria his orders.

Anxious to be in direct communication with General Taylor, General Scott, on arriving on the Rio Grande, proceeded without loss of time up the river to Camargo, where he hoped to meet dispatches. While on the river, before arriving at Camargo, he wrote January 3d to General Butler at Monterey that he learned General Taylor had marched a second time for Victoria, and that he (Scott) enclosed to him a copy of the letter of the 20th ult. written to Taylor, which would explain his mission, and the necessity he was under of giving him direct instructions. He stated that his letter to General Taylor of the 20th ult. had been criminally delayed, and might not yet have been received; that a previous one of November 25th, a copy of which he enclosed, had met, he learned, with a more tedious transmission. These details mentioned were given as an indirect apology to General Taylor for his necessary interference with his command, and the apology would, on the first occasion, be made direct.

General Scott then referred to the expedition against Vera Cruz, to the conduct of which he had been assigned, of the necessity of speedy action to accomplish this object before the return of the yellow fever, to be looked for by the end of March, and stated his principal force must be drawn from the troops then under General Taylor. Those already at Tampico and the most of those at Victoria should be embarked at the former place and a garrison be left there as also an escort for General Taylor on his return to Monterey. He would send instructions for the movement from Victoria to Tampico. The other troops to be detached from General Taylor's com-

mand should march to the mouth of the Rio Grande or Point Isabel, to embark for the Brazos.

Having no reliable returns, he supposed General Taylor to have near seventeen thousand men, 7,000 being regulars and 10,000 volunteers. Standing on the defensive he believed 2,000 regulars and 5,000 volunteers would enable him to hold Monterey and the line of communication back to the mouth of the Rio Grande; leaving out Victoria and Saltillo, because they may be held or abandoned without material influence, and on this point he gave no opinion, leaving it to General Taylor or in his absence to himself (General Butler).

Without delay, and without waiting to hear from General Taylor, General Butler must put in movement for the mouth of the Rio Grande the following troops: about 500 regular cavalry of the First and Second Dragoons, 500 volunteer cavalry, two field batteries of light artillery, Duncan's and Taylor's, 4,000 regular infantry, which would include artillery serving as infantry, and 4,000 volunteers, all to be under Brigadier-General Worth. From these were to be deducted the troops at Victoria and Tampico (less the garrison at the latter and the escort General Taylor may require back to Monterey), one of the volunteer regiments at Matamoros, and no other deductions, unless pressed by the immediate presence of the enemy, were to be made.

Scott wrote on the same date to General Taylor, acknowledging receipt of his letter of the 26th ult., in reply to his communication of November 25th. He regretted that Taylor had not received his letter of the 20th ult., as it would have caused him to return to Monterey, for he found his great distance from him embarrassing, circumstances and extreme pressure of time rendering direct instructions of a very important character to Taylor, next in command, absolutely necessary. His attention was then called to the enclosed letter to General Butler, which Taylor must regard as addressed to himself, if he had returned to Monterey. He wrote that his letter to General Butler was so full it left but little to be said, even if time permitted. He (Taylor) was continued in the command he had so long and so honorably held; he would not interfere with him beyond the necessities of the service. He said further,

if he succeeded in taking Vera Cruz, and through it the Castle of San Juan de Ulua, a new line of operations would be opened upon the Mexican capital.

While engaged at Vera Cruz, he regretted no less on Taylor's account than his own that he would not be strong enough to manœuvre offensively upon San Luis Potosi, for it would greatly favor his siege operations and Taylor's own inclinations; but owing to the near approach of the *vomito*, he could not wait for the new troops; hence he was compelled, by diminishing Taylor's forces, to reduce him for the time to a strictly defensive course. He repeated previous instructions and hoped, if the troops arrived in time, to leave the Brazos February 1st, and Tampico for Vera Cruz some five days later. He believed his arrangements of every sort completed, except that everything depended upon drawing from his command about 5,000 regulars and 4,000 volunteers. With these forces, and adding three to five regiments of new volunteers (foot), he (Scott) expressed the opinion "that *Providence might defeat him, but he did not believe the Mexicans could.*"

Having returned to the mouth of the Rio Grande, he wrote January 8th to General Butler, calling attention to the fact that in previous letters he had not referred to the officers of the general staff, who were to accompany the troops drawn from the Army of Occupation. Presuming the requisite number would accompany them, he would be gratified if Colonel Whiting and Captain Sibley should be of the number, but he could not ask for the chief of any branch of the general staff on duty with General Taylor. It was his purpose to have Major Sumner command the 500 regular cavalry referred to in his previous letter, though he had failed to mention this in either of his previous letters.

He gave personal attention to everything connected with his expedition. January 12th he wrote from Brazos to General Brooke in New Orleans that the troops to embark there as well as at Tampico would probably not reach either place before late in the month, say 25th, and this would not be regretted if ships with troops, ordnance, etc., coming from the Mississippi and other more distant points for his army should arrive equally late. General Brooke was directed to instruct

all coming within his sphere of command, that troops arriving from the Mississippi, Mobile or Pensacola, would be too late if they came after February 10th, and he was cautioned to have all ships joining or following the expedition to have fuel and water for sixty days, if practicable, for ninety days, appending many other small but important details.

The same day he wrote to the War Department reporting his visit to Camargo, the false alarm, causing the marching and counter-marching between Monterey and Victoria, a subsequent one about the camp of Brigadier-General Wool and he said others would probably occur at the advanced posts, notwithstanding the inactivity of the enemy's nearest corps at San Luis Potosi. Such alarms were provoking and frequently caused interruptions of the wisest conceptions and plans.

He hoped to hear in four or five days that General Butler was dispatching troops to the coast, and in a week the arrival off the Brazos of ships with troops and supplies destined for Vera Cruz, which, after replenishing water tanks, would be ordered to Lobos Island. He did not doubt he would be off Vera Cruz with a respectable force by the 15th, hoped to be there by the 10th of February; if delayed it would be owing to the difficulty of getting troops down to the coast. He added: "Should success crown our arms a reinforcement of ten or twelve thousand regulars (about April) would be indispensable to enable me to make a consecutive advance on the capital of the enemy." He wished a new assistant adjutant-general, with the rank of major, to be appointed, as he did not expect to take one from either of the three major-generals then in Mexico.

General Butler wrote January 9th, informing General Scott that his instructions of January 3d, with reference to sending troops to the coast, were received about 4 p. m. on the 8th, and orders issued at once for the move to begin the following morning (9th). The troops ordered from Saltillo and vicinity embraced all the regular troops with Worth and Wool, except two companies of the First Dragoons, Captain Washington's Light Battery, with Wool, and Captain Webster's company with two 24-pound howitzers in Saltillo. To these Worth was ordered to add the Fourth Infantry at Monterey and Captains Thornton's and Hunter's companies of cavalry at

Camargo, Blanchard's company of Louisiana Volunteers, acting with the Fifth Infantry and a company of Kentucky foot with the Sixth Infantry. General Worth reported to General Scott from Saltillo January 9th that he would march that day for the mouth of the Rio Grande, would reach Monterey in three and a half days, Camargo in seven, and five to Matamoros, if the river was too low for steamers.

The excitement was great among the few troops in garrison at Monterey when it was known that Worth's command had been withdrawn from Saltillo under orders for the mouth of the Rio Grande. Among the junior officers there was much speculation as to the object of this counter march, the prevalent opinion being that the war was over, the troops returning to the States,* and that peace would be announced upon reaching the coast. The weather being cool the march to Camargo was made with but slight discomfort, the longest and most disagreeable day's journey being twenty-eight miles over a dusty road. The woods had been recently burned, there was a high wind blowing, and the faces and uniforms of the troops became disfigured by cinders and dust. The command encamped on a pretty and rapidly flowing stream, Chicharon, and before tents were pitched it was full of officers† and men bathing. The next day's march brought them to Mier, sixteen miles, the following to Camargo, twenty miles, and there the Fourth Infantry, together with General Worth and staff, boarded the steamer Colonel Cross and descended the Rio Grande.

They remained at the mouth of the river two days, then returned by steamer eighteen or twenty miles up the river and encamped for the convenience of wood, to await transporta-

* In Mexico the United States was always referred to by officers and soldiers as "The States."

† Lieut. Sid. Smith was the first to leave the bivouac for the purpose of bathing. There was a thick undergrowth along the banks of the stream and in it a drove of Pecoros, resembling the hog very much in appearance. They are quite fierce at times, and attacked Smith. He jumped upon the limb of a small sapling barely strong enough to bear his weight and about three feet from the ground. About twenty Pecoros underneath him reared upon their hind feet and snapped their teeth at only an inch or two from his feet. He was much alarmed; Beaman, Grant, and others coming to his rescue, the Pecoros fled, and Smith was released.

tion for Lobos Island. It became known here that General Scott was on the Rio Grande, that Worth's division was *en route* to Vera Cruz, that Twiggs' and Patterson's divisions had marched to Tampico to sail from thence to Lobos Island, and that when all had assembled the fleet of transports would weigh anchor and sail for Vera Cruz. All were in the best of spirits, and anticipating with interest, rather pleasure, the siege of Vera Cruz, had no doubt of its being taken, then if peace was not made the march to the interior would begin. All had implicit confidence in General Scott, and entertained no fears of the strength or powers of his army.

General Taylor addressed a letter from near Victoria on January 15th to the adjutant-general at General Scott's headquarters, reporting the junction with General Patterson's forces at Victoria January 4th, since which date he had been awaiting advices from General Scott, not doubting he would hear from him on his first arrival at Matamoros or perhaps from Tampico, to which place he sent on the 6th inst. a confidential messenger. Owing to a scarcity of supplies, he had ordered the troops to Tampico. General Twiggs' division had marched the 14th, Patterson's would march the 15th and 16th, and would reach their destination about the 25th.

Returns of these two commands were enclosed, the aggregate of Twiggs' (regulars), 1,465; of Patterson's (volunteers), 3,268, and of the entire force, 4,733. Colonel May's squadron of the Second Dragoons and the Mississippi Rifles had been retained as a guard to headquarters, and to escort a train of supplies, just in from Matamoros, back to Monterey, it not being necessary to send them on to Tampico. Bragg's and Sherman's batteries had been retained. Should he, however, have misunderstood instructions, he begged to be corrected, so they might be ordered without delay to join him. He could not write more fully, not knowing the action of General Butler, under the instructions of the general-in-chief. Upon his return to Monterey he might be able to give his views in regard to the wants of the service on the line proposed to be held.

On the same day, January 15th, he addressed a letter directly to General Scott, from which the following extracts are made: "In a communication addressed this day to your

staff officer I have replied to so much of your letter of the 6th inst. and its enclosures as relates to points of detail, but there are other and grave topics embraced in those communications to which I deem it my right and duty to reply direct. The amount of force to be drawn from this frontier and the manner in which it is proposed to withdraw it had never fully come to my knowledge until yesterday, though hinted at in your note of November 25th. Had you, general, relieved me at once in the whole command and assigned me to duty under your order or allowed me to retire from the field, be assured that no complaint would have been heard from me; but while almost every man of my regular force and half the volunteers (now in respectable discipline) are withdrawn for distant service, it seems that I am expected with less than 1,000 regulars and a volunteer force partly of new levies to hold a defensive line, while a large army of more than 20,000 men is in my front. * * * I cannot misunderstand the object of the arrangements indicated in your letters. I feel that I have lost the confidence of the Government or it would not have suffered me to remain up to this time ignorant of its intentions with regard to so vitally affecting interests committed to my charge. But, however much I may feel personally mortified and outraged by the course pursued, unprecedented at least in our own history, I will carry out in good faith while I remain in Mexico the views of the Government, though I may be sacrificed in the effort." There were several points of minor grievances referred to in this letter.

Could these two distinguished officers have met face to face, and General Scott have had an opportunity to explain to General Taylor the policy and intentions of the Government, there would have been no such misunderstanding, and the latter could not reasonably have felt so incensed and indignant at the course of the Government in assigning General Scott to command in Mexico or in withdrawing troops from his command. The Secretary of War and General Scott unquestionably believed that General Taylor expected troops to be taken from him, and, having suggested it, would approve it.

General Scott replied to the above letter January 26, 1847, from Brazos, as follows: "I have your two letters of the 15th

inst. There are some expressions in these letters which, as I wish to forget them, I will not recall. You intimate a preference for service in my particular expedition to remaining in your present position with greatly reduced numbers. I can most truly respond that to take you with me as second in command would contribute greatly to my personal delight, and, I confidently believe, to the success of that expedition; but I could not propose it to you for two reasons, either of which was conclusive with me at the moment: first, I thought you would be left in a higher and more responsible position where you are; and, secondly, I knew it was not contemplated by the Government to supersede you from that immediate command.

"If I had been within easy reach of you, at the time I called for troops from your line of operation, I should, as I had previously assured you, have consulted you fully on all points, and probably might have modified my call both as to the number and description of forces to be taken from, or to be left with, you. As it was, I had to act promptly, and to a considerable extent in the dark. All this, I think, will be apparent to you when you shall receive my letters. I hope I have left, or shall leave you, including the new volunteers who will soon be up, a competent force to defend the head of your line, Monterey, and its communications with the depots in the neighborhood. To enable you to do this more certainly, I must ask you to abandon Saltillo and to make no detachments much beyond Monterey, except for reconnoissances and immediate defense.

"I know this to be the wish of the Government, founded on reasons in which I concur; among them that the enemy intends to operate against small detachments and posts." He closed by asking: "I would make my official acknowledgements to Major-General Butler for the promptitude and zeal displayed by him in your temporary absence, in detaching the troops I called for in my dispatch to him of the 3d inst. The greater part, if not the whole, of these troops are now below Matamoros."

On January 26th General Scott believed that Worth's division would embark for Lobos Island within three or four days, and that by February 10th there would be a sufficient

quantity of ordnance and ordnance stores at Lobos. From appearances in the offing he expected to learn before night of the arrival of ships with Pennsylvania and Louisiana Volunteers.

The Secretary wrote General Scott, January 4th: "You are well acquainted with the present plans of operation. While engaged in an expedition on the sea coast, it is not proposed to penetrate the country beyond Monterey, with a view to its permanent occupation, though it is desirable to keep up a threatening attitude at that point. * * * Such a force being provided for that object, the remainder will of course be at your disposal to maintain the other positions to operate on the Gulf Coast, and especially at Vera Cruz. Your position will enable you to determine, better than can be done here, what should be the best disposition for the safety of our troops. * * * No positive directions will, therefore, be given touching these matters."

And February 15th he wrote: "The bill for raising ten new regiments for the war has at length become a law." Had the bill passed the first week in December the war would have been terminated much earlier, for active operations would not have been suspended for the want of men, as was the case after Cerro Gordo, April 17th and 18th, until August following.

The Secretary in conclusion says: "Your expedition is a matter of deep anxiety to all, and certainly to none more than to myself. Every possible effort, so far as I know, has been made in each branch of this department to carry out fully and promptly all the arrangements which devolve upon it in the way of preparation and outfit. The difficulties have been more than anticipated, and have been met with energy. The time for preparation on so large a scale was short, and the arrangements multifarious. * * * We are expecting daily information from you, and calculate that the next we receive will apprise us that you are embarked and are on your way to the point of your destination."

The latter part of January the First Pennsylvania Regiment of Volunteers, the Louisiana, and part of the New York regiment had passed Brazos for Lobos, and the South Carolina regiment had sailed thither from Mobile. Up to Febru

ary 4th not a ship had arrived at Brazos or Tampico to take the troops there encamped to Lobos, nor had any vessel with ordnance, ordnance stores, or siege material been seen. The season for operations on the coast was now short, and General Scott must have been much worried, as he had expected the fleet of transports off Vera Cruz about the middle of January.

February 5th the first transport arrived, took on board the Eighth Infantry and sailed for Lobos; other troops at the mouth of the river and at Tampico were anxious to move, but up to February 12th * none but the Eighth Infantry had sailed. On the 12th General Scott wrote the Secretary: "In my present cruel uncertainties in respect to the approach of transports, ordnance and ordnance stores, etc., I cannot name a day for my personal departure to the South." All the transports for the reception of 8,000 men, regulars and volunteers, at Brazos and Tampico were to have left New Orleans the 24th of January, and to reach Brazos by the 1st of February, but on the 12th only one had arrived, being detained for various reasons; some needed water tanks, others seamen, etc.

On February 8th General Scott wrote General Patterson: "The enemy having captured† about the 11th ult. my full despatches to Major-General Taylor with copies of those to Major-General Butler, somewhere between Monterey and Victoria, my plans, views, and means, are now as well known at San Luis Potosi, Mexico, and Vera Cruz as at these headquarters. Hence my exceeding anxiety to take with me the largest possible number of troops, and my extreme impatience at the non-arrival of sufficient transports. Some, it is hoped, may be engaged at Tampico, and instructions to the quartermaster there on that subject have been given." He instructed General Patterson as to the order in

* February 13th the ship North Carolina sailed from the mouth of the Rio Grande, having on board the Fourth United States Infantry, and anchored off Lobos Island February 21, 1847.

† Lieut. Richey, Fifth Infantry, sent with an escort of ten mounted men by General Butler from Saltillo, with Scott's instructions of the 3d ult. to General Taylor, then marching to Victoria, was assaulted while buying forage and provisions for his men at Villa Gran January 13th and killed, and the despatches he had were supposed to have been sent to Santa Anna at San Luis.

which he wished the troops at Tampico to be embarked, and closed by saying : " I cannot leave this place for Tampico until some of the cruel uncertainties with respect to the arrival of transports shall be removed. Sixty odd surf boats, out of 140, are already up, and I will make February 9th the descent near Vera Cruz, if not another should arrive." Captain Hetzel, quartermaster, stated to General Scott at that date, that with the number of vessels then under control of his department, there was a deficiency of transportation that would leave 1,800 men behind.

General Scott sailed from Brazos for Tampico February 15th, leaving General Worth in charge of the embarkation of his own and other troops there and at the mouth of the river, and directed him, on joining the army at Lobos, to be prepared to give the name of each vessel having detachments of his command on board, together with the strength of the detachments. Arriving at Tampico, and designating the garrison* to be left there, he instructed General Patterson as to the order in which his troops should be embarked for Lobos, and cautioned him to have on board the transports as many subsistence casks as possible, to be used as *gabions* during the siege of Vera Cruz.

Learning that small-pox had broken out among the volunteers at Lobos Island, he sailed from Tampico February 20th, and reached that island the next day. The small-pox was in the Second Pennsylvania Regiment ; the patients were retained on the ships, and the regiment landed and encamped on the island.

February 28th he addressed a communication from Lobos Island to the Secretary of War, from which the following extracts are made : " But a small part of the transports engaged at New Orleans under my order of December 28, 1846, to receive troops at the Brazos and Tampico, had reported at the two places, and not one of the ten ordered by your memorandum of the 15th of that month ; and the whole were due at the Brazos on January 15th. * * *

Indeed the season has already so far advanced, in reference

* One company of artillery, Baltimore and Washington battalion, and the Louisiana regiment of volunteers, all under Colonel Gates, of the Third Artillery.

to the usual return of the yellow fever on this coast, that I can now only wait a day or two longer for Brevet-Brigadier-General Worth, delayed as above, and for part of the regulars yet behind with the greater body of veteran volunteers from Tampico. All the troops from the Brazos are up, except the field batteries and the cavalry; I am very anxious to have in the descent the whole of Pillow's, Quitman's, and Shields' volunteer brigades, now reduced to an average of 430 men to the regiment, but efficient from tactical instruction and habits of subordination. But, I repeat, I cannot wait more than forty-eight hours for anybody or anything behind, except General Worth, Duncan's and Taylor's batteries. Two-thirds of the ordnance and ordnance stores, and half of the surf boats, have not been heard from, although Adjutant-General Jones reported to me on the 23d ult. that all these objects had been shipped and were under way for the Brazos, and that I might soon expect the ten transports, in ballast, from Atlantic ports, ordered by you as arranged with me.

"Perhaps no expedition was ever so unaccountably delayed, by no want of foresight, arrangement or energy on my part, as I dare affirm, under circumstances the most critical to this entire army, for everybody relied upon, knew from the first as well as I knew, that it would be fatal to us to attempt military operations on the coast after probably the first week in April, and here we are at the end of February." He next wrote, still at Lobos, March 1st, and before sunrise: "A steamer and two other vessels are reported in sight. The first has no doubt Brigadier-General Worth on board, and if the field batteries are in the other two, the signal shall be immediately made for the fleet to sail for Anton Lizardo."

CHAPTER X.

BATTLE OF BUENA VISTA.—RECONNOISSANCES UNDER MAY AND M'CULLOCH PUSHED FORWARD TO ENCARNACION.—TAYLOR FALLS BACK TO BUENA VISTA.—POSITIONS OF TROOPS ON THE FIELD.

Leaving General Scott with the greater portion of his army aboard transports on the eve of sailing from Lobos Island to Anton Lizardo, eighteen or twenty miles south of Vera Cruz, we will return to General Taylor, who, when last referred to, was at Victoria about to march back to Monterey, having with him May's squadron of Dragoons, two field batteries of artillery, and the Mississippi Rifles, to do the double duty of escort to headquarters and guard to a train of subsistence stores. He had addressed a vigorous protest to General Scott against the reduction of forces on the line he was required to hold when there was a large army in his front at San Luis Potosi. On January 14th he received Scott's order, reducing so seriously his command, and on the same day Twiggs' division marched from Victoria for Tampico, to be followed in a day or two by Major-General Patterson.

Before reaching Monterey he learned that Major-General Butler had executed General Scott's orders, after which there remained at and near Monterey and between that city and Camargo, and thence down the Rio Grande to its mouth, of regulars, two squadrons of dragoons, four light batteries of artillery, sixteen guns, and one company of artillery in the citadel of Monterey; of volunteers, two regiments of horse, eight regiments of infantry, and two guns at Saltillo. Three regiments of infantry held the line to Camargo and thence down the river to its mouth.

After his return to Monterey he reported to the adjutant-general of the army that he had complied with the instructions of the Government in regard to the despatch of troops to General Scott, and, after fulfilling his duty in that respect, begged leave to invite attention to several points of grave interest to himself and not without importance to the public service. He therefore requested his communication to be laid before the Secretary of War, and by him submitted to the President of the United States.

He called attention, first, to what he characterized as extraordinary reserve in the War Department in not communicating to him the intentions of the Government relative to the withdrawal of so large a proportion of his command. Had he not been considered a safe repository of its purpose he could at least have been ordered to hold the troops in readiness for detachment. This course would have saved the expense, as well as the labor and fatigue to himself and troops, of a march of 400 miles, and prevented the murder of a young officer with important dispatches, now in the hands of the enemy. Up to the date of his letter, January 27th, he had not received a syllable from the Department of War on the subject, his only advice being the semi-official letter of General Scott, November 25th, from New York, which was received by him December 24th. He then referred to other communications, the delayed receipt of which could have been avoided by employing a special messenger, the importance of the matters certainly justifying that course. He mentioned several communications sent from his headquarters in reply to despatches brought by three different parties, in which he had expressed fully and frankly his views on many important points connected with the prosecution of the campaign, and to which no replies had been made. In conclusion he wrote :

“While exercising a command which it is well known I never sought, it has been my constant aim to perform my whole duty without fear and without favor. The best interest of the service and of the country have been my guide and will continue to be while I remain in command, however limited may be my force or embarrassing my situation, but from the course the department has pursued in the above particulars I am constrained to believe that I no longer possess the

confidence of the Government. I only regret that the President did not think proper, while withdrawing so large a portion of my command in the manner above indicated, to relieve me from a position where I can no longer serve the country with that assurance of confidence and support so indispensable to success. The force with which I am left in this quarter, though greatly deficient in regular troops, would doubtless enable me to hold the position now occupied. Major-General Scott seemed to expect that I would assume offensive operations, say by March, but from what I have heretofore reported on the subject of such operations I am sure they would not be expected by the department with my present means."

A reconnoitering party under Maj. Solon Borland, of the Arkansas Cavalry, being ordered by General Wool to go as far as Encarnacion, on the San Luis road, and return from that point, left camp at Buena Vista January 18th, reached Encarnacion the 19th, found no enemy and did not return as ordered, but being joined by Maj. John P. Gaines and Capt. Cassius M. Clay, of Marshall's regiment, continued on thirty miles further to Salado, where, being surrounded while asleep and without sentinels or pickets, they were captured January 22d by General Miñon in command of 500 men. General Wool reported to General Taylor January 29th that there were nightly alarms of the enemy's approach, that a second reconnoitering party under Capt. William J. Heady, Kentucky cavalry, had been captured January 27th, and that the enemy was at Encarnacion, thirty miles beyond Agua Nueva.

These reports caused General Taylor to change his headquarters to Saltillo, where he arrived February 2d and learned that the recent captures had been made by Mexican cavalry only, which force had apparently fallen back to Matehuala, 100 miles south of Encarnacion. It was also reported that a large portion of the troops at San Luis had marched towards Vera Cruz, and to restore confidence among the volunteers, shaken by the late captures, he moved his headquarters February 5th eighteen miles further south to Agua Nueva, taking with him May's squadron of Second Dragoons, Sherman's and Bragg's batteries, the Mississippi Rifles, and other troops from Saltillo, leaving there a garrison of seven companies.

General Scott had advised him to give up Saltillo, but he thought this would have a bad moral effect upon the volunteers, and there were strong military reasons why, in his opinion, he should hold the southern rather than the northern end of the Pass. Should he have a battle with the Mexican Army beyond Saltillo and be successful, the latter would be thrown back 300 miles upon San Luis Potosi, and be subjected to the suffering and depletion of a long retreat over an intermediate barren country. On the other hand, if he withdrew to Monterey and won a battle the Mexicans would have to fall back only to Saltillo, from which point they could constantly annoy and threaten, if not break up, his communications with the Rio Grande. For these reasons he determined to remain south of Monterey.

Having contended successfully with both Arista and Ampudia, the former on the Rio Grande, the latter at Monterey, General Taylor now found himself confronted with Santa Anna, general-in-chief and president of the Mexican republic.

Born in Mexico in 1795, of honorable lineage, Santa Anna enlisted in the Spanish army and at an early age gave evidence of the remarkable talents and wonderful characteristics so conspicuously displayed in after years. When Mexico revolted against Spanish domination, he espoused the cause of the insurgents, and rendering gallant service in the war of independence, rose rapidly in rank, became one of the most popular leaders in Mexican affairs and one of the most noted men of modern times. Alternately styled the saviour and destroyer of Mexico, one day crowned with laurels, the next hooted and execrated, one year his statues and busts adorned the national palace and parks, the next were hurled from their pedestals and trampled in the dust. He was exiled three times and as often recalled and invested with supreme power. Less egotism and more patriotism, less brilliancy of talent and more firmness of purpose and honest integrity, his career might have been a national blessing, but instead he lived amid revolutions, and dying in obscurity left a memory that friends could not defend nor foes forgive.

Victoria, the successor of Iturbide, was the only Mexican president from the separation from Spain to the time of



D. ANTONIO LOPEZ DE SANTA ANNA.

GENERAL IN CHIEF, MEXICAN ARMY.

Jaurez allowed to exercise his functions for his legal term and to retire to the peace and quiet, if not to the enjoyment, of private life, undisturbed by revolutions.

Manuel Gomez Pedrasa was elected by a small majority over General Guerrero, but Santa Anna at the head of the military declared his election void and proclaimed Guerrero President. Pedrasa fled, and Guerrero was confirmed by Congress, and invested with the powers of a dictator, but refusing to resign them when required, Bustamente assumed the Presidency, and Guerrero was shot. Bustamente favored a consolidated form of government, Santa Anna preferred a republic, and declaring for the Constitution of Vera Cruz proclaimed in 1832, deposed both Bustamente and Vice-President Farias, procured the election of Barragan, then became President himself of the republic, in 1835 repealed the Constitution by military order, and re-established the very system under new rules which had caused the Revolution of 1823.

It thus appears that Santa Anna was the first to overthrow the Imperial Government, the first to aid in the establishment of a republic, and finally the first to destroy it after it was established. He became well known to the people of the United States during the Texas revolution. His defeat and capture at San Jacinto were followed by a loss of prestige, that culminated in his overthrow and compelled him to seek refuge on foreign soil. The National Capital, in which he had reigned supreme, closed its gates upon him with execrations, and he was still in exile at the commencement of the war between Mexico and the United States. Before the opening of hostilities a United States naval officer was despatched to Havana, where he had an interview with Santa Anna, and on the day that war was declared to exist the following order was sent to the commander of the American fleet off Vera Cruz :

UNITED STATES NAVY DEPARTMENT,

May 13, 1846.

COMMODORE: If Santa Anna endeavors to enter Mexican ports, you will allow him to pass freely.

Respectfully yours,

GEORGE BANCROFT.

Commodore DAVID CONNER,
Commanding Home Squadron.

President Herrera, chief of the Moderado party, peaceably inclined, was averse to war growing out of the Texas question, and for this reason was overthrown by Paredes, at the head of the Puro party, aided by the monarchists. While Paredes remained at the head of affairs there was little hope that peace would be restored, or that the war when commenced could be brought to a speedy end, he being under a pledge to wage it until the revolted province of Texas was recovered. It being, therefore, regarded as certain that no change in the Mexican Government, leading to the overthrow of Paredes, could be prejudicial to the interests of the United States, his downfall was desired.

Santa Anna was in exile in Havana, having been driven from power and expelled the country after the revolution of December, 1844, but he still had a considerable party in Mexico. He had expressed regrets that he had subverted the Federal Constitution of 1824, and a desire to restore it; had openly professed an entire change of policy and unmeasured hostility to the establishment of a monarchy through European intervention; moreover, it was supposed that he saw the disastrous consequences to Mexico of a war with the United States, and that his own interests would induce him to favor peace. It was known that no vigilance on the part of the American squadron in the Gulf could prevent his landing at some point of the extended coast if he desired to return; there was no reason why the United States should take part with Paredes and aid him by means of the blockade in preventing Santa Anna's return; hence, in view of these facts and circumstances, the above order to Commodore Conner was issued, and not long after its receipt, the Commodore reported the landing of Santa Anna in Mexico.

On reaching Vera Cruz he issued an address to the Mexican people in which he announced that disinterested patriotism alone had induced his return to his native land, and that he intended to seek and fight the invaders. His former errors and inconsistencies were apparently forgotten and forgiven, and as disasters had befallen Mexican arms, his countrymen now turned to him with hopes that he would release them from the perils threatening them. Upon arrival in the National Capital he retired to the neighboring village of Ta-

cubaya, and seeming to ignore politics, applied himself assiduously to the preparation of an expedition which he proposed to lead to the north, using in this movement the troops retained by Paredes for the support of his administration.

There were many and serious difficulties to be met and overcome before this body of troops could be put in the field, the want of requisite funds being the chief. A month before the overthrow of Paredes, and after the reverses on the Rio Grande, an expedition, similar to the one now proposed by Santa Anna, had been planned; a million of dollars had been borrowed from the church to organize it, and Congress had formally granted permission to the President to leave the capital and take command. The march was unaccountably delayed and various pretexts were urged to excuse it, the real cause being that Paredes, embarrassed by the presence of Santa Anna, and conscious of his insecure tenure of office, feared to absent himself. The money borrowed from the church was being consumed, public suspicion and curiosity were aroused, and finally Paredes relinquished his duties as President, about the last of July took command and prepared for the march. The troops were paid, but in a day or two hastened to the citadel and, stimulated by hopes of reward from the new Government, proclaimed a revolution, thus expending in a useless civil revolt the million advanced by the clergy to man an expedition for the defense of Monterey. Only a small amount of the loan was still available, and as late as September the authorities were still struggling to overcome their financial difficulties. Meanwhile Taylor's advance upon Monterey was reported, and there was urgent necessity for concerted and intelligent action.

Santa Anna, not regarding Monterey as strong or defensible, opposed Ampudia's making any resistance there; he, however, though showing some irritation, hurried forward preparations and left the capital, accompanied by the troops, for San Luis. About twelve leagues from the city he heard of the fall of Monterey, which he had anticipated. This news caused him to quicken his march, and, entering San Luis, his first act was to relieve Ampudia, who was, however, subsequently reinstated and took a prominent part in the battle of Buena Vista.

Santa Anna joined Ampudia's defeated forces in San Luis October 14th and remained there three months, actively engaged in recruiting his ranks and imparting much needed instruction. All concede that he displayed wonderful energy and ability in organizing, instructing, and disciplining his troops, accomplished with restricted means and but little financial credit. Hearing that the Americans had occupied the country as far as Agua Nueva, he determined to seek them and give battle.

He moved forward January 28th, and the artillery, trains, and supplies left San Luis escorted by a battalion of Sappers and the San Patricio company.* Pacheco's division, known as the First, followed on the 29th; the Second, Lombardini's, on the 30th, and the Third, under General Ortega, on the 31st. The headquarters moved February 2d; and on the 7th the leading division was more than half way to Saltillo.

The Mexican Congress met December 6th, and on the 24th Santa Anna, while at San Luis with the army, was declared *ad interim* president. The opposition press of the capital censured him bitterly for apparent inaction, asserting that he had either no inclination to enter upon a campaign or had some sinister, ulterior views to serve. These strictures caused him, always sensitive to criticism, to issue orders for a forward movement when painfully deficient in supplies, both of provisions and arms, and totally unprepared to advance. His total force on paper was 19,993; aggregate 21,553.

The winter in Mexico is the dry season, but along this line of march, even in summer, the water is scarce, and generally to be found only in wells. It is also the season of northers, and there would have been much suffering had the army been well clothed and fed and supplied with abundant transportation, but half starved, half naked, as they were, their hardships were almost unbearable. In Ortega's division three men died of cold the third night, and many even that early in the march broke down, but they were in good spirits, and some enthusiasm was shown when they met two detachments of American prisoners, the parties captured by Miñon, the first at Bocas and the second at Venado. A norther beginning

* Composed of deserters, all of whom were Europeans, from the United States Army.



MAP
OF THE COUNTRY NEAR
BUENA VISTA
MEXICO

Scale about Eight Miles to one inch



to blow on the 3d of February, accompanied with cold rain and sleet, a halt of two days was made, the want of wood for fuel causing much suffering and rendering progress almost impossible.

The norther was followed by a bright sun, welcomed by all, but the heat became as intolerable as the cold had been, and the discomfort was so extreme that the whole army halted for a day at Matehuala, the largest town between San Luis and Saltillo. Parrodi's brigade, numbering 1,000, joined Ortega's division at this place. On the 10th a second norther began and proved more terrible even than the first. It died out on the 11th, but rain fell with sleet, the cold was intense, wood scarce, and many soldiers froze to death. Desertions had increased, the numbers dying naturally having this result. Much of the train had become damaged by the rains, and subsistence stores at points along the march began to fail, drinking water becoming even more scarce.

The leading division, Pacheco, reached Encarnacion February 17th, Lombardini the 18th, and Ortega the 19th; the cavalry brigades of Torrejon and Juvera the 20th and 21st. Andrade with his small command of Presidial soldiers joined here and reported that the Americans had been within gunshot during the day.

The whole Mexican army, now concentrated at Encarnacion, was reviewed by Santa Anna, who, while passing along the front of different commands, was received with enthusiastic *vivas*. All seemed to realize that the hour of danger was near, but felt confident of success. There had been a loss of 4,000 men between San Luis and Encarnacion, where the estimated strength present was 14,000.*

A small scouting party of Texans under Maj. Ben. McCulloch having reported to General Taylor that a large cavalry force was at Encarnacion, a strong reconnoissance under Lieutenant-Colonel May, consisting of two squadrons, his own and Steen's, of the First Dragoons, two guns and 400 volunteer cavalry, was ordered on February 20th out towards Hedionda (map V) to the East, while Major McCulloch made a

* The strength on paper at San Luis was in the aggregate 21,553, but the historians gave 18,000 as the number that marched for Buena Vista.

second examination of Encarnacion. May arrived at Hedionda at 3 p. m., and sent out small parties in several directions, one of which, under Lieut. Samuel D. Sturgis, Second Dragoons, was captured. May remained until 10 p. m., when a Mexican came in with information that Miñon was quite near, that Santa Anna with 20,000 men was at Encarnacion, and would attack General Taylor the next morning. May, returning, arrived at Agua Nueva before daylight. McCulloch left camp at 4 p. m. with his second lieutenant, Fielding Alston, four men and Second Lieut. Richard H. Clarke, of the Kentucky Volunteers. Six miles from camp he discovered a Mexican picket, captured a deserter from Santa Anna's army and sent him to General Taylor. McCulloch left the main road, approached within sight of Encarnacion near midnight, and discovered a large force encamped about that place. Sending all his men back, he passed inside the Mexican pickets, by daylight had finished the reconnoissance, made his escape, and reported to General Taylor at Agua Nueva in the afternoon of the 21st. These two expeditions made known the fact of a large army being bivouacked about Encarnacion with Santa Anna, the recently declared president, in command.

Agua Nueva could be turned by two* roads, one on either flank, the two intersecting the Saltillo road six miles in rear at the hamlet of La Encantada, and this defect of the position at Agua Nueva determined in part the selection of the field of Buena Vista eleven miles in rear. About noon on the 21st Taylor's army broke camp and marched towards Saltillo; the Second Kentucky, Colonel McKee, and a section of Washington's battery, Fourth Artillery, halted at Encantada to give support to the rear guard under Colonel Yell should he be driven in by the enemy. Colonel Hardin, First Illinois Foot, was halted at Angostura Pass,^B but the army marched to the hacienda of Buena Vista, about a mile beyond. General Taylor, escorted by May's squadron, Second Dragoons, Sherman's and Bragg's batteries, Third Artillery, and

* To the east by way of Hedionda and Guachuchil and on the west by way of La Punta de Santa Elena and San Juan de la Vaqueria, these two roads meeting at Encantada on the main highway leading to Monterey.

the Mississippi Rifles, Colonel Davis, continued on to Saltillo to give directions for its defense. Wagons were ordered from this place back to Agua Nueva to assist in removing supplies.

General Wool was left in the immediate command of the troops at Buena Vista, and Colonel Yell (Arkansas Cavalry) remained with his regiment at Agua Nueva to superintend the removal of supplies and bring up the rear.

General Taylor ordered Colonel Marshall (Kentucky Cavalry) and Steen's squadron of the First Dragoons to reinforce Colonel Yell, instructed, in the event of being attacked, to destroy all stores and public property he could not bring off and to retire before midnight, the force left at Encantada to join Yell on his retreat, and the whole then to fall back, if pursued, to the position in front of Buena Vista.

The Mexican Army marched from Encarnacion at 11 a. m. the 21st, intending to surprise the Americans at Agua Nueva. Twenty miles of the march were across a sterile, level plain, *Plan de la Guerra*, with no water and without verdure, save cactus and the Spanish bayonet, even these not abundant.

Within ten miles of Agua Nueva, the surface rose into hills and ridges, enclosing a little valley five miles long, entered on the south through the Paso de Piñones, and five miles from Agua Nueva was the Paso de Carnero, the northern outlet. The Light Corps led, commanded by Ampudia; the battalion of Sappers followed, with a battery of three 16-pounders; next came Pacheco's division; then a battery of five 12-pounders, followed by Lombardini's division; next five 8-pounders and Ortega's division; then the baggage and supplies; the cavalry under Torrejon and Juvera in rear, while General Andrade's cavalry formed the rear guard.

After a short rest in the little valley just described, Santa Anna resumed the march, being, with his staff and the Huzares, at the head of the Light Division under Ampudia, and much enthusiasm is reported to have prevailed among his soldiers. He learned through scouts that the Americans, who it had been believed would make a stand at Agua Nueva, had set fire to that place and retreated. An unusual amount of smoke, caused by the burning of wagons, loaded with hard bread, spoiled pork, and a quantity of corn, confirmed pre-

vious reports that the enemy had decamped. Santa Anna regarded this destruction of subsistence stores as positive evidence of a precipitate retreat—a regular stampede. “*Se fueron, se fueron,*”* he exclaimed to those near him. Orders were at once sent to Miñon’s cavalry to make a sweep around to the east, cross the Sierra Madre mountains through the Palomas Pass and intercept the retreating Americans before they could reach the Rio Grande. He did not allow the cavalry time even to water horses or fill canteens.

At daylight of the 22d all the advance parties of Taylor’s forces had reached the Hacienda of Buena Vista, (mapV) except Colonel Hardin’s regiment. By 8 a. m. General Wool had been advised of the Mexicans being at Agua Nueva, and a section of Washington’s battery moved forward to join Colonel Hardin at Angostura Pass, where it had been decided to give battle. By 9 a. m. the pickets at Encantada discovered the enemy advancing, and the troops at Buena Vista were ordered forward into position at the Angostura Pass by General Wool.

The battle field of Buena Vista lies in a valley a little over two miles wide, flanked on the sides by ranges of the Sierra Madre Mountains, covered with lofty, full-grown pines. In this valley and west of the road flows from south to north a stream with a deep bed, to the east is a high point, connected by an elevated and narrow ridge with a plateau, which ascending slightly, extends to the base of the mountains. This gap between the high and rugged point of land and the stream is called by the Mexicans “*La Angostura*”—the Narrow Pass. (Map V.)

West of the road the surface rises towards the mountains, a mile distant, and is furrowed by a number of deep *barrancas*, or ravines, so worn by the torrents that rush down them during the rainy season as to render it impracticable for military manœuvres, especially for artillery and cavalry. East of the road the mountains are not so distant, and from their base the surface declines gradually to the road, and is cut by three

* “They have fled, they have fled.” Major Génaro Miranda, aide-camp to Santa Anna, who was by his side when he arrived at Agua Nueva before sunrise, is authority for this statement.

large ravines* in front of the pass ; in rear of which the road divides, running on both sides of a small ridge in dimensions sufficient for a regiment to form in line of battle.

Close to and in front of the Pass, east of the road, are two short^o ravines (not seen on the map); a little beyond is one much longer, its direction being southeast, extending towards the mountains; next a plateau cut by a short ravine, then another and longer ravine;^p next a plateau, and beyond it a much wider ravine^q reaching back to near the base of the mountains, and then a much higher ridge, upon which two of the Mexican columns of attack debouched from the wide ravine^q; in rear and under cover of^r, the most elevated of the ridges, Santa Anna first halted and formed his columns. In rear of the plateau terminating at the pass is a succession of plateaus and ravines similar to but of greater length than those in front, all of which terminate at the road. It is readily seen that the features of the ground were such as to paralyze to a great extent both field artillery and cavalry, large bodies of which could not move with the *ensemble* requisite to insure the advantage resulting from numbers.

Maj. John M. Washington's battery of eight guns, Fourth Artillery, occupied the road at the pass ; the First and Second Illinois Regiments, eight companies each, Colonels Hardin and Bissell, the crest of a ridge on the left, and slightly in rear ; with the latter regiment was Capt. P. Edward Connor's company of Texas Volunteers, and the Second Kentucky, Colonel McKee, on the crest of the ridge on the left and rear. The Arkansas and Kentucky regiments of cavalry, Colonels Yell and Marshall, held the extreme left, near the base of the mountains ; while the Indiana Brigade, Second and Third Regiments, Colonels Bowles and Lane, the Mississippi Rifles, the First and Second Dragoons, Captain Steen's and Bvt.-Lieut.-Col. May's squadrons, the Light Batteries of Sherman and Bragg, Third Artillery, formed the reserve in rear on the ridges immediately behind the front line. Two companies of the First Illinois under Lieut.-Col.

* These and others seen on the map have abrupt precipitous banks, varying from three to forty feet in height, in width from fifty to 300 feet, and in length from three-fourths to a mile.

William Weatherford occupied a short line of breast-works on the right of the road next to Washington's* battery.

Taylor, having returned from Saltillo, rode along the lines accompanied by General Wool, and was enthusiastically received, and the latter reminding the soldiers that it was Washington's birthday, an anniversary dear to their countrymen, the announcement was greeted with patriotic cheering. The engineers were far out in front watching the advance of the Mexicans, estimating numbers and observing their general character and appearance.

Santa Anna having ordered Miñon to intercept with his cavalry Taylor's retreat, rode forward with an escort of Huzares to the village of Encantada, where they came within view of the American army, and a few shots were exchanged. The infantry, after drinking and refilling canteens, were ordered to accelerate their march, and, though much fatigued, moved forward at a "double-quick," not halting until confronted by the American forces, at the time being drawn up and posted in line at the Angostura Pass. The Mexicans had marched over thirty-five miles; many fell by the roadside from exhaustion and some died. A slight reconnoissance by Santa Anna convinced him that instead of retreating, the enemy was in position and evidently intended to resist his attack.

While examining the position of the Americans with his field glass, the first gun was fired, and a solid shot, bounding over the ground, struck and killed his horse,† the fall causing much pain in the stump of his amputated leg. Clouds of dust seen rising in direction of Encantada had warned the soldiers of Taylor's army of the approach of the Mexicans, apparently strong in numbers.

At 11 a. m. Santa Anna sent forward a white flag, borne by a German, Don Pedro Vander Linden, surgeon-general of the Mexican army, having a communication addressed to General Taylor as follows :

* This was the position held by the troops as first formed, but on the map they are represented as posted the morning of the 23d.

† This incident was told to Lieutenant Wilcox by Maj. Génaro Miranda, aid-de-camp to Santa Anna at Buena Vista. Santa Anna, in a letter to General Vasquez, dated Agua Nueva, February 25, 1847, says : "I lost my horse by a gun shot in one of the first charges." He then must have had two horses killed under him.

CAMP AT ENCANTADA, *February 22, 1847.*

You are surrounded by 20,000 men, and cannot in any human probability avoid suffering a rout and being cut to pieces with your troops, but as you deserve consideration and particular esteem, I wish to save you from a catastrophe, and for that purpose give you this notice in order that you may surrender at discretion, under the assurance that you will be treated with the consideration belonging to the Mexican character, to which end you will be granted an hour's time to make up your mind, to commence from the moment when my flag of truce arrives in your camp. With this view, I assure you of my particular consideration.

"God and Liberty!"

ANTONIO LOPEZ DE SANTA ANNA
To GENERAL TAYLOR,
Commanding United States Forces.

To which General Taylor promptly replied as follows:

HEADQUARTERS ARMY OF OCCUPATION,
NEAR BUENA VISTA, *February 22, 1847.*

SIR: In reply to your note of this date, summoning me to surrender my forces at discretion, I beg leave to say that I decline acceding to your request.

With high respect, I am, sir, your obedient servant,
Z. TAYLOR,
Major-General United States Army.

Senor General D. ANTONIO LOPEZ DE SANTA ANNA,
Commander-in-Chief, Encantada.

It was several hours after Santa Anna received General Taylor's reply before he displayed his troops for battle, doubtless awaiting the arrival of his rear divisions, distinctly seen by Taylor's lookouts, as they approached the field, closing up before halting. They were brought to a rest just beyond cannon range, and were seen deploying to the right and left of the road, and the light infantry, ^J four battalions, under Ampudia and Colonel Baneneli, without loss of time moved towards the base of the mountains on the left of the American line. At the same time a force, Mejia's ^N brigade, was sent to the right (American) of the road, and a detachment still further, to meet which, a section of Bragg's battery and the Second Kentucky, Colonel McKee, were sent.

To oppose the Mexican Light Infantry on the left, Colonel*

* Parts of Marshall's regiment armed with rifles were dismounted for this service. He reports the strength of his regiment engaged to have been "235 men, as nearly as can be stated."

Humphrey Marshall, present on that flank, advanced with the riflemen of Yell's Arkansas ⁸ regiment, under Lieutenant-Colonel Roane, a rifle battalion from the Indiana brigade, under Brig.-Gen. Joe Lane; the Second and Third regiments, under Major Gorman, and the dismounted squadrons of Captains Milam and Johnson Price, of the Kentucky cavalry. About 2 p. m. the Mexican Light Infantry, under Ampudia, were seen moving under cover of a ravine towards the mountains, and from a heavy battery on the road shells were thrown among Marshall's troops. Between 3 and 4 p. m. the infantry engagement began at the base, and soon rifles and muskets were heard by the two armies, the combatants being in full view.

The Mexicans pushed bravely up the steep, wooded side of the mountain, endeavoring to gain the flank of the Americans. Two pieces from Washington's battery, under Lieut. F. T. Bryan, of the Topographical Engineers, and Lieut. D. N. Couch, Fourth Artillery, were detached, and moved up the plateau towards the mountains, followed by a third piece from the same battery under Lieut. John J. P. O'Brien, who took command of the whole, and was supported by the Second Indiana,⁴ Colonel Bowles. The firing on the mountain, once begun, continued with animation until dark, O'Brien aiding the American infantry with an occasional shrapnel, and the main armies being mere spectators of this preliminary affair.

Night closed the contest. The American loss was in wounded only; having superior arms and being better marksmen, they naturally had fewer casualties. During this action the Mexicans continued to extend to their right until they had scaled the very summit of the Sierra Madre. Foreseeing that they would extend to this point, Captains Milam and Pennington were ordered to dismount their companies, pass the gorge in the mountains, and, by ascending it from the rear, command the enemy's right. Darkness prevented complete success, though their object was nearly attained, for they came within range of the enemy, who had reached the summit before being recalled to the plain for the night.

When the battle closed, the Mexicans had succeeded in outflanking the Americans, whose position as yet was, how-

ever, not turned, and, from the abruptness of the mountain, it was thought this apparent success would yield no material advantage.

Marshall's command bivouacked at the foot of the mountains; the Mexicans retained the position occupied when darkness closed the combat, and neither army permitted fires during the night, which was very cold, with high winds and a slight drizzle.

It having been reported late in the afternoon that the enemy had been seen in force beyond Saltillo, General Taylor, taking with him May's Squadron of Dragoons and the Mississippi Rifles (Colonel Davis), returned there after dark. Confronted with a greatly superior force, the contest with which was to be renewed early the next morning, the intelligence of a large body of the enemy being in his rear, was well calculated to cause grave apprehensions. Besides, his personal attention was required to several matters, the possible withdrawal of his army from Santa Anna's front and the necessity of turning and destroying this force in order to keep open his communications. Fortunately, a careful examination made by Second Lieut. William B. Franklin revealed nothing but a cavalry force, 1,500 strong, commanded by General Miñon, sent by Santa Anna to intercept Taylor's retreat, and which had threaded its way through the Palomas Pass and reached, as has been seen, his main line of communication, with Monterey three miles north of Saltillo. Leaving four companies of Illinois volunteers—Morgan's and Prentiss', of the First; Wheeler's and Hacker's, of the Second—under Maj. William R. Warren to garrison Saltillo, Capt. L. B. Webster's company, First Artillery, with two 24-pound howitzers in a field-work near, which commanded all the approaches, and two companies of Mississippi Rifles, under Capt. William P. Rogers and Lieut. Daniel R. Russell, with the train and headquarters camp, General Taylor returned the following morning (23d) to Buena Vista. During the night of the 22d Colonel Hardin's regiment, directed by the engineers, dug a ditch across the road and threw up an epaulement in front of Washington's guns, having a traverse on its right. A breast-work, with ditch in front, was made, extending from the battery to the stream on the right, behind which two companies

of the regiment, under Lieut.-Col. William Weatherford, were posted. At 10 p. m. two companies of dragoons were ordered back to the Hacienda of Buena Vista to strike tents, park them in wagons, bring them nearer the field, and park them in a ravine; the labor was completed by 1 o'clock, and the train remained prepared to move. It was not known what might be developed by the visit of the commanding general to Saltillo, and all felt the gravity of the situation.

The fine display of Mexican cavalry as it approached the field and formed on the left of the road, extending well up towards the mountains, the heavy masses of infantry as they arrived and formed on the two sides of the road, and the spirit shown by Ampudia's men as they scaled the mountain side, halting only when its crests were reached, all told but too plainly what was to be expected the following morning. Not long after the close of the action of the 22d, loud "*vivas*" were heard in the Mexican lines and the words "*Viva Santa Anna!*" "*Viva La Republica!*" "*Libertad o Muerte!*" distinctly heard by the Americans produced some wonderment. Santa Anna had issued a ringing address to his army, assuring them of victory and reminding them that the blood of their comrades fallen on the fields of Palo Alto, Resaca, and Monterey, appealed to them with irresistible eloquence to avenge their death.

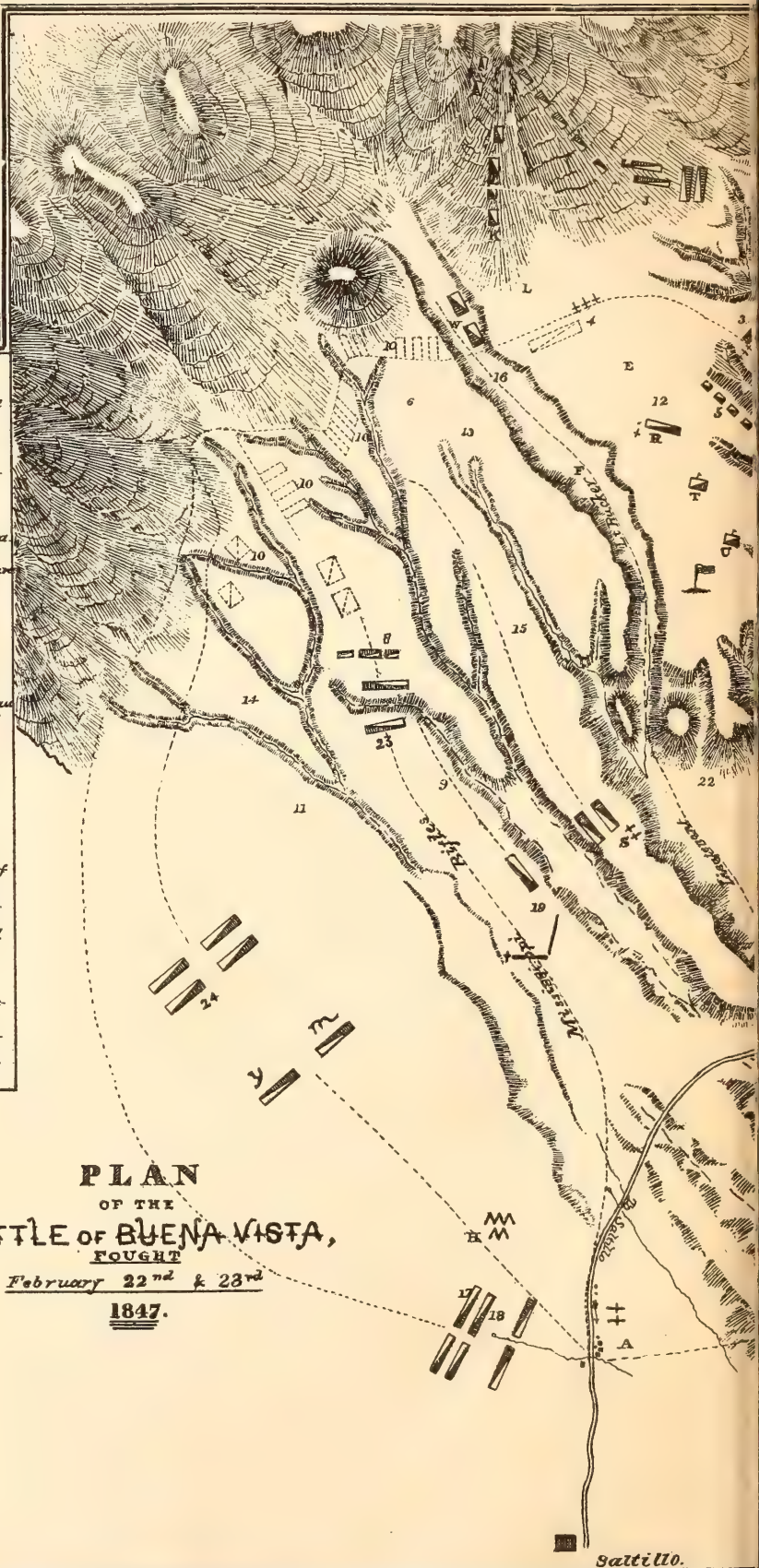
About 2 a. m. of the 23d a small picket force in advance of McKee's right, near the foot of the mountain, was attacked and a few shots were heard near the base of the mountains on the left. Santa Anna mounted his horse at daylight, and ordering Mejia from the left (Mexican) to the right of the road, dispatched the Fourth of the Line to reinforce Ampudia at the base of the mountains. His troops, not formed, were promptly arranged on his left. Upon the road was Gen. D. Santiago Blanco's^x division, composed of the battalions of Sappers, the Mixed of Tampico, the Fijo de Mexico, his left supported by the Huzares Regiment; to the right of Blanco was Pacheco's division³, which formed the center, and on his right Lombardini's division^y; further to the right and retired was Ortega's² reserve. A battery^m of 8-pounders, placed in position at early dawn by General Micheltorena, chief of staff to Santa Anna, near the base of the mountains,

LEGEND

- F* Position of General Taylor during the battle of the 23rd of February
- A* Hacienda San Juan de la Buena Vista.
- B* La Angostura.
- C* Deep gullies to the right of La Angostura.
- D* The high land connecting La Angostura with the Plateau.
- E* The Plateau.
- F* The ravine in rear of the Plateau.
- G* The broad ravine in front of the Plateau.
- H* The Encampment.
- I* The elevated ridge between the first position of the enemy and that of the Americans.
- J* The slope of the mountain to the left of the Plateau occupied by Ampudia.
- K* The slope of the mountain occupied by the American Riflemen.
- L* Position of Lieutenant O'Brien's section of Artillery & the 2nd Indiana regiment at day break on the 23rd of Feb^y

PLAN OF THE BATTLE OF BUENA VISTA, FOUGHT

February 22nd & 23rd
1847.



Saltillo.

could sweep with its fire the surface over which the Mexican right must march to engage the American left, also the lower portion of the main plateau near the road. The first shots at early dawn were heard on the wooded mountain slope to the left, and about sunrise the Mexicans descended into a ravine separating the combatants, when O'Brien^L opened with his 12-pound howitzer, throwing six or eight spherical case shot among them, which, exploding at the proper time, effected considerable execution. The musketry up to this time had been incessant, but now decreased, and the Mexicans, endeavoring to escape this fire, scaled heights not accessible to artillery. During the firing between the light troops on the left a slight change was made in the disposition of the American troops. Captain Bragg's section of artillery remained in its advanced position on the right, supported by Colonel McKee's regiment; Washington^B continued in the Angostura, supported by Colonel Hardin's regiment, which had intrenched itself; six companies of the Second Illinois,^R Colonel Bissell, were posted on the plateau opposite the head of the ravine^P; on their left and a little retired was a 12-pound howitzer, under Lieut. S. G. French, Third Artillery, and in like position a 6-pounder, under Lieut. George H. Thomas, Third Artillery; the two remaining pieces, under Capt. Thomas W. Sherman and Lieut. John F. Reynolds, were in place as posted^S the day before. To the right and rear of Thomas were two companies of the First Dragoons,^T under Capt. Enoch Steen, and to their right and near the head of the ravine^O was McCulloch's company^U of mounted Texans. Colonel Bowles, Second Indiana, and O'Brien with his three guns remained, where night closed upon them, near the upper end of the main plateau. There was an interval of several hundred yards between O'Brien and French on the left of Bissell. The Third Indiana, Colonel Lane, was on the side of the hill in the road in rear^V of Washington; all the Arkansas and Kentucky mounted force that had not fought on foot remained in the head of the ravine in rear of the left of the plateau. (See Map VI.)*

* Two of his companies, Captains Lemen's and Woodard's, were under Major Trail on the mountain side to the left, and two, Captains Hacker's and Wheeler's, were at Saltillo.

Blanco's division was directed to move against Washington's battery and its supports. Lombardini, placed in position near Captain Ballarta's 8-pounder battery (located by Santa Anna's chief-of-staff), was to advance across ridges and small ravines; Pacheco's division to move up the main ravine^c, upon the plateau, join Lombardini and beat back Taylor's left, whilst Ampudia's troops near the base of the mountains were to turn it; all then united, would drive everything before them, and clear the Angostura Pass, thus completing the victory. With Blanco and Lombardini were cavalry, and to aid the attack of the former was a 12-pounder battery on a slight elevation close to the road, within easy range of Angostura; in rear of this elevation was the Leon Battalion²⁰. Such was the disposition of the two hostile forces, for the battle already joined since dawn of day by the light troops. The Mexicans exceeded greatly in numbers with a preponderance of regular troops, while the Americans had the advantage of position.

Blanco's column^x was the first to receive the American fire, having no difficulties of ground to impede its advance, and was under a severe fire, "while the other divisions were yet distant." The regularity of the march, as well as the order preserved, impressed the Americans favorably, being, however, in mass, and with a narrow front, the rapid and well-directed fire of spherical case shot, shells, etc., from Washington's guns was very destructive, though they continued the advance until within grape range, the ravages of which caused Santa Anna "to order a halt, and shelter them behind a slight undulation which shut out the enemy's fire."*

Major Mansfield, of the engineers, from an advanced point discovered Pacheco's division^z moving under cover of the ravine, and reporting it, Colonel Churchill, inspector-general, informed Brig.-Gen. Joe Lane, who immediately ordered Lieutenant O'Brien to advance his three pieces and the Second Indiana to move forward to their support. This small body of troops advanced to the front, turned to the right and halted³; O'Brien came into battery with the Second Indiana on his left. Pacheco's men, who had just begun to ascend from the ravine, were forming across the ridge. The

* Mexican history.

two forces opened fire at once, the infantry and O'Brien guns, against the Mexican 8-pounder battery. The former were very destructive, whole platoons went down under their grape and canister, though the fire of the 8-pounder Mexican battery under Ballarta was also destructive. This unequal contest continued about twenty-five minutes, Pacheco's front being thrown repeatedly into the greatest confusion; General Lane on the left of the infantry ordered a further advance down the ridge, intending to force Pacheco from it back into the ravine, and at the same time get out of range of the Mexican battery to his left and rear; O'Brien limbered up, moved forward, came into battery and opened with grape and canister, his infantry support, however, did not follow, but broke off from the right and left the field.

The Mexicans say: "The troops of General Pacheco (almost entirely raw recruits) were shaken and soon disbanded, pressed by the unerring fire in front, and, moreover, even another in flank, which effectually threw them into disorder. The dispersion was general; they never halted until they reached the last ranks." With Pacheco was a large number of new troops, called the "Corps of Guanajuato."

O'Brien, abandoned by the infantry, continued the fire only a few minutes, each discharge being with double canister, limbered up and retired with two pieces, leaving the third, a Mexican 4-pounder, the horses of which had been killed or wounded.

Of the conflict at this point, the Mexicans say: "The enemy, desirous of improving their advantage, hastened to complete the victory and advanced with intrepidity." "But the division of General Perez—Lombardini—delayed in its advance, reached about this time the line of Pacheco, and he (Lombardini) having been wounded, Perez succeeded to the command, calmly and steadily made a change of front and obliged the enemy to retire. This skillful movement was seconded by the eight-gun battery, under Captain Ballarta; * * * each discharge was effective. * * * The enemy, who had dreamed for a moment of victory, retired routed, leaving the field covered with bodies—the dead of both armies fallen in this bloody conflict—inextricably mixed up."

Bissell's regiment^R, Steen's squadron^T of Dragoons, and Thomas and French, each with a gun, had remained in position, the last two firing an occasional shot at Pacheco's troops while engaged with Lane. This force (Pacheco's) was ordered to advance, whilst the Second Indiana and O'Brien were engaged, and had barely reached a point from which to fire with effect, when Lane's men gave way, as previously described, and Perez's command then advanced against them. The Second Illinois returned a rapid fire, Thomas and French at close range used grape, and they literally strewed the ground with the enemy's killed and wounded. The squadron of Dragoons and McCulloch's^U company, too weak to attempt to charge such a force, were ordered, the former to the rear near the ravine, the latter into the ravine in front^O, for protection. The Mexicans continued their advance, passed beyond the left of Bissell and his men, and those with Thomas' and French's guns, received a fire on their left flank, as well as in front. Colonel Churchill had remained with Bissell's command, and fearing to be surrounded, ordered it to face about and march nearer the ravine, where it was halted, faced to the front and resumed fire, Lieutenant French having in the meantime received a painful wound. In their new position they had a flank fire both of infantry and artillery upon the enemy as he moved across the plateau. Four companies of Arkansas^S volunteers, dismounted and ordered upon the plateau before the action began, retired soon after getting under fire, and, save in individual cases, were reported not to have been in action again.

Captain Sherman^S was ordered to the plateau with his remaining section and opened fire, assisted by Lieutenant Reynolds. The Second Kentucky, ordered from the extreme right, joined in the fight on Sherman's right. Bragg followed with a section of his battery, and came into action with three of Sherman's guns on his right. These fractions of batteries from the ravine^P in rear of the main plateau to the head of ravine in front, supported by the Second Kentucky, six companies of Bissell's regiment and four of Hardin's, the latter having come from the Angostura, now concentrated upon the enemy along the foot of the mountains on the left, crossed the main plateau, and were in easy range, every shot having

effect. Though incessant and terribly destructive, the Mexicans stood firm and returned this charge for a time. Their cavalry passed around the heads of ravines, and pursued the routed Indiana and Arkansas troops, Ampudia's command, stationed near the base of the mountains, joining.

The Arkansas and Kentucky cavalry, posted in the upper end of the ravine, gave way before this force, and the communication between the riflemen on the mountains and their friends on the plateau being now broken, they abandoned precipitately their position, rushed down and retreated around the head of the enemy's lancers and infantry, momentarily checked by Yell and Marshall in rear of the ravine from which they had been forced to retire. Among the riflemen the loss was very heavy, the Texas company being almost destroyed. Ampudia's men poured down the mountains like an avalanche, and, joining the cavalry, compelled Yell and Marshall to give way. The whole American left had been beaten back; the Mexicans, having crossed alternately ridges and ravines, had now gained higher ground, and the Americans could no longer rely upon strength of position.

At this time, his left forced back and a large body of Mexican cavalry and infantry over a mile beyond it approaching the road to Saltillo, General Taylor reappeared upon the field, and seeing, as he neared the hacienda of Buena Vista, a force of Mexicans descending from the mountains, dispatched the Mississippi Rifles (eight companies) with one piece of Bragg's battery under Lieut. Charles L. Kilburn, to meet it, and taking with him the Second Dragoons under Colonel May hastened to the main plateau, where he joined General Wool. The latter reported that Washington had held Angostura and repulsed Blanco's attack, but that his left had been beaten back, as he could see the portion of the plateau on which they were, and that near Washington at the pass was all that remained of their line as occupied in the morning. General Wool remarked to General Taylor: "General, we are whipped." General Taylor replied "that is for me to determine." * General Wool left the plateau, has-

* Lieut. R. S. Garnett, Fourth Artillery, aid-de-camp to General Taylor and subsequently commandant of cadets at West Point, is authority for this statement.

tened to the extreme left where his presence was required, and rallying the troops that had been broken, directed others to do the same, and this was a timely service.

The Mississippi Rifles, ordered to advance against the force, cavalry and infantry, approaching the Hacienda of Buena Vista from the mountains, halted for a few minutes at a spring to fill their canteens ; then moved on to the left, and meeting many of the fugitives going to the rear, appealed to them ineffectually to return to their colors. Colonel Davis is represented to have said of these skulkers and runaways, addressing his men, "there is a mass of men behind which you can take shelter and securely form." Colonel Davis and General Wool meeting, the latter promised support and went in person (Colonel Lane at the time being near Washington's battery) to send the Third Indiana to reinforce him (Davis).

The Mississippians²³ continued to advance up the ascent down which Ampudia's infantry, flanked by cavalry and followed by reserves, was moving. The two forces could be seen by the commanding general as they approached each other, the great disparity of numbers naturally causing deep anxiety. General Wool in his report estimated the force with Ampudia at 4,000. The Mexicans began to fire first and at long range. The one gun with Kilburn played upon them within easy range; the Mississippi Rifles held their fire until within close range, then directed it with fatal effect upon the head of the column and pressed on to the edge of the ravine. The Mexican infantry being on the plain beyond, the cavalry had sought cover on their left in the ravine. The Mississippians gave a cheer, descended into the ravine, clambered up on the opposite side, confronted the Mexicans and sent leaden balls into their masses at less than sixty yards, and with such deadly precision that they were thrown into disorder. The fire slackened, and losing their organization, they gave way in confusion, falling back upon the reserves. Their cavalry crossed the ravine on the right and moved down it to recross in rear of the Americans ; the rifles countermarched rapidly, overtook them when only a small number had crossed, and beat them back, their commander having been killed.

While these collisions were taking place between Colonel Davis' regiment and the Mexican infantry and cavalry, a large force of lancers²⁴, following close along the foot of the mountains and crossing many ravines, passed a half mile beyond Davis and changed direction towards the Saltillo road, with no intervening force^m save Marshall's and ^y Yell's greatly reduced commands. General Taylor observing this ordered the dragoons with him, four companies, Captains Pike's and Preston's companies of Arkansas cavalry, all under Colonel May, to proceed at full speed to the support of Marshall and Yell. They moved in rear of the Mississippians, formed on the right of Marshall, Yell being on his left, and forced the Mexican cavalry to halt, when Colonel May sent a request to the General for artillery. Whilst Taylor's cavalry was holding the Mexican lancers in check, and Colonel Davis with Kilburn's gun, reinforced by Colonel Lane, with the Third Indiana, was in front of Ampudia, General Wool, Inspector-General Churchill, Major Munroe, Captain Linnard, General Lane, and also Major Dix, paymaster, were hunting up and rallying the troops that had been broken and left the field. Captain Linnard, of the engineers, and Major Dix collected some two hundred of the Second Indiana and led them back to Colonels Davis and Lane, and a second body of like troops were reformed in and near the hacienda.

Santa Anna had thusfar failed to drive the Americans from the main plateau. Sherman, Bragg, Hardin, McKee, and Bissell could not be driven, but he did not despair. With much labor he brought a battery of 16-pounders hauled by the San Patricio Guard* across ravines and ridges over to the plateau, and placed it in the position held by O'Brien early in the morning.

This heavy battery raked the plateau from the mountains all the way down to the road, but the infantry supporting it suffered severely under Bragg's and Sherman's fire and retired, some towards Ampudia, the others, except the sappers and miners, who remained with the guns, to the ravine in front,

* Deserters from the United States Army, subsequently captured at Churusbusco and tried, convicted, and hung.

out of which they had debouched in the morning, and were pursued by Hardin, McKee, and Bissell until within close musketry range, when many were killed and wounded and others sought cover in the ravine. These (American) regiments being in turn threatened by the cavalry with Blanco, retired to the heads of the first^o and second^p ravines, Colonel Hardin going to support Bragg, who in the meantime had limbered up, advanced, and gone into battery again in advance of his first position. Lieutenant O'Brien, who early in the morning had been compelled to retire to Angostura with the section he had saved, reappeared on the plateau, his section making eight guns there, Lieut. R. S. Garnett, Fourth Artillery, aid-de-camp to General Taylor, taking the place of Lieutenant French, who, as previously stated, had been wounded.

The Mexican right having been largely reinforced by a portion of infantry driven from the upper end of the plateau, Sherman and Bragg were ordered, each with a section of his battery, to strengthen the American left, and there remained after this but four guns on the plateau, O'Brien's two and Thomas and Garnett with one each. These four guns fired successively upon the enemy in front, on the heavy guns near the foot of the mountains, then on the masses still threatening the left and rear.

The reserve under Ortega had not yet advanced; the ravine in front of the plateau was crowded with Blanco's and Pacheco's men; the battery in front of the Leon battalion and the 8-pounder battery played upon Angostura and the plateau, the heavy guns raking the latter. The First and Second Illinois and the Second Kentucky supported O'Brien, Thomas, and Garnett, and at the same time kept by their fire the Mexican infantry (fragments of Pacheco's and Blanco's commands) confined to the ravine. Beyond and in rear of the plateau, on which the left of the American line had rested early in the morning, stretched long lines of the enemy's cavalry and infantry; in rear were Ampudia and a portion of Perez's division; most of the infantry and part of the cavalry were on the left¹³ near the plateau, while a small portion of the infantry and most of the cavalry were on the extreme right¹⁴, all facing the Saltillo road.

Confronting this array of Mexican cavalry and infantry were, on the right¹⁵, the guns under Captains Sherman and Bragg, with Reynolds and Kilburn as lieutenants; scattered at irregular intervals, Colonels Davis and Lane, on their left, supporting them with such of the broken and dispersed infantry and cavalry as they had been able to rally. On the left¹¹ were four companies of the First and Second Dragoons, Cpts. Albert Pike's and William G. Preston's companies (Arkansas cavalry), and Marshall's and Yell's regiments, the latter holding the extreme left of the line, now over two miles long. This part of Taylor's line had the Saltillo road in its rear, with the surface ascending towards the Mexicans.

Santa Anna outnumbered all along the line, his preponderance being greater near Angostura and the plateau, and had he made a simultaneous advance against the latter from the front and down upon the Saltillo road, he could hardly have failed. Attacking as he did, he permitted General Taylor to shift troops from parts not seriously engaged to points severely pressed. The artillery on the left played without ceasing on the enemy stretched along the foot of the mountains. May was ordered to return to the plateau, and about the same time the enemy in considerable numbers, under an artillery fire they could not return, began a retrograde move towards the plateau. Observing this, two companies of the First Dragoons, under Lieut. Daniel H. Rucker, were detached, with orders to move up the ravine¹⁶, in rear of the plateau, and charge.

As he started to execute this order, a force¹⁷ of hostile lancers succeeded in crossing the *barrancas* in front of Yell and¹⁸ Marshall, and bore down upon them to make an attack upon the trains below Buena Vista, the Arkansas and Kentucky cavalry giving way before this superior force. Colonel May, with his two companies (those of Pike and Preston) and two guns under Reynolds, was ordered to move at full speed back to the threatened point, and, as he returned, Rucker's two companies, rising up from the ravine upon the plateau, came under a close fire of grape and canister from the Mexican heavy battery, which completely covered the retreat of the force they had been ordered to charge and disperse. They were recalled and retired along the plateau

under a heavy artillery and infantry fire, inflicting some loss, and, rejoining May, aided in resisting the attack threatening the wagon train and the Hacienda.

Meanwhile the lancers in column of squadrons made a dashing charge against Marshall and Yell in position near the spring. The latter reserved fire until their assailants were near, then opened with rifles, drew sabres, and met them in a hand to hand conflict. The combatants fighting at close quarters, sabres flashing and lances gleaming, became enveloped and almost concealed by the dust, then very heavy, but the intermingled mass moved on, near and nearer to the hacienda, and at length came within range of the muskets of men on the *azoteas* of buildings near it or behind walls, most of whom were fugitives gathered by Majors Munroe, Gorman, and Trail. Under this fire many of the Mexican cavalry fell, killed or wounded, and became divided, one part passing under a heavy fire by the hacienda, to the west, the other retiring towards the mountains, whence they came. Reynolds approached, opened fire upon the latter,* and continued with spherical case shot until out of range, then limbered up and advanced to the hacienda. May and Rucker, however, reached that part of the field too late to engage the lancers.

In this hand to hand fight at the hacienda the mounted volunteers and those previously rallied and reformed, who had been charged by a full brigade, 1,000 strong, led by Torreon in person, acted nobly. The Mexicans refer in complimentary terms to General Juvera and Gen. D. Angel Guzman. The latter at the head of the Morelia regiment charged down upon the Americans and drove them to the hacienda of Buena Vista. Marshall's and Yell's commands united numbered about 450. In this conflict Colonel Yell, Capt. Andrew R. Porter, of his regiment, and Adjutant Vaughn, of Marshall's regiment, all having received many wounds, fell fighting gallantly in the thickest of the fray. Many of the bravest and best men of these two regiments were here either killed or wounded, and thirty-five dead Mexicans were left at and near the building. Here let us note the heroic sacrifice of a young private of the Second Indiana Infantry, Giles Chap-

*This party of lancers made the entire circuit of Taylor's army.

man, who, returning to the battle ground to carry off a wounded comrade, was killed, having received eleven lance thrusts through his body.

Still, Santa Anna did not despair of reaching and occupying the Saltillo road, thus intercepting the retreat of the Americans. A second brigade of his cavalry, supported by infantry, was ordered to descend and cut it between the hacienda and the plateau, and to oppose this fresh force Colonel Davis with his Mississippi Rifles, the reorganized portion of the Second Indiana, the Third Indiana, Col. James H. Lane, and a 12-pound howitzer under Captain Sherman formed some 500 yards in rear of the point at which the Mississippians had early in the day met Ampudia's advance. He formed his men obliquely across the narrow¹⁹ plain facing southeast, the Indiana men on the right, their line thrown forward, extending up and resting on the ravine. The Mississippians faced southeast and the Indianians nearly northeast, thus forming an obtuse angle, with Sherman's howitzer on the left.

The Mexicans, 1,500 strong, the men in full uniform, the horses richly and elegantly caparisoned, descended the slope at a hand gallop, formed in close column of squadrons, the troopers riding knee to knee, keeping well-dressed flags and pennons flying, all eyes were turned upon them in admiration as they moved forward with the ease and regularity of well-drilled and disciplined troops. As the cavalry approached the infantry, the distant spectators became more and more excited; the strife on other portions of the field was suspended, all eyes being concentrated for the time upon this brilliant moving column. At length, to the great disappointment of all, instead of accelerating their pace into a furious head-long charge, they pulled up to a walk and finally to a halt, when within range of the infantry, who instantly opened with rifles and muskets, having a direct and cross fire in which the howitzer joined. In an incredibly short space of time the leading squadrons were torn in pieces and the whole body retreated hastily towards the mountains, followed by spherical case from Sherman's howitzer, tearing through their ranks. Artillery fire was resumed on the plateau, and from the hacienda; Colonel May with the cavalry, regular and irregular, a few volunteer infantry under Lieu-

tenant-Colonel Roane and Major Gorman, and Reynolds with two pieces, advanced and assailed with spirit the Mexican extreme right. As the enemy gave way, Reynolds would limber up and move forward to near and better positions; Bragg also moved forward with three guns, between the force under May and the Indiana and Mississippi troops, and threw shot and shell in upon their flank. Colonels Davis and Lane with Sherman also advanced, and the guns even on the plateau were turned upon the now retreating, disorganized body, cavalry and infantry. The Mexicans turned their heavy guns upon the plateau, upon Davis and Lane, enfilading their lines, but nine American guns were now firing incessantly upon them, as they moved along over the heads of ravines and near the foot of mountains, and the destruction was great.

The tide of battle had now turned in favor of the Americans; and without pity shells and shrapnel were thrown into this body of five or six thousand intermingled cavalry and infantry, men and horses, muskets and lances, flags and guidons hopelessly confused; the cavalry under Colonel May, and Reynolds with two guns pressing them in rear, Sherman and Bragg, Davis and Lane in flank, while the guns from the plateau were firing either at the head, or on the flank; in rear, in front, and on the right flank, they were torn by cannon shot, while muskets and rifles were pelting them pitilessly on the left.

At this time Santa Anna sent one of his staff officers under a white flag with a message to General Taylor requesting to know "what he wanted."

Orders were promptly sent to the American batteries to cease firing, and General Wool, after some delay, was directed to bear General Taylor's reply to this message. He rode up the plateau to the Mexican heavy battery at the foot of the mountains, expecting to see General Santa Anna, but not having received notice of any truce, the battery continued its fire upon the American infantry, and General Wool declaring the parley at an end returned without seeing Santa Anna, or communicating the reply of General Taylor. The retreating Mexicans, during the suspension of fire by the American batteries, continued their march, reached

and crossed the plateau, having upon their flank a rapid fire from O'Brien's and Thomas' pieces, and finally joined the reserves under Ortega which had entered the ravine^c occupied in the morning by Pacheco, and now advanced prepared for the final attack. About the time the white flag was displayed the eight-gun battery moved to a point nearer the plateau.

When the right of the Mexicans, in rear of Taylor's left flank, had been beaten, and was retreating, as explained, the infantry, artillery, and cavalry were ordered to return to the plateau, but before this order could be obeyed Ortega advanced with the reserve increased by the Eleventh Infantry, the Leon Battalion, and other divisions.

This final attack by Santa Anna's reserve was made over the route followed by Pacheco in the early morning. To meet this heavy column, were Hardin's, Bissell's, and McKee's infantry regiments, at the time well forward in support of the artillery pursuing the enemy, Hardin's regiment leading. A large portion of the attacking column had reached the plateau when Hardin came within musket range, forced it back after displaying much courage, and made it seek shelter in the ravine^p. Bissell's and McKee's regiments followed in column, the former deploying into line received a heavy fire from the Mexican infantry; the latter deployed from column while advancing. Bissell's men pressed forward to the head of the ravine^p, threw themselves into it and continued a "ceaseless and most destructive fire." McKee continued on under a tremendous infantry charge, and finding no other infantry on the plateau and being nearly surrounded arrived at and entered the ravine, joining the forces already in it.

When Ortega rose up from the ravine on the plateau, the head of his column inclined to the left to meet the three advancing regiments of volunteers, and "moved forward in a perfect blaze of fire." O'Brien's and Thomas' guns opened upon it with grape, directed first upon the head of the column, and when this changed to the left upon both its head and right flank. It, however, continued the advance, and forced the Illinois and Kentucky volunteers into the ravine^p. Arriving opposite the head of this ravine, one por-

tion of the column covered it, and moving down the sides delivered a close cross fire upon Hardin's, Bissell's, and McKee's men, while the remaining part pressed on across the plateau towards the road in rear of Washington's guns.

There was no obstacle at this time to the advance of this last column but the three guns under O'Brien and Thomas, Fourth and Third Artillery. The volunteers in the ravine moved down it towards the road, under a close infantry fire from the sides, and when near the road the enemy's cavalry came over the spur dividing the second^p and third^q ravines, to close this only way of exit. The volunteers were in despair, as those leading were arrested in their course by the lancers, who greatly outnumbered them. Fortunately, at this critical moment the guns of Washington, directed by Lieut. Darius N. Couch, opened upon the cavalry, which, under the rapid explosions of spherical case shot, broke and fell back in disorder, to cover in rear, and thus the remnants of these three regiments were rescued, moved down the road rapidly, and were soon in rear of Washington's battery. The fight in the ravine lasted twenty minutes and the American killed lay along its bed to the road; among their dead were Colonels Hardin and McKee, Lieut.-Col. Henry Clay, jr., and many brave and valuable officers and men. During this unequal contest in the ravine, the other Mexican column, as explained, was bearing down towards the road, confronted by three field pieces.

This was the crisis, the issue to be decided in a few minutes, and the chances were strongly in favor of the Mexicans. General Taylor, who had been absent from the plateau a few minutes, returned at this critical moment, and there was nothing between this bravest of army commanders and the strong infantry column of the enemy, now confident of victory and making the air ring with loud and exultant "vivas," but O'Brien and Thomas, the one with two, the other with one gun. The troops ordered from the left to the plateau were making every effort to reach it; the artillery and cavalry, the horses of the former much jaded, had to retrace their steps to the road to cross an almost impracticable ravine, while the infantry, Mississippians and Indianians, moved across ridges and deep ravines with steep, rugged peaks as

expeditiously as possible, conscious that the safety of their comrades on the plateau and their own fate hung upon the ability of three guns to hold it a few moments. O'Brien, Thomas, and the commanding general were all that were on the plateau; reinforcements were approaching, and so were the heavy Mexican columns, already victorious, as they believed. O'Brien, with his two guns, was about 100 yards to the right and front of Thomas; and so stubbornly did these two artillery lieutenants contend, that they are represented to have fallen back only with the recoil of their guns. Grape and canister were the cartridges used, and with such astonishing rapidity, no time being lost in aiming, that the enemy could not fail to receive the full effects of each discharge, the distance being short and their columns covering so much of the plateau. The Mexicans bravely continued to advance, though the ground was strewn with their dead and wounded. O'Brien's little squad was also falling; two horses had been killed under him and his third bleeding, he himself wounded, and nearly every horse of his two pieces killed or wounded; the horses of Thomas had been equally unfortunate. It never occurred to O'Brien to save his pieces; there was too much at stake. To delay the enemy, hold him in check, was his determination, even if he lost his guns and life, for the plateau held, the battle was won.

The reinforcing artillery, infantry, and cavalry could be seen approaching and were quite near, as were also the Mexicans, despite the canister with its fearful ravages. Bragg in the lead had reached the plateau and was coming into battery, Sherman but a short distance in rear, and the infantry had descended into the ravine next in rear of the plateau, and then O'Brien fired his last round, having no horses left for his guns and the enemy being only a few yards from their muzzles.

Bragg, anticipating orders, had limbered up and started off for the plateau. but his horses, greatly fatigued, moved slowly, and to make greater speed he abandoned some of his heavy carriages and caissons.* Of the arrival and service

* At this point General Taylor, anxious for success, sent his famous message to Bragg—"A little more grape, Captain Bragg; a great deal of grape, Captain Bragg."

of Bragg in this final struggle on the plateau, General Taylor in his report says: "The moment was most critical; O'Brien with two pieces had sustained this heavy charge to the very last and was finally obliged to leave his guns on the field, his infantry supports being entirely routed. Captain Bragg, who had just arrived from the left, was ordered at once into battery. Without infantry to support him and at the imminent risk of losing his guns, he came rapidly into action, the Mexican line being but a few yards from the muzzle of his pieces. The first discharge of canister caused the enemy to hesitate, the second and third drove him back in disorder and saved the day. * * * In the meantime the remainder of the artillery had taken position on the plateau covered by the Mississippi and Indiana regiments, the former of which had reached the plateau in time to pour a fire into the right flank of the enemy, and thus contribute to his repulse. In this last conflict we had the misfortune to sustain a very heavy loss."

Bragg followed the retreating Mexicans up the plateau, supported by the Mississippians, and shelled them until beyond range or sheltered from fire by the ravines. He also fired a few shots into the battery of heavy guns near the foot of the mountains, but regarding this as useless withdrew and took position in the ravine in rear, all hostile demonstrations being over. Colonel Davis retired to a tent on the field for surgical aid, he having received a painful wound by a musket ball in the foot early in the engagement.

Whilst the battle was being fought as described, the Mexican cavalry, under General Miñon, which had reached the valley through the Palomas Pass, swept down it, dashed by Saltillo and occupied the road between it and Buena Vista, intercepting a few stragglers from Taylor's army. As it approached Saltillo it came under artillery fire from the redoubt occupied by Capt. L. B. Webster, First Artillery, and was forced off obliquely to the east near the mountains. Capt. Wm. H. Shover, Third Artillery, then moved forward, supported by a miscellaneous command of mounted volunteers, joined by Lieutenant Donaldson of Webster's battery, with one gun, and by Captain Wheeler's company of Illinois volunteers. They delivered several effective shots and forced this hostile troop to seek shelter in the ravine. Miñon made one or two efforts to return this charge, but failed.



BATTLE OF BUENA VISTA.

FEBRUARY 23D 1847.



After the repulse of his reserves under Ortega no further attempt was made by Santa Anna to force the position held by Taylor, and the battle of Buena Vista, called by the Mexicans "La Angostura," was ended, adding another to the list of brilliant victories won by General Taylor and his brave soldiers. Their historian says: "Our columns, masters of the field of action, received the unexpected order to stop fighting and retire at sunset to Agua Nueva. There they met with provisions and supplies so much needed and which were wanting on the field where they had fought."

After dark General Taylor made every disposition and comfort for his troops, whose endurance he had seen subjected to the severest test, owing in part to the natural difficulties of the ground. A skirmish line was deployed well to the front, and the flanks guarded by select commands specially designated. The wounded were removed to Saltillo, where they were well attended, and rations were brought up and issued to the soldiers on the field. The four Illinois companies and the two of the Mississippi Rifles that had held Saltillo repaired to the battle-field and relieved Colonel Davis' regiment.

General Taylor, fully impressed with the perils of the situation during the night of the 22d, despatched whilst at Saltillo two orders, one to Brig.-Gen. Thomas Marshall, twenty miles beyond Saltillo, at the Rinconada Pass, and the other to Col. George W. Morgan, Second Ohio, at Cerralvo, seventy-five miles beyond Monterey. The first was ordered to march with the battalion of Kentucky cavalry and Prentiss' battery, consisting of two 24-pounders and two 8-inch howitzers, and report to him at Buena Vista as expeditiously as possible; the second to concentrate his regiment at Cerralvo and march to Monterey forthwith.

General Marshall, notwithstanding the enemy was* to the right and left of the road over which he had to move, succeeded in reaching Buena Vista the night of the 23d. With these two detachments of troops from the Rinconada and Saltillo, General Taylor was numerically as strong as before the

* Generals Blanco and Arguelles' rancheros, 1,000 strong, were on the right of the road at Cappellaria, and Minon's brigade on his left, near Palomas Pass.

battle and had one more gun. The four brought by Marshall were of heavier calibre than those used on the 22d and 23d. Colonel Morgan had more difficulties and dangers to contend with in the execution of his orders received after dark of the 23d, but withdrew his detachment safely and marched for Monterey.

Santa Anna availed himself of all the means at his disposal to capture or destroy Taylor's army. In addition to the large and well organized army commanded by himself, the regular cavalry under Miñon, and a considerable irregular force under Generals Blanco and Arguelles, all in the vicinity of Saltillo, he ordered General Urrea to move forward rapidly through the Tula Pass by way of Victoria, and occupy the American line of communication. His (Urrea's) force cut the line between Cerralvo and Punta Aguda, sixteen miles beyond, held the road between Cerralvo and Marin, twenty-eight miles from Monterey, attacked the garrison at this place, and captured on the road a train loaded with supplies, burnt the wagons and killed the teamsters, many of whose bodies were cruelly mutilated and some burned. Morgan arrived at Monterey without serious fighting, having frequent and annoying collisions that vexed, harassed, and compelled him to make several long night marches. Urrea remained on Taylor's line of communication several days, but without capturing either Camargo or Monterey, and returned to Victoria.

Exclusive of the small garrison at Saltillo, the entire strength of the American army engaged at Buena Vista was 4,757 men and 16 guns. The loss during the two days' battle was 756, of which number 267 were killed, 456 wounded, and 23 missing.

In his summons to General Taylor to surrender, Santa Anna represented his army to be 20,000 strong; Mexican history gave it at San Luis Potosi, in the aggregate as 21,553, but Santa Anna ordered "all new recruits, the sick, the weak, and unarmed, to be left in San Luis Potosi, leaving 18,000 to march against the Americans." At Encarnacion, including all arms, the army was estimated at 14,000; 4,000 had straggled, died, were sick, or had deserted.

Among the killed in the Mexican army were Col. D. Francisco Berra, Lieut.-Col. D. Felix Azoños, commanders of

battalions and squadrons, D. Juliano de los Rios, D. Ignacio Peña, D. Juan Lullando, and Santayo; wounded, forty officers, among whom were General Lombardini, Colonel Brito, Colonel Rocha, General Angel Guzman, Lieutenant-Colonel Gallozo, Monterdesoca, Andrade, Jicotercal, Quijano, Basave, Onate, and other officers.

Mexican authorities do not give the casualties, nor does the report of General Santa Anna, but General Taylor estimated their loss at 1,500, probably 2,000; 294 prisoners were captured, of which 160 were not wounded.

Neither General Scott nor General Taylor had believed that General Santa Anna would make any serious move from San Luis Potosi in the direction of the Rio Grande, and undoubtedly this action was taken by him in consequence of the intercepted despatches borne by Lieutenant Richey from General Butler* to General Taylor, and promptly transmitted, as they supposed, to Santa Anna, who became thereby informed of the heavy draft made by General Scott upon the Army of Occupation, to enable him to operate successfully against Vera Cruz. They believed that this information determined Santa Anna to march upon Taylor and endeavor to crush him while thus reduced.

It has been asserted, and doubtless credited by many, that both Scott and Taylor were outgeneraled by Santa Anna, and that Taylor was surprised that Santa Anna could concentrate his army at Encarnacion, thirty miles from Agua Nueva, without his knowledge. It is true that Santa Anna made a move which they did not anticipate, but they had, nevertheless, provided for such a contingency. They regarded his action as ill-advised, in a military point of view, and had he been victorious at Buena Vista, would probably still have adhered to that opinion.

The battle of Buena Vista, in view of the character of the troops engaged on the side of the Americans, was very remarkable and most creditable. All the infantry with General Taylor were volunteers; of these but one regiment, the

* The orders for the withdrawal of troops from Taylor's line had been sent by General Scott to Maj.-Gen. Wm. O. Butler, at Saltillo, to save time, and he sent them by Lieutenant Richey to General Taylor, at the time *en route* to Victoria.

Mississippi Rifles, had been under fire, and that on only one occasion, the battle of Monterey. Four-fifths of the cavalry were volunteers and had never been in battle; all the batteries were of the regular army, and the service they rendered could hardly be overestimated.

The magnificent courage displayed, with some few exceptions, by these new troops, the alacrity as well as vigor with which they assailed, or the steadiness with which they resisted greatly superior numbers, from daylight until 5 o'clock p. m., has rarely been surpassed, if equalled, by the disciplined veterans of modern armies. It is a battle in which the people of the United States have ever felt a just pride, first, from the fact that it was fought mainly by volunteers, and secondly, from the triumphant vindication it gave of the skill, judgment, indomitable and persistent courage of the distinguished general fortunately in command.

It should be borne in mind that General Scott, after withdrawing a large portion of Taylor's forces, advised him to concentrate the remainder in Monterey and act on the defensive. He addressed him a communication, as follows: "I must ask you again to abandon Saltillo and make no detachments, except for reconnoissances and immediate defense, much beyond Monterey. I know this to be the wish of the Government, founded on reasons in which I concur; among them, the enemy intends to operate against small detachments and posts." Taylor did not yield to the request of General Scott, although advised that it was the wish of the Government. Instead of withdrawing to Monterey, he established his headquarters at Saltillo, seventy miles beyond, and after remaining there a few days, repaired to Agua Nueva, twenty miles still further south, where the greater part of the forces still under his immediate command were concentrated.

Rumors of the advance of Santa Anna had reached Washington, and the effect upon the War Department may be inferred from a letter of March 27, 1847, addressed by the Secretary to General Scott, engaged at the time in the siege of Vera Cruz, as follows: "The information which has just reached us in the shape of rumors as to the situation of General Taylor and the forces under his command, has excited the most painful apprehension for their safety. It is almost



ZACHARY TAYLOR,

COMMANDER ARMY OF OCCUPATION.

BORN IN VIRGINIA.---APPOINTED FROM KENTUCKY.

certain that Santa Anna has precipitated the large army he had collected at San Luis Potosi upon General Taylor; and it may be that the general has not been able to maintain the advanced position he had seen fit to take at Agua Nueva, but has been obliged to fall back on Monterey. * * * It is equally certain that a Mexican force has been interposed between Monterey and the Rio Grande, and that it has interrupted the line of communication between the two places and seized large supplies which were on the way to General Taylor's army.

"If the hostile force between the Rio Grande and General Taylor's army is as large as reports represent it, our troops now on that river may not be able to re-establish the line, nor will it, perhaps, be possible to place a force there sufficient for the purpose in time to prevent disastrous consequences to our army, unless aid can be afforded from troops under your immediate command.

"From one to two thousand of the new recruits for the regiments from this quarter will be on the way to the Brazos in the course of three or four days. All the other forces will be directed to that point and every effort made to relieve General Taylor from his critical situation. You may have been fully apprised, before this can reach you, of the condition of things in the valley of the Rio Grande and at the headquarters of General Taylor, and have taken, I trust, such measures as the importance of the subject requires. I need not urge upon you the fatal consequences* which would result from any serious disaster which might befall the army under General Taylor, nor do I doubt that you will do what is in your power to avert such a calamity.

"A state of things may exist on the Rio Grande and at Monterey which will require that a part of your forces, after the capture of Vera Cruz and the reduction of the castle of San Juan de Ulua, should return to Tampico or the Brazos to carry on operations from these points."

Had Santa Anna been successful at Buena Vista there is hardly a doubt, under the excitement that would have pre-

*It would have been impossible for General Scott to have rendered any assistance to General Taylor, for the battle of Buena Vista had been fought while he lay at anchor at Lobos Island.

vailed in Washington, that a garrison would have been left at Vera Cruz to run the gauntlet of the *vomito*, General Scott with his remaining forces ordered to the Rio Grande, and the war prolonged another year. Santa Anna has been justly extolled a good deal for the energy and ability displayed in organizing so large an army at San Luis and moving it forward over three hundred miles to attack and destroy Taylor. Victorious over him, he had intended to invade Texas and Louisiana, not halting in his triumphant career until he had taken and sacked New Orleans, that "pirate's nest," as he had previously styled it in one of his numerous proclamations, but his schemes had a different denouement. His expedition against Taylor was ably planned, gallantly led, and manfully contested, but it was an error, fraught with fatal results.

He should not have moved north from San Luis Potosi, but south towards Vera Cruz, and halting a part of his forces at the National Bridge or at Cerro Gordo, should have employed the remainder in resisting Scott's landing and co-operating with the garrisons of Vera Cruz and the castle, to detain him in the *tierra caliente* until the season of yellow fever.

The long and painful march from San Luis to Buena Vista and the return march, far more destructive than the two days' battle with Taylor's army, weakened the resistance not only at Vera Cruz, but on the entire route to the City of Mexico. A large force confronting General Scott at Vera Cruz and in his advance to the interior, would have materially changed the aspect of affairs on that line.

Buena Vista, the first battle in which Santa Anna confronted his country's invaders and the last one in which General Taylor led the Army of Occupation to victory, fought by him with less than five thousand men, most of them raw recruits, against an army 20,000 strong, a large proportion of which were tried veterans, familiar with danger and expert in the manual of arms, was a fitting close to a series of military triumphs in which the resolute daring and dauntless energy of the American soldiers and the skill and nerve of their commander were eminently displayed.

Not having sufficient cavalry and the requisite transportation to advance and pursue after the battle, General Taylor

fell back to Monterey, where he remained for some months, keeping open communications with the Rio Grande, superintending the forwarding of troops to reinforce Scott, and gaining the encomiums of the Mexican authorities by his wise and conciliatory civil administration. In all the towns garrisoned by him business was resumed, order restored and civil affairs regulated even more judiciously and satisfactorily than when under their own rulers.

In the summer of 1847 the party conventions in several States nailed his name to the mast-head as their choice for Presidential candidate, and when he returned to the United States in November the warm reception accorded foreshadowed his nomination and election as Chief Magistrate. His party rivals, Webster and Clay, characterized him as "an ignorant frontier colonel, a mushroom celebrity," but the people to whom the suspicion of his having been unjustly treated by Mr. Polk's administration was an additional incentive for enthusiasm, recounted untiringly the glories of Palo Alto, Resaca, Monterey, Buena Vista, and shouting for "Old Rough and Ready," crowned him with the highest honors in the gift of a free people.

CHAPTER XI.

SIEGE OF VERA CRUZ.—LANDING OF THE TROOPS.—TAKING UP THE LINE OF INVESTMENT.—WORKS PUSHED FORWARD.—VERA CRUZ SUMMONED TO SURRENDER.—THE DEFENSES OF THE CITY.—SKIRMISH ON TWIGGS' LINE.—A SECOND COMMUNICATION FROM FOREIGN CONSULS.—THE AFFAIR AT MEDELIN.—VERA CRUZ IN FLAMES.—GENERAL LANDERO ASKS A SUSPENSION OF HOSTILITIES WITH THE VIEW TO SURRENDER.—CAPITULATION OF VERA CRUZ AND CASTLE OF SAN JUAN DE ULUA.

Before leaving New York General Scott, as before stated, wrote to Commodore Conner,* commanding the blockading squadron in the Gulf, requesting information as to the anchorage near Vera Cruz, and the most favorable point for debarkation of troops, and in reply was advised to direct transports by all means to rendezvous at Anton Lizardo, not at Sacrificios where the anchorage was not safe at that season owing to the prevalence of northers, and besides, was already occupied by foreign vessels of war. The commodore said these points could be readily determined after his arrival and examination of the shore in the vicinity of Vera Cruz, though he believed there were only two points eligible, one due west of Sacrificios, the other on the shores of the Anton Lizardo anchorage.

March 2 General Scott directed the signal to be made for weighing anchor at Lobos and setting sail for Anton Lizardo, 18 miles below Vera Cruz, and the order was executed so

* Commodore Conner was considered the best dressed man in the Navy, and cotemporaries describe with evident gusto his interview with General Taylor at Point Isabel. The general, aware of the commodore's respect for buttons and epaulets, and anxious to show him due respect, concluded to receive him in full uniform—an apparition never witnessed by the oldest of his aids—and on being informed of the commodore's landing, dropped some heavy work on which he was engaged, and delving to the bottom of his camp chest resurrected a shabby old uniform and slipped hastily into it, fastening one side of the standing collar three button holes above the other. Conner meanwhile, cognizant of "old Rough and Ready's" dislike to pomp and disregard of etiquette, donned, in compliment to him, a loose suit of drilling, and presented himself unattended at the general's tent. Barring some amused surprise at the singular appearance of each, these Major Domos of sea and land had an agreeable interview, after which Taylor's uniform resumed its never-to-be-again interrupted Rip Van Winkle slumber, and the commodore steered forever clear of linen rigs and stuck to full regimentals.

speedily that the anchorage was soon deserted, and the few steamers with the fleet reached their destination the next day; the sail vessels, however, were several days en route, while others from Tampico and Brazos, though loaded with valuable freight indispensable for the siege, did not arrive until the army had landed and completed the investment of Vera Cruz.

After a careful joint reconnoissance of the coast on the steamer *Petrita* for several miles above and below, by General Scott and Commodore Conner, accompanied by engineers and naval officers, it was decided to disembark on the beach* due west from Sacrificios, one of the points indicated in the commodore's letter of March 9. The Fourth Infantry and a battalion of artillery were transferred from transports to the *Raritan*, Commodore Conner's flag-ship, the contracted anchorage near Sacrificios making this necessary to avoid crowding. Other like changes to vessels of war were made, and the squadron and such of the transports selected for the purpose weighed anchor a few minutes after 11 a. m., and sailed with a favorable southeast breeze over quiet waters to Sacrificios and anchored between that island and the shore. As the propeller, *Massachusetts*, with General Scott on board, ploughed through the transports, he was greeted with shouts and cheers from every deck.

Five gun-boats and two steamers, the *Spitfire* and *Vixen*, were anchored in nearer the shore, above and below the place of landing, called by the Mexicans the beach of Collado, and shelled the sand hills in rear; during this firing the soldiers were transferred from the vessels to the surf-boats, sixty-five in number, each boat rowed by sailors from the fleet under the direction of a naval officer. As each of the small boats received its complement of soldiers, it took its place in line, formed between the fleet and the gun-boats. The uncertainty as to the presence of the enemy under cover of the sand hills prepared to resist the landing, caused some anxiety and excitement among the troops. The weather was propitious, and as it was late in

* As the *Petrita* steamed past the castle it was found to be within range, and a number of shots from the heaviest guns passed over, in front, and rear, some of them very near. The explosion of a shell on the *Petrita* might have added greatly to the difficulties of the coming siege, for with General Scott were his most skilled engineers and with Commodore Conner a number of his best officers, all of whom could have been disabled or killed by the explosion of a single shell.

the afternoon and the sun below Orizaba, its white summit was plainly visible; and off to the right and near the gray walls of the castle of San Juan de Ulúa, with its frowning batteries, rose ominously above the waters of the gulf.

The great Corsican is represented as pointing to the pyramids of Egypt to restore the hope and courage of his jaded followers on the eve of a great battle, and to have reminded them that forty centuries were looking down on them from those hoary shafts. As the line of boats, freighted with the advance of Scott's army, neared the shores there was no need of appeal or invocation to stimulate enthusiasm, for every breast glowed with patriotic ardor; but could some master hand have raised, not the curtain shrouding dead centuries, but the veil concealing futurity, and revealed the onward and upward course of the American Union through the nineteenth century, with the States added by their prowess to its field of blue and its starry banner, representing a power and commanding a respect that the mighty arms of Cæsar and Augustus never won for the Imperial Eagles, what an impetus to heroism would the vision have given! Few words were spoken as the little fleet glided toward the beach and passed the war vessels with the English, French, Spanish, German, and other national colors waving over masts and yard-arms hung with living masses eager to witness the debarkation. It could hardly be supposed that the landing would not be resisted, consequently all were on the lookout for an attack from the city or castle or sand hills in rear; but none came.

At length when within fifty yards of the shore the keels of the boats struck a sandy bottom, naturally the speed slackened, and instantly the men leaped overboard into the surf and were soon safe on dry land. In a few minutes more the crests of the sand hills were reached, and no enemy being seen, all felt that the battle was more than half won. Our national colors were planted triumphantly ashore in full view of the city and its castle, under a distant fire from the latter, and saluted by the foreign fleets in the harbor and our own blockading squadron.

The surf-boats returned to the transports, the division of volunteers under Major-General Patterson then landed; Twiggs' division followed, and the whole army of thirteen thousand (13,000) was safely landed by 10 p. m., no accident of any

kind, not a man drowned nor a boat injured,* for which the Army officers and soldiers felt grateful to the officers and sailors of the Navy, by whose hearty good will and skill the landing was so successfully effected.

At General Scott's request Commodore Conner permitted the marines of the squadron, under Capt. Alvin Edson, to join the Army; they were attached to serve with the Third Artillery.

Worth being on shore and the sand hills occupied, his troops formed in line facing the city, the right near the beach and bivouacked under arms.† The morning of the 10th was clear, and about sunrise the enemy's guns from the Castle San Juan de Ulúa opened fire upon the troops displayed on the sand hills and beach. A few shots passed beyond, some shells burst over and near the line, but the greater number fell short.

By 8 a. m. of the 10th General Patterson with his volunteers moved out beyond Worth's left and began extending the line of investment northwest over a succession of sandy ridges and hills with intervening depressions filled with chapparal. From one of these ridges could be seen in a valley beyond an old stone building‡ near the head of a lagoon, and about it and in the chapparal near small parties of Mexicans. Brigadier-General Pillow, in command of Colonel Haskell's and Campbell's Tennessee regiments, Colonel Wynkoop's and Roberts' Pennsylvania regiments, advanced; a 6-pounder, under Lieut. W. H. French, First Artillery, was with much difficulty brought to the summit of the hill and opened fire upon said building (the magazine).

A few shots drove the enemy near it off and Pillow entered the chapparal, where he encountered, near the old building, a

* When it is remembered the landing was made on an open beach, not against wharves or in a quiet land-locked bay, it will appear the more creditable. The French, in their expedition against Algiers in 1880, sailed with a complete armament in every respect, prepared with great attention, leaving nothing unprovided that would insure success. Nine thousand men were disembarked in a bay the first day, and 30 or 40 were lost. Thirteen thousand Americans landed in a part of one day without accident of any kind to man or boat. In neither case was the landing opposed by a hostile force.

† About 1 o'clock a. m. a party of the enemy's cavalry, National Guards, under Colonel Cenovio, came near the American camp and opened fire with escopets; the balls reached us, but did little damage. One Pennsylvania volunteer was wounded.

‡ Called by the Americans the Magazine.

small force which retired at once, leaving one officer and three men killed. Pillow then advanced the First Tennessee, Colonel Campbell, to the magazine, in which he found a quantity of signal rockets and twenty boxes of shrapnel, and halted the regiment there.

Colonels Haskell's and Wynkoop's regiments moved on a small cavalry and infantry force at the intersection of the rail and wagon road to Medellin, which retired through the chaparral and over a rugged country to the crests of ridges west of the city, and from these to the protection of its guns; the two regiments bivouacked on the sand hills beyond range of the artillery of Vera Cruz.

After dark, on the 10th, two companies—one of the Third Artillery, under Capt. John R. Vinton, with Lieuts. Stewart Van Vliet and Joseph F. Farry; the other, of the Fourth Infantry, under 2d Lieut. A. P. Rodgers, with Bvt. 2d Lieut. C. M. Wilcox—moved along the beach toward the city and halted at a point known as the *Punta de Hornos* (lime kiln), within eight or nine hundred yards of Fort Santiago, the southern end of the line of fortifications. The lime kiln was in the side of a high sand ridge, well covered from the fire of both the city batteries and castle; was a good place for a battery and was seized with that view.

On the morning of the 11th General Twiggs moved out to extend the line of investment beyond the volunteers. Gen. James Shields was ordered by General Patterson to go forward with the New York regiment of volunteers, Col. Ward Burnett, and three companies of the Fourth Illinois regiment, Col. Edward D. Baker, and take position on the line as soon as it could be reconnoitered. This line of investment, through the chaparral and over the sand hills, was located by Lieut. G. W. Smith, of the engineers, assisted by Lieut. Geo. B. McClellan, and a roadway along the line was made under the supervision of these two lieutenants with the engineer company and a party of several hundred soldiers, detailed for that work. Lieut.-Col. James P. Dickenson, of the South Carolina regiment, ordered, with five hundred men, to cover the working party, received a slight wound. The Mexicans made some hostile demonstrations and there was sharp firing, in which several regiments were engaged; but the enemy gave way, and the horses and arms of three lancers were captured. During the day a small

OUTLINE OF THE SIEGE OF

VERA CRUZ

BY THE TROOPS OF THE UNITED STATES
1847

PATTERSON'S

DIVISION

Wall's Battery of Light Artillery
1st 2nd Regiments of Artillery
Alabama Regiment
Georgia Regiment
New York Regiment
Texas Regiment
5663 men.

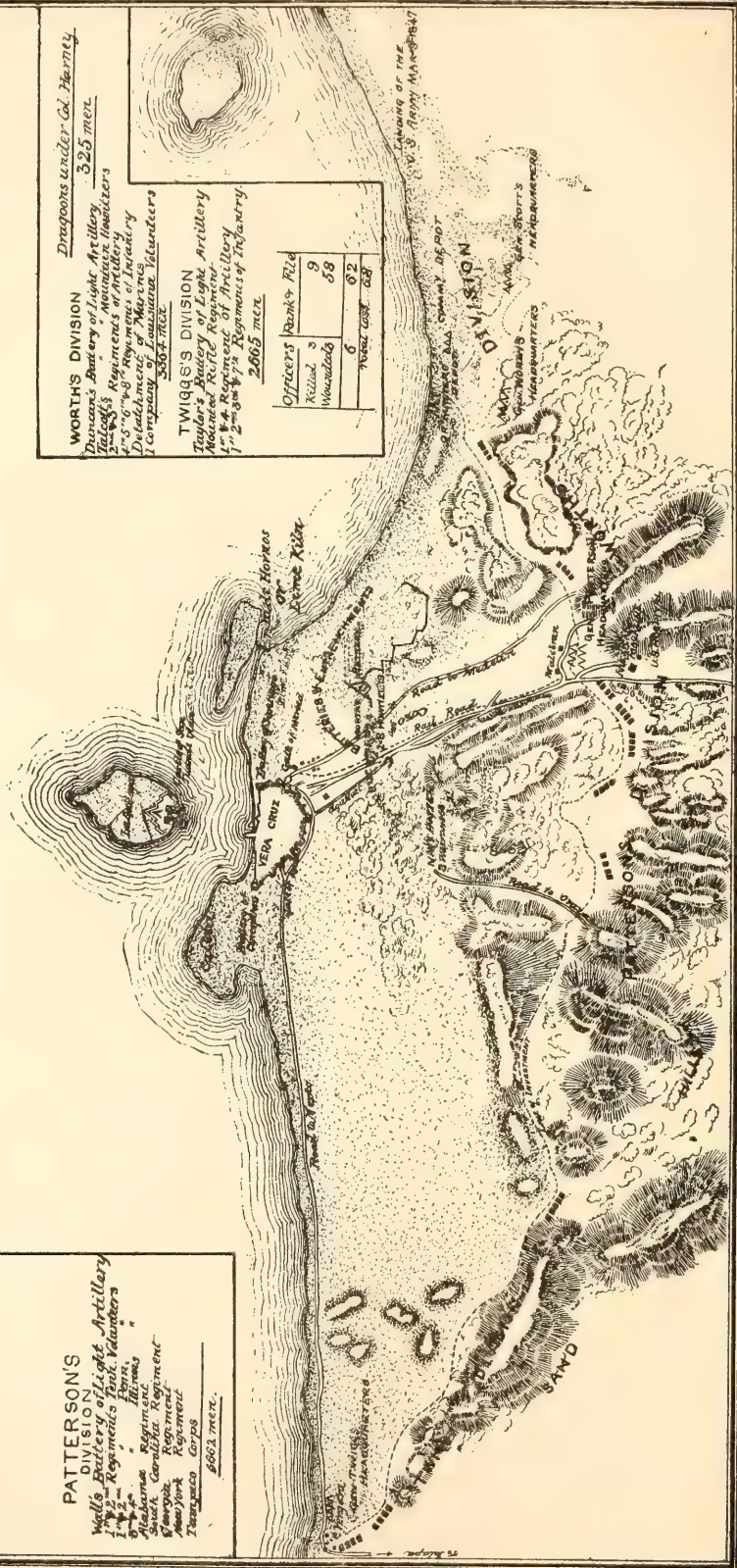
WORTH'S DIVISION

Dragoons under Col. Harnely
2nd 3rd Regiments of Artillery
1st 2nd Regiments of Infantry
1st 2nd Regiments of Cavalry
1st 2nd Regiments of Artillery
1st 2nd Regiments of Infantry
1st 2nd Regiments of Cavalry
5564 men.

TWIGGS'S DIVISION

Taylor's Regiment of Artillery
1st 2nd Regiments of Artillery
1st 2nd Regiments of Infantry
1st 2nd Regiments of Cavalry
2665 men.

Officers	Rank & File
Killed	9
Wounded	58
Missing	62
Total Lost	129



LANDING OF THE
U. S. ARMY MARCH 9, 1847

detachment of New York volunteers had a collision with a Mexican force, the latter being forced back into the city.

As General Twiggs' command passed beyond Pillow's position, Capt. William Alburtis, Second Infantry, and a private of the Mounted Rifles, were killed by a cannon ball from one of the city batteries, and two wounded. Maj. E. V. Sumner, Second Dragoons, commanding the advance with Twiggs, had passed some distance beyond the left of the volunteers when he met the enemy's light troops and drove them back. Sumner then halted near a small ranch until joined by the main body of the command.

The Mexican skirmishers retired under fire before Sumner until they reached the Orizaba road, where they joined a cavalry force seen to the left. Capt. Winslow F. Sanderson's company, Mounted Rifles, supported by Capt. John S. Simonson's company, attacked this party and drove it off, killing two captains, one of Lancers, the other, Capt. Juan Plata, of the Auxiliary Guards of Jalapa; one private of Sanderson's company was severely wounded.

Twiggs' command having driven these small parties off, took position in the line of investment, extending it as far towards the Jalapa road as his strength would permit, and bivouacked, remaining there until the 13th, when his line was again extended. A considerable *detour* was made to the left owing to ponds of stagnant water. The head of Twiggs' column arrived about noon at Vergara, two and a half miles from Vera Cruz, where the main road to the city of Mexico leaves the coast, thus completing the line of investment, extending from the sea below around over the sand hills to the sea above Vera Cruz.* It had required three days and a half to establish it, entailing a loss of one captain and one private killed, and one lieutenant-colonel, one lieutenant, and sixteen non-commissioned officers and privates wounded, an aggregate of twenty.

Ingress and egress to and from Vera Cruz now ceased; the different divisions were permanently located on the investing line, and the engineers pushed their reconnoissances by day and night towards the town and its defenses to select the front of attack. The heaviest labor had been in crossing the sand hills

* See Map VII.

and cutting through intervening forests and chapparal. A violent norther set in on the night of the 10th and raged during the following day and night; died out for an hour or two on the 13th, then began to blow with increased violence, cutting off all communication with the store-ships and transports, and continued until the 14th. No wagons or pack-mules could be landed, consequently rations had to be carried by the men over the sand hills along the entire investing line. No horses shipped from Brazos, either for officers or for the cavalry, had as yet arrived. The batteries around the city as well as the guns of the castle fired at all parties coming within range, especially upon the engineers pushing reconnoissances close up to the Mexican works.

On the 15th General Scott issued orders announcing the victory of Buena Vista. Though taken by surprise, the troops rejoiced greatly, understanding now how the landing without resistance and the investment of Vera Cruz with so little loss had been accomplished. Santa Anna had marched in direction of the Rio Grande, not towards Vera Cruz, and the opinion prevailed that the siege would be raised and the Army safely out of the "*tierra caliente*" (hot lands of the coast) before his defeated troops could be brought to oppose it.

The Spanish consul requested General Scott on the 10th to respect, in his military operations against Vera Cruz, the persons and property of Spanish subjects. A safeguard was sent him on the 14th, and one inclosed at the same time for the British consul.

Communication was re-established with the store-ships on the 17th, and great activity prevailed, every effort being made to bring ashore as expeditiously as possible the needful supplies. On the 18th a transport, the "*Yazo*," with a part of the Second Dragoons, Colonel Harney, and Captain Ker's company, stranded on an island near Anton Lizardo; the men were saved, but most of the horses lost. Duncan's battery had arrived from the Brazos, having lost many horses in the northers. All of the Second Dragoons, together with Capt. Phil Kearny's company of the First Dragoons, arrived by the 18th.

Vessels arrived in the offing on the 17th, supposed to be freighted with ordnance and ordnance stores, but instead of having cargoes of guns, mortars, ammunition, etc., estimated for and much needed, they had only a portion of such stores.

With the small siege train on hand, General Scott believed

it possible to reduce Vera Cruz, but useless to make any attempt upon the castle of San Juan de Ulúa. If the fact be recalled that it was agreed upon in November, before General Scott left Washington, that his entire requisition upon the ordnance department should be filled, and that transports freighted with them should be at Brazos by the middle of January, his disappointment and "harassing vexations" may be imagined. On the 18th a few heavy guns, mortars, and some draft animals were landed. By midnight, the front of the attack having been determined, work on the trenches was commenced and batteries were prepared to open fire* in 36 hours, at which time the city would be summoned to surrender. The American troops, though working within 900 yards of the walls of the city, being screened from view by intervening chapparal, were not fired upon. A norther began blowing the night of the 20th, and continued all the next day, but work on the trenches was pushed forward, and they were prepared to receive both guns and mortars. The light, dry sand blown by the northers imposed additional labor upon the men by filling up the trenches nearly as fast as made. The enemy having discovered the working parties near the cemetery, opened with an active fire from numerous heavy guns.

It was proposed to have by the 23d a battery of 24-pounders ready to open fire upon the city, also a battery of six or eight heavy guns from the fleet, with a detail of officers and seamen in charge of it. General Scott had made requisition for forty 10-inch mortars, to be used in the reduction of the city and castle, but thirty of that number had not been heard of up to the 21st. The Second Dragoons were all landed by the 21st, but without effective horses for more than one full company—many having been lost at sea and others made unfit for immediate service; the want of cavalry to make reconnoissance at a distance, especially in rear towards the interior, was seriously felt. The line of investment being complete and the batteries ready to open fire, the following communication was sent to the Mexican commander:

*The work began with the batteries sketched out by Capt. R. E. Lee, Lieuts. Peter G. T. Beauregard, Z. B. Tower, and officers of the Sappers and Miners Company.

HEADQUARTERS OF THE ARMY OF THE
UNITED STATES OF AMERICA.

CAMP WASHINGTON, BEFORE VERA CRUZ, *March 22, 1847.*

The undersigned, Major-General Scott, General-in-Chief of the Armies of the United States of America, in addition to the close blockade of the coast and port of Vera Cruz, previously established by the squadrons under Commodore Conner, of the Navy of said States, having more fully invested the said city with an overwhelming army, so as to render it impossible that its garrison should receive from without succor or reinforcements of any kind; and having caused to be established batteries competent to the speedy reduction of the said city; he, the undersigned, deems it due to the courtesies of war in like cases, as well as to the rights of humanity, to summon his Excellency, the Governor or Commander-in-Chief of the city of Vera Cruz, to surrender the same to the Army of the United States of America, present before the place.

The undersigned, anxious to spare the beautiful city of Vera Cruz from the imminent hazard of demolition, its gallant defenders from a useless effusion of blood, and its peaceful inhabitants—women and children inclusive—from the inevitable horrors of a triumphant assault, addresses this summons to the intelligence, the gallantry, and patriotism, no less than the humanity of his Excellency, the Governor and Commander-in-Chief of Vera Cruz.

The undersigned is not accurately informed whether both the city and the castle of San Juan de Ulúa be under the command of his Excellency, or whether each place has its own independent commander; but the undersigned, moved by the considerations adverted to above, may be willing to stipulate that, if the city should, by capitulation, be garrisoned by a part of his troops, no missile shall be fired from within the city, or from its bastions or walls, upon the castle unless the castle should previously fire upon the city.

The undersigned has the honor to tender his distinguished opponent, his Excellency, the General and Commander-in-Chief of Vera Cruz, the assurance of the high respect and consideration of the undersigned.

WINFIELD SCOTT.

[Reply.]

“God and Liberty!”

VERA CRUZ, *March 22, 1847.*

To Major-General Scott :

The undersigned, Commanding General of the free and sovereign State of Vera Cruz, has informed himself of the contents of the note which Major-General Scott, General-in-Chief of the forces of the United States, has addressed to him under date of to-day, demanding the surrender of this place, and castle of San Juan de Ulúa, and in answer has to say that the above-named fortress, as well as this city, depend on his authority; and it being his principal duty, in order to prove worthy of the confidence placed in him by the government of the nation, to defend both points at all costs, to which he counts upon the necessary elements and will make

it good to the last ; therefore his Excellency can commence his operations of war in the manner which he may consider most advantageous.

The undersigned has the honor to return to the General-in-Chief of the forces of the United States the demonstrations of esteem he may be pleased to honor him with.

JUAN MORALES.

Vera Cruz, with a population of twelve thousand, is an old Spanish walled town, situated on a low and nearly level sandy plain, with a gradual rise from the sea. Beginning at the water's edge on the south, and extending to near the same on the north side of the city, are a series of sandy ridges with intervening valleys abounding in chapparal, or other low, dense tropical growth. These ridges rise in some instances to the height of a hundred feet, possibly more, and during the prevalence of northers, their forms and size undergo considerable modifications, the sand being blown away and deposited at other points, thus reducing and changing their appearance, and in some cases obliterating them entirely.

At the southern end of the surrounding wall and on the water's edge is a bastion of considerable extent known as Fort Santiago, with a cavalier mounting a few heavy guns. At the northern end of the wall there is a similar bastion known as Fort Conception. Between these two strong works the intermediate wall was broken into *lunettes* and *redans*, well and solidly built, and designed for eight or ten guns each. The curtains, or connecting walls, were not intended to resist breaching batteries, having little thickness, but were excellent for defense against infantry, being arranged with *loop-holes* and *banquettes* for three tiers of musketry fire. The walls were without a ditch, or if there had ever been one, it had been filled up with sand during northers in years long gone by; and there were neither out-works, detached, nor advanced works.

In front of the bastions and redans there was a quantity of cactus which may have been planted as a defense and which, in case of assault by infantry, would have proved both an annoying and a serious obstacle. In these various batteries around the city, at the time of the siege, were mounted eighty-six guns of various calibre; some very heavy, so regarded at the time, and of this kind were eight heavy mortars, and six 8-inch sea-coast howitzers.

The castle of San Juan de Ulúa is a regular four-sided bastion

work on a coral island, near one thousand yards from the city, armed with one hundred and twenty-eight guns, most of them of heavy calibre, and with a cavalier of high command in its southern bastion. Opposite the sea-front is the reef of Gallega, on this a demi-lune and re-entering place of arms, and in front or beyond these were water-batteries covering all that front.

The entrance to the harbor was through channels from the north and south, both of which were covered by guns from the body of the work, many of which were cast at the West Point foundry and were 8-inch sea-coast howitzers and 10-inch Paixhans guns. When the American transports began to arrive off Anton Lizardo, the Mexican capital was, and had been for some weeks, in the throes of revolution, and continued in that wretched state until March 21. Engrossed with the revolution, no supplies of either men or money were sent to Vera Cruz from the capital, but the city of Puebla, not under such pressure from civil dissensions, remitted the small sum of \$20,000, contributed by a few merchants. It will thus be seen that Vera Cruz at a most critical time was virtually left to its own resources.

In the city was a garrison of 3,360 officers and men, near one-half being National Guards—volunteers—and in the castle 1,030, making in all, 4,390. With this small force Vera Cruz resolved to fall fighting sooner than “stain with an eternal censure her title to heroism.”

The city gradually assumed the severe and solemn aspect of a *place of arms*, and that dull and indescribable agitation which precedes a battle began to be felt. Work on the fortifications was unceasing, and the skilled engineer, D. Manuel Robles, was active and energetic in directing it. The Ayuntamiento,* earnest and patriotic, endeavored to counteract the scarcity of munitions. Medical and surgical supplies being deficient, the ladies, by theatrical amateur performances, contributed means to obtain them, and garrison and citizens united in preparing for a resistance worthy of its defenders.

The national board of engineers had long since reported that Vera Cruz could not be defended in case of attack without a large force to manœuvre outside. With such knowledge the resolution of the defenders of Vera Cruz to sacrifice themselves,

* Body of magistrates governing cities, composed of an *Alcalde* and *Regidores*, corresponding to our Mayor and Aldermen.



THE SIEGE OF VERA CRUZ.

to be buried under their own walls, beneath their own roofs, appears the more heroic.

The Mexicans having refused to surrender, the American mortar batteries, known as Nos. 1, 2, and 3, were ordered to open fire, and the Chief of Artillery, Col. James Bankhead, reported that the first mortar was fired at 4.15 p. m., March 22d. From that moment, night and day, the firing continued without intermission. The first day No. 1 was in charge of Capt. Horace Brooks, Second Artillery; No. 2, of Lieut. Muscoe L. Shackelford, Second Artillery; and No. 3, of Capt. John R. Vinton, Third Artillery. Two of the batteries had two 10-inch mortars each and the third three 10-inch mortars. Without an entire suspension at any time the fire would slacken occasionally, owing to the scarcity of shells, caused by the northers; in such cases, in the night, there would be one shell every five minutes, the greatest activity being three shells per minute. The batteries had been firing but a few minutes when seven of the smaller vessels of the fleet, two steamers, the *Spitfire*, under Commander Josiah Tatnall, and the *Vixen*, with Commander J. R. Sands, and five gunboats, the *Bonita*, Lieut. T. G. Benham; *Reefer*, Lieut. I. S. Sterrett; *Petrel*, Lieut. T. D. Shaw; *Falcon*, Lieut. J. J. Glasson, and the *Tampico*, Lieut. William P. Griffin, ran up within one and an eighth mile of the city, opened with a brisk fire upon it and continued until late in the evening, the two steamers having nearly exhausted their ammunition. A fresh supply was received during the night, and at sunrise they moved up to an advanced and more favorable point, resumed fire and continued it until recalled by signal.

The Mexicans represent the firing as commencing at 4 p. m., and at that time a shell burst on the *Plaza de Armas*, and another in the *Correo* (post office). They say: "From that moment the fire continued without intermission—mortars, howitzers, cannon—the broadsides of the small vessels which had been brought up near to the *Collado* all played upon the town. Their gunners aimed especially at San Augustin, at the powder magazine,* at the whole city and at the quarters. This horrible fire was suspended at dawn on the 23d, but when full daylight

* The fire was directed upon the city generally. No one knew where the powder magazine was located, nor was anything known of the interior of the city.

shone it was resumed with greater vigor. The batteries Santiago, San José, San Fernando, and Santa Barbara returned the fire. *Ulúa* also battered the enemy, who kept continually from four to six shells in the air. Their vessels, which had been brought up to Collado by the steamship *Mississippi*, opened upon the city, but were driven back by D. Blas Godinez in Santiago."

An hour or two before the firing began Captain Vinton, Third Artillery, was ordered to withdraw from the lime kiln, proceed with his company to the trenches near the cemetery and take charge of the mortar batteries to open fire. The enemy had fired but a few rounds when he fell in one of the batteries; several of his men were also slightly wounded.* These batteries were within nine hundred yards of the city, and double that distance from the castle of San Juan de Ulúa. The guns of Santiago and those of two or three other works along the wall of the city were directed upon the mortars when the firing began, and continued with the greatest activity during the night.

In his official report, General Scott referred to Captain Vinton as "one of the most talented, accomplished, and effective members of the Army, and who was highly distinguished in the brilliant operations at Monterey. He fell in the trenches, where he was on duty as field and commanding officer, universally regretted."

Three additional 10-inch mortars were placed in battery No. 4 by noon on the 23d. The landing of heavy guns had just commenced when a norther came on with such violence as to suspend operations.

From the morning of the 23d to that of the 24th† the mortar batteries were in charge of Captain Mackenzie, Second Artillery, Capt. Robert Anderson, and Bvt.-Capt. George Taylor, of the Third Artillery. The norther subsided during the night (23d)

* The company of the Fourth Infantry was withdrawn from the lime kiln after dark and ordered into the trenches, and was on duty at the battery in which Vinton was killed. Of the officers who were at the lime kiln, Vinton was killed at Vera Cruz, March 22; Farry at Molino del Rey, September 8, and Rogers at Chapultepec, September 13, 1847.

† At 10 a. m., whilst all the Mexican batteries were firing, one man, Second Artillery, in battery No. 1, was killed, and three severely wounded. In battery No. 3 a shell just missed the muzzle of a mortar, burst, and threw the mortar thirty feet out of the trench.

sufficiently to permit the further landing of guns, mortars, and ordnance stores.

Six heavy guns and a detachment from the Navy were landed from the vessels of war, and with much labor the former were pulled by hand over the sand hills by the sailors, aided by the infantry, and placed in battery No. 5, which opened fire at 10 a. m. of the 24th, under Captain Aulick, of the Navy, and continued firing until 2 p. m., when the ammunition was exhausted.

At the earnest request of Commodore Perry and his officers, General Scott assigned a place to the Navy in the trenches, and battery No. 5, constructed under the direction of Lieut. G. W. Smith, of the Engineer Corps, was, when finished, turned over to the Navy by Capt. R. E. Lee, acting under General Scott's orders, Lieutenant Smith, Engineers, and Lieut. Thomas Williams, Fourth Artillery, aid-de-camp to General Scott, being present at the time.

That all might have a chance to serve in the trenches, Commodore Perry ordered detachments from each ship under a lieutenant, the whole detail to be commanded by a captain or commander, and these were to serve for twenty-four hours. Five seamen were killed, and Lieutenant Baldwin, of the Navy, and four seamen wounded. In the afternoon Captain Aulick's command was relieved by another detachment from the fleet, under Capt. J. I. Mayo, with a fresh supply of ammunition.

On the 24th, it being reported that in rear of the extreme left of the Army, on the Jalapa road and about two and a half miles from Vergara, was a small cavalry force of the enemy, Lieut. B. S. Roberts was despatched with a company of Mounted Rifles to that point; but finding quite a large force, supposed to be several hundred, he sent back to camp for aid, and Col. Persifor F. Smith was sent to his support with two hundred men. The enemy was beyond a small stream (the San Pedro), crossed by a large and well-known bridge, the Puente del Media, and on approaching to reconnoiter it a fire was delivered by a force concealed in the chapparal. Two parties, one under Lieutenant Roberts, the other composed of two companies under Capt. Henry C. Pope, Mounted Rifles, crossed the stream, one above and the other below the bridge, to strike the hostile body on its flank, while a third party moved down the road directly upon the bridge. The enemy gave way and was pursued until

sunset; three of his dead were seen on the road and four riflemen were severely wounded. In his official report of this affair, Colonel Smith referred in complimentary terms to Lieutenants Roberts and A. J. Lindsay and Bvt. 2d Lieuts. D. H. Maury and John P. Hatch, Mounted Rifles.

During the night of the 24th General Scott received a communication signed by the British, French, Spanish, and Prussian consuls in Vera Cruz, asking time to permit the neutrals, together with the Mexican women and children, to withdraw from the scenes of distress about them. To this he replied that he deeply regretted the lateness of their application, for up to the 23d instant the communication between the neutrals in Vera Cruz and the neutral ships of war lying off Sacrificios, was left open mainly to allow them an opportunity to escape from the horrors of the impending siege, of which he gave to the consuls every admonition in his power. In respect to a truce, it must, on reflection, be evident that he could not grant one, except on the application of the Governor and Commander-in-chief of Vera Cruz, accompanied by a distinct proposition to surrender. In the meantime, the siege must go on with increased means and rigor.

On the 25th the army battery, of six heavy guns, on the left of the mortar batteries, was ready to open fire. This battery, the naval battery, and all the mortar batteries opened that morning with what General Scott truthfully styled "awful activity." The naval battery completed the breach near the Santa Barbara battery and destroyed many houses in rear; the fire from the army battery was very effective, while the 10-inch shells were seen all the time ascending high in the air, often above the thick, overhanging clouds, to descend with crushing force through roofs and floors of the different stories, often not bursting until the cellars were reached. Even in our distant camps the explosions heard indicated, unerringly, whether the shells had burst in the open streets or within houses; the dull, heavy shock of the latter was much more frequent, and that suppressed sound could not be heard by the most callous, without a shudder, lest it might be among mothers and innocent children, among the sick in hospitals, or in the midst of the wounded with their attending surgeons.

Early on the 25th the firing was increased to 180 shot and shell per hour. Additional mortars were to be in battery that



ROBERT PATTERSON,

MAJOR GENERAL, U. S. VOLUNTEERS.

BORN IN IRELAND.---APPOINTED FROM PENNSYLVANIA.

night, and it was General Scott's intention to carry the works of the city by assault on the night of the 26th if no proposition for surrender came.

It being known, March 25, that a mounted force of the enemy was a few miles in rear of the Army, Colonel Harney, with Captain Thornton's squadron, and fifty dismounted men with Captain Ker, all under Major Sumner of the Second Dragoons, marched towards the Medelin river. No enemy was seen until Colonel Harney arrived near the stone bridge over the Morena, skirted by a dense chapparal, in which small parties of lancers were observed, the bridge being held by them and reported to be fortified. A reconnoitering party approached, received a volley, and fell back, one corporal being killed and two men wounded. They found the bridge fortified with a large force holding it. Sumner's command retired a short distance and sent a message back to camp, asking for two pieces of artillery, which came promptly under Lieut. H. B. Judd, Third Artillery.

Capt. W. J. Hardee, Second Dragoons, engaged at the time in disembarking his company, collected some forty or fifty cavalry men without horses, obtained permission, and hastened to the support of Sumner, also soon joined by a company of the First Tennessee under Capt. B. F. Cheatham and four companies of the Second Tennessee under Colonel Haskell. Harney attacked at once, Lieutenant Judd advanced near the bridge and came into battery, Ker's men moved forward in line on the left of the road, the volunteers on the right, Hardee in rear and near the guns, and Sumner with the mounted cavalry a short distance in rear. The artillery had fired but a few minutes when all advanced, charged over the bridge, leaping the barricade, Colonel Haskell being the first over; the enemy gave way, but reformed a short distance in rear. Obstructions at the bridge being removed, Sumner advanced at a charge upon the lancers in rear, broke and pursued them six miles to the town of Medelin; there a second party of lancers was encountered and driven off, pursued by Lieut. and Adj. Lewis Neill, Second Dragoons, who received two lance wounds, one in the body, the other in the arm.

The pursuit was pressed two miles beyond the town; the cavalry then halted, fell back to Medelin, and after a rest returned, arriving in camp 3 o'clock in the morning. General Patterson joined the troops bringing with him Colonel Campbell's regi-

ment, the First Tennessee, but permitted Colonel Harney to direct operations. The latter referred in complimentary terms to the command in general, especially mentioning his Adjutant, Lieutenant Neill, Lieut. James Oaks, Captains Albert Lowry and Hardee, Surgeon J. K. Barnes,* and Lieutenant Judd. There were but two Americans killed and nine wounded.

The firing from the various batteries was incessant during the 25th and throughout the following night, and proved fearfully destructive to Vera Cruz. Fires were raging in several places; the redoubt of Santa Barbara, against which the naval battery **had directed** its shots, was greatly damaged and many of its defenders killed.

A shell fell in the powder works of Santiago and the building was blown to pieces, over three hundred pounds of powder and twenty loaded shells exploding at the same instant; here many artillerymen were at work, and all except one sergeant instantly killed. Nineteen persons were destroyed in the infirmary by the bursting of one shell, and in the female hospital seventeen were killed in like manner. While an operation was being performed on a wounded man, the explosion of a shell extinguished the lights, and when others were brought it was discovered that both patient and doctor had been blown to pieces, and many others killed or wounded. Scenes of blood and misery were seen in all directions. Deaths among citizens were numerous, and no place was safe; children were crying for bread which could not be given; women wandered about the streets asking asylums for children left orphans, their parents having been killed by shells. Many of them sought refuge in the chapel of the Divina Pastora, where only one ball had penetrated. Such were a few of the horrors of the bombardment, as told by Mexican witnesses.

The night of the 25th four additional mortars were placed in position, and early in the morning of the 26th, while the batteries were still playing, overtures came from General Landero, to whom the command had been turned over by General Morales. Firing was suspended at all the batteries by order from headquarters. A terrible storm of wind and sand prevailing, the troops remained inactive during the day, unable even to repair damages made by the high wind. The severity of the norther

* Subsequently Surgeon General of the Army.

can not be properly appreciated unless witnessed. While at the lime kiln one saw high waves driven by northerers against the sea-wall of the city with such force as to throw the spray above the roofs of the highest houses. The men of a picket on duty one stormy night found it impossible to face the wind, and the drifting sand would have blinded them, had their eyes not been protected; they wrapped the capes of their overcoats about their heads, lay down on their faces, and when the weight of sand became uncomfortable, raised up, threw it off, and lay down again.

The British, French, Spanish, and Prussian consuls in Vera Cruz begged the commanding general to forward to the commander of the besieging armies a second request to permit neutrals and Mexican women and children to leave Vera Cruz. General Landero, who was then in command, forwarded under a flag of truce their application, and at the same time the following communication from himself:

“I have the honor of transmitting to your Excellency the exposition which has this moment been made to me by the señores, consuls of England, France, Spain, and Prussia, in which they solicit that hostilities may be suspended while the innocent families in this place, who are suffering the ravages of war, be enabled to leave the city, which solicitude claims my support; and considering it in accordance with the rights of afflicted humanity, I have not hesitated to invite your Excellency to enter into an honorable accommodation with the garrison, in which case you will please name three commissioners who may meet at some intermediate point to treat with those of this place upon the terms of the accommodation.

“With this motive I renew to your Excellency my attentive consideration.

“God reward your Excellency, &c., &c., &c. On account of the sickness of the commanding general.

“JOSÉ JUAN DE LANDERO.

“Major-General Scott,” etc.

General Scott appointed Brevet Major-General Worth, of the Regular Army, Major-General Pillow, of the volunteers, and Colonel Totten, Chief of the Engineer Corps of the Army, commissioners on his part to meet a like number to be appointed by the Mexican General, Landero.

Upon receipt of the notification of the appointments of commissioners by General Scott, General Landero, commanding at

Vera Cruz, returned the names of Colonels Herrera, Gutierrez de Villa Nueva, and Lieutenant-Colonel Robles, commissioners on his part.

These commissioners met outside the city of Vera Cruz at the Punta de Hornos, held a conference, and then separated to meet the next day (27th) at the same place. During the second meeting terms were agreed upon, accepted, and ratified by the two commanding generals.

By the terms of the capitulation the Mexican forces were to march out of Vera Cruz and its works with all the honors of war, stack arms and be paroled, their colors when lowered to be saluted. The last article of the terms of capitulation reads as follows: "Absolute protection is solemnly guaranteed to persons in the city and to property, and it is clearly understood that no private building or property is to be taken or used by the forces of the United States without previous arrangement with the owners and for a fair equivalent."

Capt. J. H. Aulick, of the Navy, commissioner appointed by Commodore Perry, by whom Commodore Conner had been relieved the day before, was prevented by stress of weather from attending the meeting of the commissioners, but concurred in the results approved thereof, signed them separately, and they were ratified on the 28th of March, just one year from the date of the first appearance of the United States flag on the Rio Grande, opposite Matamoros.

A council of war had assembled in Vera Cruz about midnight of the 26th, at which General Morales resigned and General Landero assumed command. In a second council, held in the morning of the 27th, General Landero announced there was ammunition for only three hours' firing, and no provisions, except those given out by the Ayuntamiento, in which the citizens shared; hence it was necessary to terminate the contest.

In the words of their historian—"All was over in Vera Cruz. In vain had four or five hundred of her inhabitants perished; in vain had 600 soldiers shed their blood, and 400 of them been killed; in vain had the city suffered the ravages of 6,700 projectiles of the weight of 463,000 pounds, thrown by the enemy; in vain had the place expended \$8,486 in her defense. * * * The city had fallen into the power of the invaders, and cruel fortune had given this mournful and painful blow to the unfortunate Mexican republic."

The Mexican troops that had garrisoned the city and the castle marched out of Vera Cruz through the Gate of Mercy at 10 a. m., on the 29th of March; were halted near a half mile from the town in a green little valley called the Plain of Cocos, and there stacked arms, Worth's division, or much of it, being present. Of this last act the Mexican historian says: "The sacrifice was consummated, but the soldiers of Vera Cruz received the honor due to their valor and misfortunes—the respect of the conqueror. Not even a look was given them by the enemy's soldiers which could be interpreted into an insult." It is true, every consideration was shown and much sympathy felt; many seemed to be mere youths; one young lieutenant, who had been educated in Philadelphia and spoke English well, conversed for a short time with a lieutenant of the U. S. Infantry, on guard at the Gate of Mercy.

The capture of Vera Cruz was an affair, in the main, of the staff and artillery. The engineers located and constructed the batteries with such good judgment and care, that there were few casualties; the fixed ammunition used by the artillery was prepared under the direction of ordnance officers with a skill insured by their education and their experiments and labors in the laboratory. The infantry worked upon the trenches and batteries, and as guards gave protection and security, day and night, while the latter were used, and in addition did picket duty in front and in rear of the lines.

Whilst the Army encircled Vera Cruz by land, the Navy blockaded it on the sea, and no one of the four batteries under direction of the artillery did more effective service than the battery armed and equipped from the squadron, served by sailors and officers of the Navy, and commanded successively by Captains Aulick and Mayo.

General Scott announced in orders that 5,000 prisoners and 400 guns were captured, and his official report shows this to have been accomplished with a loss of only *sixty-seven killed and wounded*. His army numbered 13,000 men; the Mexican history gives their own strength at 4,390. That Vera Cruz, armed and defended as it was, should have been captured and with a total loss of only sixty-seven, is creditable alike to the science and skill of the engineers and artillery, and to the ability and judgment of the commanding general, under whose personal supervision and orders it was accomplished.

It is remembered that there were in the besieging army some who did not conceal their discontent, who thought the commanding general was too slow and cautious; and among the volunteers were officers of high rank (Maj.-Gen. Robert Patterson of the number) who expressed their desire and readiness to lead storming parties, thus intimating that a more energetic course was necessary. Even among the regulars it was said: "Monterey, a stronger place, was taken in three days, and we have confronted Vera Cruz for two weeks and not a gun has been fired." It was fortunate for the Army that its commander was not to be diverted from the plan he had adopted.

After reconnoissances had been made, General Scott said to his chief engineer: "Vera Cruz must be taken with a loss not to exceed one hundred men; for every one over that number I shall regard myself as his murderer."

In his autobiography, volume II, page 423, he says: "The applicants to lead storming parties were thanked and applauded, but I forbore saying to them more. In my little cabinet, however, consisting of Colonel Totten, chief engineer; Lieut.-Col. Hitchcock, acting inspector general; Capt. R. E. Lee, engineer, and 1st Lieut. H. L. Scott,* acting adjutant general, I entered fully into the question of storming parties and regular siege approaches. * * * I opened the subject substantially as follows: 'We, of course, gentlemen, must take the city and castle before the return of the *vomito*—if not by head work, the slow, scientific process, by storming—and then escape by pushing the conquest into the healthy interior. I am strongly inclined to attempt the former, unless you can convince me that the other is preferable. Since our thorough reconnoissance I think the suggestion practicable, with a very moderate loss on our part.

" 'The second method would no doubt be equally successful, but at the cost of an immense slaughter to both sides, including non-combatants—Mexican men, women, and children—because assaults must be made in the dark, and the assailants dare not lose time in taking and guarding prisoners without incurring the certainty of becoming captives themselves, till all the strongholds of the place are occupied. The horrors of such slaughter, with the usual terrible accompaniments, are most revolting.' "

*Author of Scott's Military Dictionary.

CHAPTER XII.

VERA CRUZ OCCUPIED.—GENERAL WORTH COMMANDANT AND GOVERNOR.—MARITAL LAW ORDER, NO. 40.—THE ADVANCE INTO THE INTERIOR.—ALVARADO AND ANTIGUA.—SANTA ANNA AFTER BUENA VISTA.—CERRO GORDO.—NUMBERS ENGAGED AND LOSSES SUSTAINED.

General Worth, whose troops were the first to disembark and who witnessed the surrender of the Mexican forces, was made commandant and Governor of Vera Cruz, and instructed to establish strict police regulations, insuring good morals and order, not disturbing, however, the ordinary functions of civil magistrates, as between Mexicans. He was directed to establish temporarily a moderate tariff of duties, subject to the approval of the general-in-chief and of Commodore Perry, on all articles imported from countries other than the United States, the duties collected to be applied to the benefit of the sick and wounded of the army, the squadron, and the *indigent inhabitants of Vera Cruz*, and this tariff to continue in force until instructions of the Government at home were received.

March 29th he announced in orders that he was the commanding officer and Governor of Vera Cruz and of the castle of San Juan de Ulua, and on the following day issued instructions to the Alcalde as follows:

“Arms in possession of citizens to be given into his (the Alcalde) custody, and to be reported to headquarters. Drinking saloons to be closed, and not to be reopened hereafter except under special permission. Mexican laws, as between Mexicans, to be enforced and justice administered by regular Mexican tribunals. Cases arising between American citizens

of the army or authorized followers of the same, will be investigated by military commissions."

Soldiers commit many grave offenses, not cognizable by the rules and articles of war, for which in their own country they would be tried by the civil courts, but if committed in a foreign land there is no tribunal before which they can be brought, neither can citizens of a foreign country committing outrages upon the soldiers of the United States be tried under any existing law. For such reasons General Scott issued at Tampico, in February, what has been styled his "Martial Law Order," No. 40, and republished it after the landing of the army near Vera Cruz, viz :

[General orders No. 287.]

HEADQUARTERS OF THE ARMY.

1. It is still to be apprehended that many grave offenses, not provided for in the act of Congress "establishing rules and articles for the government of the armies of the United States," approved April 10, 1806, may again be committed by or upon individuals of these armies, in Mexico, pending the existing war between the two republics. Allusion is here made to offenses, any one of which, if committed within the United States or their organized Territories, would of course, be tried and severely punished by the ordinary or civil courts of the land.

2. Assassination, murder, poisoning, rape, or the attempt to commit either ; malicious stabbing or maiming, malicious assault and battery, robbery, theft ; the wanton desecration of churches, cemeteries, or other religious edifices and fixtures ; the interruption of religious ceremonies, and the destruction, except by order of a superior officer, of public or private property, are such offenses.

3. The good of the service, the honor of the United States, and the interests of humanity imperiously demand that every crime enumerated above should be severely punished.

4. But the written code, as above, commonly called the rules and articles of war, does not provide for the punishment of any one of those crimes, even when committed by individuals of the army upon the persons or property of other individuals of the same, except in the very restricted case in the 9th of those articles ; nor for like outrages committed by the same class of individuals upon the persons or property of a hostile country, except very partially, in the 51st, 52d, and 55th articles ; and the same code is absolutely silent as to all injuries which may be inflicted upon individuals of the army, or their property, against the laws of war by individuals of a hostile country.

5. It is evident that the 99th article, independent of any reference to the restriction in the 87th, is wholly nugatory in reaching any of those high crimes.

6. For all the offenses, therefore, enumerated in the second paragraph above, which may be committed abroad, in, by, or upon the army, a supplemental code is absolutely needed.

7. That unwritten code is Martial Law, as an addition to the written military code prescribed by Congress in the rules and articles of war, and which unwritten code all armies in hostile countries are forced to adopt not only for their own safety, but for the protection of the unoffending inhabitants and their property, about the theatres of military operations, against injuries on the part of the army, contrary to the laws of war.

8. From the same supreme necessity martial law is hereby declared as a supplemental code, and about all cities, towns, camps, posts, hospitals, and other places which may be occupied by any part of the forces of the United States in Mexico, and in and about all columns, escorts, convoys, guards, and detachments of the said forces, while engaged in prosecuting the existing war in and against the said republics, and while remaining in the same.

9. Accordingly, every crime enumerated in paragraph No. 2 above, whether committed—first, by any inhabitant of Mexico, sojourner or traveler therein, upon the person or property of any individual of the United States forces, retainer or follower of the same; second, by any individual of the said forces, retainer or follower of the same, upon the person or property of any inhabitant of Mexico, sojourner or traveler therein; or third, by any individual of the said forces, retainer or follower of the same, shall be duly tried and punished under the said supplemental code.

10. For this purpose it is ordered that all offenders, in the matters aforesaid, shall be promptly seized, confined, and reported for trial before military commissions to be duly appointed as follows:

11. Every military commission under this order will be appointed, governed, and limited, as nearly as practicable, as prescribed by the 65th, 66th, 67th, and 97th of the said rules and articles of war, and the proceedings of such commissions will be duly recorded, in writing, reviewed, revised, disapproved or approved, and the sentences executed, all as near as may be, as in the cases of the proceedings and sentences of courts martial: *Provided*, also that no sentence of a military commission shall be put in execution against any individual belonging to this army which may not be, according to the nature and degree of the offense, as established by evidence, in some one of the States of the United States of America.

12. The sale, waste, or loss of ammunition, horses, arms, clothing, or accoutrements by soldiers is punishable under the 37th and 38th articles of war. Any Mexican or resident or traveler in Mexico who shall purchase of any American soldier either horse, horse equipments, arms, ammunition, accoutrements, or clothing shall be tried and severely punished by a military commission, as above.

13. The administration of justice, both in civil and criminal matters, through the ordinary courts of the country, shall nowhere and in no degree be interrupted by any officer or soldier of the American forces except, first, in cases to which an officer, soldier, agent, servant, or follower of the American army may be a party ; and, second, in political cases—that is, prosecutions against other individuals on the allegations that they have given friendly information, aid, or assistance to the American forces.

14. For the ease and safety of both parties, in all cities and towns occupied by the American army a Mexican police shall be established and duly harmonized with the military police of the said forces.

15. This splendid capital, its churches and religious worship, its convents and monasteries, its inhabitants and property are moreover placed under the special safeguard of the faith and honor of the American army.

16. In consideration of the foregoing protection, a contribution of \$150,000 is imposed on this capital, to be paid in four weekly instalments of \$37,500 each, beginning on Monday next, the 20th inst., and terminating on Monday, the 11th of October.

17. The Ayuntamiento, or corporate authority of the city, is specially charged with the collections and payment of the several instalments.

18. Of the whole contribution to be paid over to this army, \$20,000 shall be appropriated to the purchase of extra comforts for the wounded and sick in hospital, \$90,000 to the purchase of blankets and shoes for gratuitous distribution among the rank and file of the army, and \$40,000 reserved for other necessary military purposes.

19. This order will be read at the head of every company of the United States forces serving in Mexico, and translated into Spanish for the information of Mexicans.

By command of Major-General Scott.

H. L. SCOTT,
Acting Adjutant General.

Under General Worth's instructions to the Alcalde, all Mexicans were permitted to leave or enter the city freely between daylight and sunset. A collector of customs was appointed, but no duties were imposed on necessities for officers and soldiers.

April 1st the Alcalde, Senor Don Ramon P. Vela tendered his resignation, which was accepted, and Lieutenant-Colonel Holzinger, an officer much distinguished in the defense of Vera Cruz, was offered and accepted the position.

On the same day General Scott issued an order again calling the attention of the army to his general order No. 40, and he appealed to all good soldiers, regulars and volunteers, to aid in

enforcing its provision and to denounce every infraction of it.

Vera Cruz having been captured, it was feared that the want of transportation, which had delayed the army six weeks at the Brazos and at Tampico and which, though ample requisitions therefor had been duly made, was still a serious embarrassment, would impede progress to the interior. Hence vigorous efforts were made and several expeditions planned to gather from the adjacent country whatever might be made available for land transportation.

March 30th a combined naval and military force, Commodore Perry commanding the naval contingent and Brigadier-General Quitman, accompanied by Capt. J. R. Irwin, chief quartermaster, the army detachment, consisting of the Georgia, Alabama, and South Carolina infantry regiments, a squadron of the Second Dragoons, under Major Beall, and a section of the Third Artillery, under Lieut. H. B. Judd, marched out of camp about 3 p. m. to Alvarado, moved south along the beach to the Medelin River, and bivouacked for the night.

The object of the expedition was, by assuring safety to property, to conciliate the inhabitants and open up a market for horses, mules, and cattle. The plan agreed upon was that the two forces should enter the town about the same time. The Commodore landed on April 1st; General Quitman arrived a few hours later, and many citizens leaving at the first alarm, the town surrendered. Twenty-two cannon and a small amount of ammunition were found in batteries, and the people, seemingly gratified at the courteous kindness of the American commanders, agreed to supply 500 horses at low rates. The troops left Alvarado on the 4th and reached camp, near Vera Cruz, on the 6th.

Colonel Harney having two squadrons of dragoons under Major Sumner, one section of artillery under Capt. George Taylor, and seven companies of the Seventh Infantry under Maj. Henry Bainbridge, left Vera Cruz April 2d for Antigua, having in view the same object as the Alvarado expedition. The dragoons forded the Antigua River, which was 150 yards wide and three and a half feet deep at the town, and seeing the enemy beat a hasty retreat down the main street of the village, pursued and captured one lieutenant, eight soldiers,

with their horses and equipments, twenty-five horses and many cattle, but no mules.

It was announced in orders, April 3d, that the First United States Infantry, Bvt.-Col. Henry Wilson, would remain, and with two companies of volunteers attached to the first division of regulars, garrison Vera Cruz and the Castle of San Juan de Ulua, Colonel Wilson assigned to duty according to his brevet rank, becoming the governor and commanding officer upon the departure of the army for the interior.

It was ordered that requisitions be made at once upon the chief-quartermaster for transportation, wagons, pack and draught animals, subject to the severest revision ; all excess of baggage, public or private, to be rejected and thrown aside by the quartermaster at the time of loading up, or on the march when discovered. Three common tents, mainly for arms and the sick, were allowed the officers and men of a company.

All horses and mules held under pretense of purchase, or captured since the landing of the army, were to be turned over immediately to the quartermaster, captured property always to be held for the benefit of the service generally, and the order to be complied with before the following night, or such property in possession of individuals would be seized. The greatest activity prevailed in the quartermaster and commissary departments. Besides armed expeditions, any number of agents were sent out to ransack the country far and near for horses and mules, many having been lost at sea, or injured during the rough voyage.

April 6th, a limited amount of transportation being in readiness, orders were issued for the advance upon Jalapa, the second division of regulars, Twiggs to lead on the 8th ; the division of volunteers, two brigades only, twenty-four hours later ; Major-General Patterson, for want of transportation, to leave one brigade and the Tennessee dismounted cavalry in camp until the arrival of their horses. The chiefs of the general staff were to assign to the headquarters of each division an engineer officer, topographical engineer, ordnance officer, assistant quartermaster, assistant commissary, and a medical officer. Forty-five wagons were assigned the second division, fifty-five to the volunteer division for

the baggage of officers of every grade, and for that of regiments and companies, the interior disposition of wagons to be made at division headquarters. Two batteries, Taylor's and Talcott's, the latter Racket and mountain howitzers, to march with the second, and Steptoe's battery with the volunteer division, each soldier to carry forty rounds of ammunition, hard bread for four days, bacon and pork, cooked, for two days; forage for four days to be carried in extra wagons, and each baggage wagon to take four days' forage for its own team; ten extra wagons to be allowed the chief of ordnance, and 100 to the chief commissary. The quartermaster's and commissary's departments were to take prompt measures for the purchase, and issue on the march, of such forage and subsistence as could be obtained from the country. Each general of division was to receive from general headquarters a route of march and instructions.

The day Twigg's division marched for Jalapa a second expedition, Col. Martin Scott,* Fifth Infantry, commanding, with 300 men, was sent fifty miles up the river to Alvarado in search of draught and pack mules.

On April 10th an execution took place at Vera Cruz in compliance with the findings and sentence of a military commission. The offense committed was theft and rape upon a Mexican woman near Vera Cruz. The culprit, a free man of color, a citizen of the United States, and a camp follower of the army, was found guilty and sentenced to be hanged by the neck until dead. The proceedings of the commission in the case were printed in Spanish for circulation among Mexican citizens. The crime committed would have gone unpunished but for General Scott's Martial Law Order No. 40.

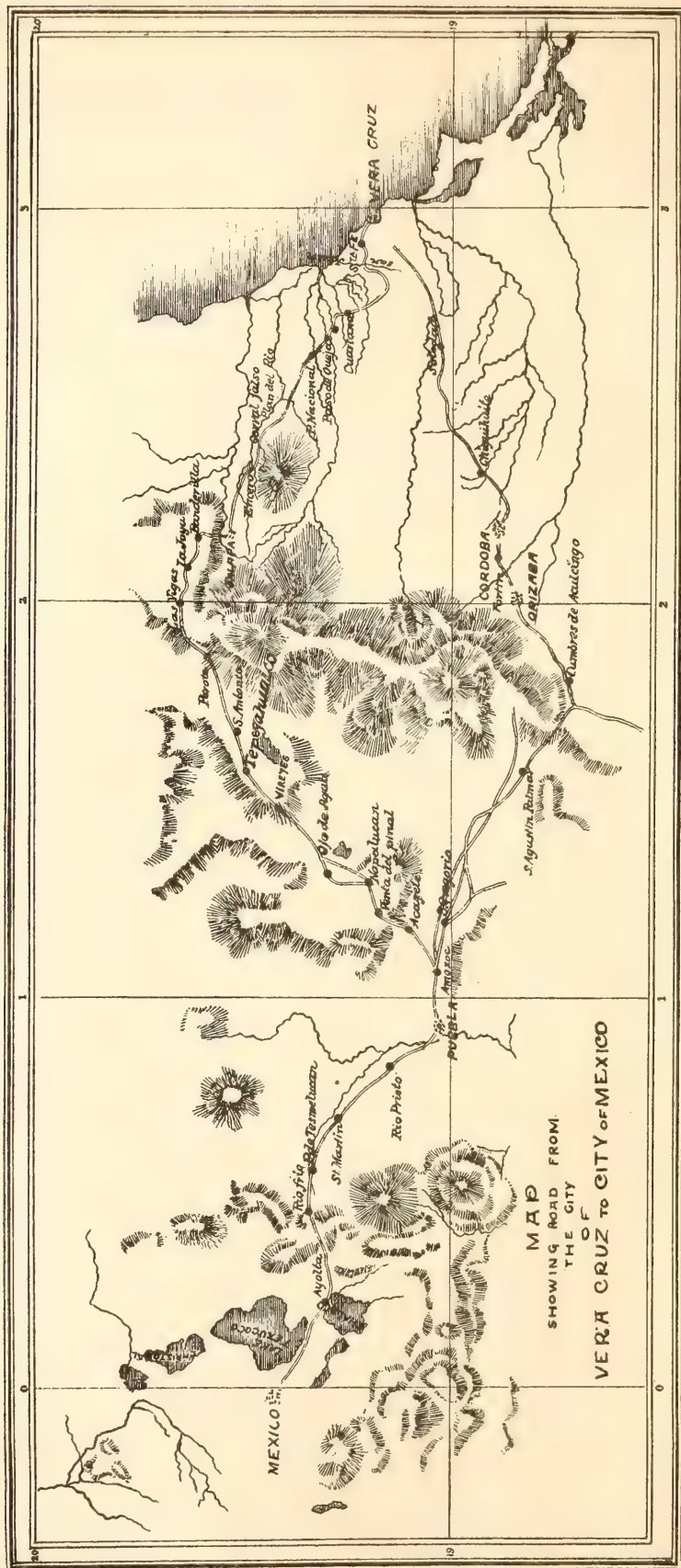
General Taylor, October 11, 1846, reported a case of homicide that occurred in his army. A Texan volunteer deliberately shot and killed a young Mexican who was walking peacefully along the streets of Monterey. The murderer fired upon his unsuspecting victim from an open window of a house, killing him instantly. In making his report of this case,

* When this division left the coast on April 8th there was but little known of the hostile force that might be confronted. It was believed one would be encountered in advance of Jalapa, but its strength or by whom commanded was not known.

General Taylor says : " It will be perceived at once that there is no American tribunal here competent to meet the case, and I respectfully ask for instructions as to the proper disposition to be made of the culprit." General Scott had called the attention of the War Department to the deficiency of the law on this point and urged the President to call the attention of Congress to it, which was done, but that body failed to remedy the evil. General Scott then drew up his Martial Law Order and sent it to General Taylor for his adoption, if he saw fit to do so, but he did not accept it.

The Secretary in reply to General Taylor wrote, November 25, 1846: " The competence of a military tribunal to take cognizance of such a case as you have presented in your communication of the 11th ultimo, viz., the murder of a Mexican soldier, and other offenses not embraced in the express provisions of the articles of war, was deemed so questionable that an application was made to Congress at the last session to bring them expressly within the jurisdiction of such a tribunal, but it was not acted on. I am not prepared to say that under the peculiar circumstances of the case, and particularly by the non-existence of any civil authority to which the offender could be turned over, a military court cannot rightfully act thereon, yet very serious doubts are entertained upon that point, and the Government does not advise that course. It seriously regrets that such a flagrant offender cannot be dealt with in the manner he deserves. I see no other course for you to pursue than to release him from confinement and send him away from the army, and this is recommended." Under this ruling a discharge from the army would be offered to an enlisted man as a reward for committing murder.

On April 9th Patterson's division moved forward towards Jalapa, leaving Quitman's brigade, Thomas' Tennessee horse, Worth's division, the siege train, the engineer company, and the engineer train of the army at Vera Cruz for want of transportation. General Scott, on the 9th, sent a note to General Twiggs in the advance, advising him that Santa Anna had arrived at Jalapa with a force reported to be 6,000 strong, though he did not think it was half that number. Transportation having arrived from the Brazos and Tampico,



and there being a prospect of a further increase from Alvarado, an order was issued on the 11th for three heavy siege pieces to move on the 12th.

General Twiggs, leading the advance, acknowledged receipt of General Scott's note of the 9th, and stated that the pass* between the National Bridge—Puente Nacional—and Jalapa would probably be disputed; that accounts as to the enemy's force were all through Mexican sources and contradictory,† variously reported from two to thirteen thousand, but he had no doubt of reaching Jalapa, and would arrive that evening (11th) at Plan-del-Rio, where the Mexican advance was posted.

He reported the weather very hot, and that it was difficult to get the men along. Seventy-five were absent the evening of the 10th at roll-call, but all came up during the night; also that all Mexicans had left their houses, which he interpreted to mean "a fight expected," and that Captain Johnston, topographical engineer, who had been in the advance and had questioned many Mexicans, believed Santa Anna had 4,000 men.

On receiving reports representing Generals Patterson and Twiggs confronted by the enemy in strong force at Plan-del-Rio, General Scott set out from Vera Cruz on the 12th, escorted by a small cavalry force under Capt. Phil. Kearny, First Dragoons, and on April 13th Worth's division marched from Vera Cruz, following the route of the preceding columns, Quitman's brigade and the engineer company and train remaining for want of transportation, though they expected to follow in twenty-four hours.

Worth had camped, after the surrender of Vera Cruz, in the green meadow (Plain of Cocos) on which the Mexicans had stacked arms on March 29th, about a mile south of Vera Cruz.

At 7 a. m. on the 13th the division left camp, marched through the Gate of Mercy into the city of Vera Cruz, and passed out of it through the City of Mexico Gate, then along the beach to the hamlet of Vergara, where the road left the sea by a sharp turn to the west, and for six or seven miles crossed a succession of steep, but not very high, sand hills.

* Cerro Gordo.

† See map No. VIII.

The morning was warm, with little or no breeze, the road shut in by a small but dense tropical growth, and at each step the men would sink over their ankles in the fine, white sand, the sun's rays falling vertically upon their heads, and the heat steaming up into their faces from the hot sand below. Near Vergara a barrel of hard bread was seen by the road side, soon another, and then a barrel of pork, next a sack of coffee, then a barrel of sugar, showing that a large quantity of subsistence stores had been thrown out of the wagons of the preceding division. The heat was stifling for six or seven miles, and most trying to the soldiers, many of whom fell from exhaustion, the ranks becoming thinned and greatly lengthened. The San Pablo, a large, rapid stream, spanned by a heavy stone bridge, was at length reached and crossed, and beyond it the road became slightly ascending. Within a mile or two, a few houses, known as the village of Santa Fe, were seen, and five or six miles beyond the division halted on the San Juan, smaller than the San Pablo, but like it flowing through a forest of large trees with little undergrowth. The troops bivouacked here, having marched fourteen miles from Vera Cruz.

Having seen the American forces on the march from Vera Cruz to the interior of the enemy's country, we will return to the Mexicans and detail the preparations made by them to resist this advance, the number and character of the troops hastily brought together, and by whom commanded, and also the points selected for resistance.

At the close of the battle of Buena Vista the Mexican commander retired to Agua Nueva, leaving a brigade to bring up the rear. Encumbered with 800 wounded, the march was slow; having little transportation, scant subsistence and medical stores, the suffering was intense, harrowing with the sick and wounded, and severe even with the well. Santa Anna reviewed his army the following day, congratulated the soldiers in orders for their heroism, cited captured artillery as evidence of victory—trophies to be displayed with pride among their countrymen—and styled his troops "an army of heroes."

A *Junta* of officers was called, at which it was decided to retire upon San Luis Potosi, though General Miñon, of the

cavalry, and a few of his officers protested against any retrograde move. The next day the army fell back to Encarnacion, a distance of thirty miles, without water. The historian paints the hardships of the march, with all its cruel sufferings, in vivid colors. At Matehuala there was a rest for two days, and here General Miñon was brought before a court-martial for alleged failure of duty in the operations around Buena Vista; and Santa Anna received information of a revolution in the capital against Gomez Farias, Vice-President and Acting President of the republic.

He arrived with his army in San Luis Potosi March 29th, the day General Scott's army landed near Vera Cruz, and was much gratified at his reception, the municipal authorities and citizens uniting in demonstrations of respect and honor both to him and the army. The latter on its return to San Luis, according to their own estimate, was 10,000; 500 less than when it marched north the latter part of January. This sad depletion was due more to the march to Buena Vista and the countermarch to San Luis, than to its collision with Taylor's forces, destructive as the latter had been. After a rest of four days Mora y Villamil was left in command, and Santa Anna with a portion of the army proceeded towards the City of Mexico. These troops, making double marches and taking the road by Santa Maria del Rio, were but five days to Queretaro, one of the quickest infantry marches on record.

Before moving north he had sent Gen. D. Ignacio Basadre to the City of Mexico, bearing various messages, but principally charged with effecting an understanding with Pedrasa as to a future course of policy, and in this mission his envoy was successful. Santa Anna espoused the Moderado party, pledged himself to work in concert with their leaders, and to relinquish power in order to devote all his energies to opposing the Americans.

He marched for the capital with two brigades, intending, first, to fight the Polkas* and then reinforce Vera Cruz, but between San Luis and Queretaro was met at San Miguel el Grande by Deputy Othon, sent by the Puro party (Farias) to engage him against the revolution, which was apparently accom-

*A political faction of recent origin.

plished, as he seemed disposed to receive their overtures and to interpose with an armed force. He dispatched his adjutant, Lieutenant-Colonel Cadena, to herald his coming and ascertain the real opinions of the contending parties; then, not wishing to command the two brigades, turned them over to General Vasquez.

Four leagues from Queretaro he was met at Santa Rosa by deputies from the Moderado party, headed by Pacheco and Aguirre, their object being to persuade him to favor the revolution. He now began to vacillate, and his bearing towards Othon, to whom he had before been very attentive, changed. Leaving his carriage, he mounted his horse, rode into Queretaro, and was received with an ovation. At this place, as he had anticipated, another deputation of Polkas, with General Salas at their head, and the brothers Guadalupe and Jose Covarrubias presented themselves, and the interview with them brought Santa Anna to their side, though he prudently asserted that he would do nothing against the revolution, and that he trusted the question would be settled before he was recognized as chief magistrate of the republic. He was now evidently in full sympathy with the scheme of the Pronunciamiento, and treated its messengers with great distinction.

He left Queretaro for the capital, and, being without troops and advised that as the question at issue was discussed in the City of Mexico, arms in hand, he had better take with him a military force. He adopted the suggestion, sent an order to the rear for the Huzares, and on their arrival hastened on without stopping until he reached Guadalupe, three miles from the capital.

Committees from the several factions, whose armed battalions under hostile leaders filled the National Capital, were hurriedly despatched to meet and confer with him as he drew near the city, unfolding their schemes or policy and endeavoring to enlist him on their side. When he dismounted from his horse in the town of Guadalupe two lines of armed partisans, extending through the city, confronted each other.

Angry passions, however, soon subsided, the Polkas and Puros stacked arms, and the state of alarm that had existed so many days ceased. The day after his arrival the *Te Deum* was sung in the Guadalupe Church in thanks to the Almighty

for the victory won at Buena Vista, at night a Congressional committee waited upon him to administer the oath of office that he might again exercise the functions of President, and the following morning, accompanied by a brilliant staff and escorted by the Huzares, he entered the National Capital.

Internal dissensions being composed, and public opinion once more unanimous, all eyes were turned eastward; Vera Cruz had succumbed to the enemy, who must be met and defeated or the capital itself would be lost. The troops from the north, as they descended into the valley, bore off to the east and marched towards Vera Cruz, without passing through the city, and Santa Anna did not tarry in the capital, but, with an energy exciting the surprise and admiration of his countrymen, hurried the troops garrisoning the city (the National Guards) from Puebla and from other parts of the republic down towards the coast, to be halted at Cerro Gordo. Of the troops from the north, the brigade of General Vasquez was composed of four light corps and the flying artillery; General Ampudia's, of the Third, Fourth, Fifth, and Eleventh of the Line; the cavalry under General Juvera, of the Fifth and Ninth, Morelia and Coraceros. Of infantry there were 4,000; cavalry, 1,500; artillery, 150; in all, 5,650. Active preparations for the campaign continued; troops marching from the capital and Puebla to reinforce those on the road to Vera Cruz moved by brigades, and expeditiously, for it was important to seize points of natural strength, capable of good defense, and there was but little time to utilize the skill of engineers.

On April 2d Santa Anna, President of Mexico, set out from the capital with his headquarters, the executive power *ad interim* having been confided to General Anaya by the National Congress. He had chosen Cerro Gordo, on the Vera Cruz road, twenty or twenty-five miles in advance of Jalapa—famous during the war of Independence—as the spot to meet and turn back the advance of Scott.

He reached and established provisionally his headquarters at the Hacienda of Encero April 5th, six miles below Jalapa, on the road to Vera Cruz. At Perote he learned that General Canalizo had fallen back from the National Bridge, leaving there four cannon of large calibre; and, annoyed at this, he

ordered him to return and save the artillery, which, having been dismounted, had to be drawn off by oxen. Mexican history relates that "Many of the dispersed soldiers who had taken the oath at Vera Cruz (paroled at the surrender) were compelled by Santa Anna to re-enter the service, and were assigned to different corps, the officers being sent to San Andres Chalchicomula."

Lieutenant-Colonel Robles, a paroled prisoner, being ordered by Canalizo to make a reconnoissance of Cerro Gordo and report upon its fitness for defense, found it, in his opinion, advantageous for harassing an invading army on its march to Jalapa, but not the best point to dispute its passage or to attempt a decisive battle. His opinion was based upon the fact that the road could be reached in rear of the position; in other words, the position could be turned, and the best that could be expected would be, if the enemy should attack in front, to repulse him, without being able to prevent his reforming his forces on the heights of Palo Gacho. The want of water was another objection to its selection. Robles advised that the main resistance should be made at Corral Falso (six or eight miles in rear); but notwithstanding this unfavorable report, Canalizo, by Santa Anna's express order, directed Robles to commence fortifying Cerro Gordo.

April 9th Santa Anna arrived at Cerro Gordo, made a reconnoissance of the Plan del Rio, found Colonel Robles engaged with working parties at the foot of the Cerro Telegrafo, and ordered him to fortify, in addition, certain hills on the right of the road, Lieutenant-Colonel Cano to have charge of the works on its left. He passed the night of the 9th at Plan-del-Rio, and Twiggs' division, on the march from Vera Cruz, bivouacked some twenty-five or thirty miles from that place.

Santa Anna returned to Encero (map 8), but came back to Cerro Gordo on the 11th and established his headquarters there. Twiggs' division reached Plan del Rio on the same day, the advance guard under Colonel Harney, Second Dragoons, having first driven off a small party of the enemy's lancers. By the 12th the brigades of Generals Rangel and Pinzon, the Nationals of Jalapa and Coatepec, and the Angostura (or Buena Vista) troops had all arrived at Cerro

Gordo, and field works were being hurried forward with the greatest activity by the engineers. Patterson's division joined Twiggs at Plan del Rio, and the latter, aware of the presence of the enemy in his immediate front, sent out, early on the 12th, reconnoitering parties, who ascertained that the main Mexican army was in position about three miles from the Plan del Rio; that there was a battery intrenched in the road, commanding with its fire a distance of six or seven hundred yards, and that the hostile line at this battery crossed the road. Captain Joseph E. Johnston, topographical engineers, leaving the National road and following a blind foot-path to the left, discovered the position and direction of the line, also batteries in position along it, and while engaged in a close reconnoissance, received two severe wounds from musket balls.

Lieut. T. H. Brooks, aid to General Twiggs, followed a path to the right of the road, about 1,000 yards in front of the Mexican battery, and which, owing to a dense tropical undergrowth, was indistinct and difficult to trace, yet he made his way over it for nearly a mile. It was thought that the enemy's position, if found too strong to be attacked in front, might be turned by this route. The result of these reconnoissances was reported to General Twiggs.

Lieutenant Beauregard, of the engineers, who had arrived with General Patterson on the 12th, left camp at the Plan del Rio the following morning, having an escort of several foot companies, followed the National road until he reached the path discovered by Brooks and posted all but one company here under cover of the dense undergrowth. Then, accompanied by Captain Ayres, Second Artillery, and Lieutenant Brooks, with the remaining company as escort, he continued on the path beyond where Brooks' explorations had ceased, until he reached the base of an elevated and rocky ridge. With six or eight of the escort they ascended this ridge, called by the Mexicans Atalaya, and found it unoccupied. Eight or nine hundred yards in front and separated from it by a deep valley was a higher conical-shaped mound, the Cerro Telegrafo, from the summit of which the enemy could be seen, estimated by Beauregard to be four or five infantry companies with three field pieces behind a low parapet.

He reported to General Twiggs that he believed Cerro Telegrafo could be easily taken.

The reconnoissance began by Captain Johnston on the 12th, was continued by Lieut. Z. B. Tower, of the engineers, who had been with General Twiggs on the march from Vera Cruz, and with whom were Generals Pillow and Shields during the reconnoissance of the 13th. He reported to General Twiggs that the Mexican batteries were in position on the left (American) of the road and that their line extended to the extreme right, and he (Twiggs) ordered an attack to be made early the next morning, the Mexican right to be assaulted by the brigades of Brigadier-Generals Pillow and Shields, while he would assail with his own division Cerro Telegrafo, the left of the hostile line. General Patterson, however, who on account of indisposition did not assume command when he first joined Twiggs, returned to duty on the 13th, assumed command and issued orders suspending active operations until the arrival of General Scott, expected the next day.

General Scott, as anticipated, arrived at the head of his columns and was informed of the enemy's position, supposed strength, and the developments up to date. He directed reconnoissances to be resumed early in the morning (15th) towards the Mexican left, Captain Lee, who had accompanied him from Vera Cruz, being in charge. Upon arrival at Atalaya, Lee and the other engineers ascended it, and from its crest had an extended field of view, embracing the deep ravine separating it from the Telegrafo, and also one still deeper to the right, apparently encircling the Telegrafo, and whilst so engaged Beauregard passed around the right of Atalaya and advanced more than half way to the Telegrafo.

Reconnoissances were resumed on the 16th towards the Mexican left, and Lee in person explored the ravine to the right of Atalaya, which swept around the west of Telegrafo and approached quite close to the National road. An elevated rocky ridge east of the Plan del Rio was examined with the view of locating a battery there, to enfilade those of the enemy to the left (American left) of the road. The information derived from these protracted and thorough reconnoissances determined the order of attack, which was to make a demonstration with two brigades, Pillow's and Shields', on the

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Mexican right, and to throw the mass of the army around their left, thus cut their communications with the interior and capture or destroy their army.

While reconnoissances were being made by the American engineers the Mexican field works were pushed forward with energy and despatch, the stony character of the soil rendering their construction difficult. Lieutenant-Colonel Robles had charge of the works on the right of the road, and although from the want of soil the parapets were not of the best, yet with the use of logs they were serviceable against grape, fragments of shell and musketry. Colonel Cano located and constructed the heavy battery in the road, and also a covered way extending from it to the right of the line. General Alcora made a circular barricade of stone and logs around the top of Telegrafo, and placed in it a battery.

The Mexican troops were placed (April 13th) on a carefully selected line of battle; viz., at the extreme right was General Pinzon with seven guns, the Fifth Infantry, and the battalion of Atlixco, in all over 500 men; in the right centre was Buenaventura Arango, a navy captain, with eight guns, the battalion of Libertad, 400 men, and the battalion of Zacapoastla, 300 men; on his left Colonel Badillo with 250 men, companies of the Nationals of Jalapa, Coatepec, and Teusitlan, with nine guns of various calibres. The camp of Matamoros was in rear of Badillo and Arango, and was held by the battalions of Matamoros and Tepeaca, 450 men, with one 8-pounder. At the road battery of seven guns was the Sixth Infantry, 900 men, under General La Vega; also the battalion of grenadiers, 460 men, to be the reserve for the right. These figures make 3,260 men, not including the cannoneers with thirty-two guns.

On the Telegrafo, in charge of General Vasquez, with General Uruga second in command, was Colonel Palacios, chief of artillery, and the Third Infantry, under Colonel Azpeitia. Neither the number of guns nor of men on this, the Key-point, is stated. The remainder of the army was encamped on either side of the road at the Rancheria of Cerro Gordo. The cavalry remained at Corral Falso, several miles in rear, until the 15th. Of the force encamped on both sides of the road were the First, Second, Third, and Fourth Light Battalions, 1,700

men, and the Fourth and Eleventh of the Line, 780 (map IX), guns not in battery, the hospital, and trains.

Santa Anna was aware of the reconnoissance of the 12th, and anticipating an attack the next day, mounted his horse at daylight and accompanied by his Staff rode along the lines, not returning to headquarters until noon. Later in the day he was again on horseback until sunset, and then to dine, having with him his Staff and a few of the higher officers. At intervals during the dinner choice airs were performed by a splendid band, and, elated and confident, he is represented to have expressed the belief that yellow fever appearing in their camp would paralyze the invading army and prove his best ally.

He determined to make a reconnoissance, and the night of the 14th ordered the cavalry under Canalizo down from Corral Falso. At daylight the Fifth and Ninth Regiments, Morelia and Coraceros, and the squadrons of Jalapa, Huzares, Chalchicomula and Orizaba, arrived, and were ordered to pass along in rear of his camp to the right, descend a narrow and rugged path leading to the Plan-del-Rio, mount the opposite height, cross it, and surprise Scott's left. Having seen them on the march, Santa Anna repaired to the right of Pinzon, the only point of his line from which he could see the American camp and where he was to await the result of the movement.

A few of the enemy's guerrillas, as he called them, being seen along the ridge, his cavalry was ordered to swoop down upon and gather them up, not permitting a single one to escape. He became a little impatient, ordered a few shots from a battery, which fell short, the American guerrillas having disappeared, then returned to his headquarters, and soon one of his Staff, Colonel Codallos, who had been despatched to hasten the movement of Canalizo, returned and reported that every effort had been made to execute the order, but the difficulties were too great; several of the men with their horses had fallen over precipices, killing both men and horses. The order was then countermanded, and the cavalry, after a fatiguing expedition, returned to Corral Falso early in the night of the 15th.

Though General Scott had, as stated, determined the order in which his attack upon the enemy in his intrenched position should be made, he was not prepared to make it in consequence of the absence of a large portion of his army.

Worth's division, Quitman's brigade and the engineer train of the army had not yet arrived; the former camped the night of the 13th fourteen miles from Vera Cruz, and the next morning was on the road at an early hour. The heat was oppressive, but no dust, the march being through a dense forest, the monotony of which was varied by a flock of parrots flying overhead and perching in the trees. After a march of eight or nine miles over an excellent road, the division halted for the day and bivouacked near Paso de Ovejas. On the 15th the march was over by 11 a. m., and the division halted at the Puente Nacional, where there was a large stream of good water, both for drinking and bathing, and where the troops remained till near sundown of the 16th, then began a night march to Plan del Rio.

Orders were given to arrest all stragglers, and to see that no soldier who had fallen asleep by the wayside was left behind; that the wagons were all up and none abandoned on the road, which was broad and smooth, with an easy but very perceptible grade. After 12 o'clock the guard was kept busy, there being many asleep by the wayside, all of whom had to be aroused, and the number was quite large by 2:30 and 3 a. m. Those awakened, refreshed by the rest and sleep, proved useful in finding their comrades in the chapparal near the road. There was no want of discipline in the army, but on a long march there will always be some with sore feet, others who are not well, many will be overcome and exhausted, and in this instance there were many, no doubt, still suffering from the first day's tramp, but the orders were rigid and strictly enforced, for it was feared that should any be left in rear they would be murdered by the guerrillas.

Camp was reached a little before daylight. The guard halted by the road side and was soon asleep, its duty having been very laborious, and it was 7 a. m. when the officer of the guard was awakened by the sun shining in his face.

The Plan del Rio, in which Twiggs' division encamped to await the arrival of the rear troops, was a level valley a few

hundred yards wide, through which in its longest direction, in nearly an east and west line, flows the Rio del Plan, affording an abundant supply of good drinking and bathing water. This camp was in the *tierra caliente*, and so was Santa Anna's army, though on a higher and cooler plane.

The position selected by him in which to resist Scott's further advance was a very strong one; his line crossed the National road over which the latter must march some three or four miles from the Plan del Rio. Its right rested on an almost precipitous rocky bank over 100 feet high, rendering it secure from a flank attack by infantry. To the left, and between his right and the National road, were three ridges with intervening depressions, the former terminating in rather elevated knobs, from which the surface declined to the front. On these several elevations were batteries with infantry supports, each covered by defensive works. A dense chapparal in front of the batteries and infantry had been cut down for the space of two or three hundred yards and formed an excellent *abatis*. In the road was a battery of six heavy guns, with epaulement, having a raking fire of seven or eight hundred yards. On either side was a rocky bank, nearly perpendicular, twenty feet or more in height, and on the north side it rose up into a high rocky ridge (Atalaya) covered with timber. In rear of the road battery some 300 yards was a conical hill over 200 feet high, along the base of which ran the Jalapa road. This height, known as the Cerro Telegrafo, was crowned with artillery and strengthened with palisading and breastworks on the north and east sides, less than a hundred yards from its summit. Three hundred yards beyond the Telegrafo were several huts, known by the Mexicans as the *Rancheria de Cerro Gordo*. Near these huts and between them and the Telegrafo a depression ran up to the road from the north, and was regarded (so reported) by Santa Anna as impracticable for infantry. Northeast of the Telegrafo, separated from it by a valley, was the Atalaya, and to the north of these two high elevations was a deep and rugged ravine, sweeping around the Telegrafo and, as stated, reaching the road west of it.

Leaving the Plan del Rio the road ascends with a heavier grade, and after several sharp turns to the right and left runs

BORN IN AND APPOINTED FROM GEORGIA.

BRIGADIER GENERAL, U. S. A.

DAVID E. TWIGGS



westerly, having on the left three ridges in echelon; between the second and third of these, a trail passes to the Plan del Rio, and as the road turns the third, it is exposed to the guns of the left battery on the right (Mexican) of the road, which, coming within close range of this battery, makes a slight bend south, and is then under fire of the heavy gun battery in the road. The guns on the top of Telegrafo had a reverse and plunging fire upon the line on the right of the road. Such was the position in which Santa Anna had intrenched himself to arrest Scott's further advance.

General Scott did not intend to risk a battle in the absence of Worth's division, but about 8 a. m. of the 17th Twiggs' division was ordered forward on the National road, Capt. Frank Taylor's battery, First Artillery, and the mountain howitzers and Racket battery under Major Talcott moving with it. A mile from the intersection of the enemy's line with the road Twiggs filed to the right, descended to the bottom of a deep ravine, rose up on the far side, and, marching a mile and a half over a rough road made by the engineers, halted about 11 a. m. seven or eight hundred yards from the Cerro Telegrafo, on which, from a stone building, waved the Mexican colors. Twiggs' division was near the base of the Atalaya, and he determined to occupy it, as from it the Telegrafo and its defensive works, as well as a considerable extent of the field, could be better reconnoitered and brought under artillery fire.

Lieut. Frank Gardner (G), Seventh Infantry, commanding a company, was promptly detached to occupy it and observe the enemy from its crest, but a considerable force of lancers was seen moving from the Telegrafo in the same direction, followed by a second body of troops. The latter were commanded by General Alcorta, who had advanced also to make a reconnoissance of and to occupy Atalaya, and was followed by the Third Regiment of Infantry. Lieutenant Gardner's muskets were soon heard, as he had engaged Alcorta and held his ground until reinforced by the regiment of Mounted Rifles (R), under Major Sumner, of the Second Dragoons, and the battalion of the First Regiment of Artillery (A E) under Lieutenant-Colonel Childs, when a sharp conflict ensued, in which the enemy was driven back.

There are two ridges on the crest of the Atalaya, with an intervening depression. The Mexicans were driven from the first to the second, and from this down its slope and up the steep side of the Telegrafo to within 200 yards of the summit. Colonel Childs with but three companies of this regiment had made this dashing charge under a misapprehension of orders.

During the conflict on the Atalaya the Seventh Infantry moved by the left flank up the slope of the hill to report to Colonel Harney, and formed a line below the crest, within 800 yards of the enemy's battery on the Telegrafo, and remained there with the Rifle regiment during the night. This action was the first passage of arms between Scott and Santa Anna, and enabled the American engineers to reconnoitre the Mexican left more closely, and to decide that the Cerro Telegrafo could be carried by assault, and the Jalapa road reached in rear of the enemy's line.

Santa Anna being at the front with his troops, ordered up the reserves and posted them along the declivity of the Telegrafo, the Fourth of the Line opposite Childs, the Third and the Eleventh held the summit, and the Sixth Infantry on the Road was moved by La Vega's order to the left. The Mexicans represent the attack on the Telegrafo to have been repulsed. Childs had advanced under a misapprehension, and when he withdrew they very naturally believed they had driven him back.

In this spirited collision the American loss was 97 killed and wounded. Of the latter were Major Sumner, commanding the Rifle regiment, being disabled for a few days ; Second Lieut. D. H. Maury, Rifle regiment, severely wounded ; Second Lieuts. Alfred Gibbs and George H. Gordon, same regiment, and Second Lieut. Chas. E. Jarvis, Second Infantry, slightly wounded.

After this affair Santa Anna despatched a courier to his Government announcing that it had terminated favorably to his army, and on the same afternoon General Arteaga's brigade arrived at Jalapa, and continued on to Cerro Gordo.

General Scott returned to Plan-del-Rio after the above-described action, and issued the following order :

[General Orders No. III.]

HEADQUARTERS OF THE ARMY,
PLAN-DEL-RIO, *April 17, 1847.*

The enemy's whole line of entrenchments and batteries will be attacked in front and at the same time turned early in the day to-morrow, probably before 10 a. m.

The second division (Twiggs') of regulars is already advanced within easy turning distance towards the enemy's left. That division has instructions to move forward before daylight to-morrow morning and take up position across the National road in the enemy's rear, so as to cut off a retreat towards Jalapa. It may be reinforced to-day, if unexpectedly attacked in force, by one or two regiments taken from Shields' Brigade of Volunteers. If not, the two volunteer regiments will march for that purpose at daylight to-morrow morning under Brigadier-General Shields, who will report to Brigadier-General Twiggs on getting up with him, or to the general-in-chief if he be in advance. The remaining regiment, South Carolina, of that volunteer brigade, will receive instructions in the course of the day.

The first division of regulars (Worth's) will follow the movement against the enemy's left at sunrise to-morrow morning. As already arranged, Brigadier-General Pillow's brigade will march at 6 o'clock to-morrow morning along the route he has carefully reconnoitered and stand ready as soon as he hears the report of arms on our right, or sooner, if circumstances should favor him, to pierce the enemy's line of batteries at such point—the nearer the river the better—as he may select. Once in the rear of that line he will turn to the right or left, or both, and attack the batteries in reserve, or if abandoned, he will pursue the enemy with vigor until further orders..

Wall's field battery and the cavalry will be held in reserve on the National road, a little out of view and range of the enemy's batteries. They will take up that position at 9 o'clock in the morning. The enemy's batteries being carried or abandoned, all our divisions and corps will pursue with vigor.

This pursuit may be continued many miles, until stopped by darkness or fortified positions, towards Jalapa. Consequently the body of the army will not return to this encampment, but be followed to-morrow afternoon or early the next morning by the baggage trains of the several corps. For this purpose the feebler officers and men of each corps will be left to guard its camp and effects, and to load up the latter in the wagons of the several corps. A commander of the present encampment will be designated in the course of this day.

As soon as it shall be known that the enemy's works have been carried, or that the general pursuit has been commenced, one wagon for each regiment and battery and one for the cavalry will follow the movement to receive, under the direction of the medical officers, the wounded and the disabled, who will be brought back to this place for treatment in general hospital.

The surgeon general will organize this important service, and designate the hospital, as well as medical officers to be left at it. Every man who marches out to attack or pursue the enemy will take the usual allowance of ammunition and subsistence for at least two days.

By order of Major-General Scott.

H. L. SCOTT,
Assistant Acting-Adjutant General.

On the arrival of the engineer company and train at Plan del Rio, Lieut. G. B. McClellan with a party of ten men reported to General Pillow, and Lieut. G. W. Smith with his men and a portion of the train to General Twiggs, who was also joined by the greater part of Shields' brigade. That night (17th) one 24-pounder and two 24-pound howitzers were placed in position on the Atalaya, the battery being constructed under the supervision of Lieut. G. W. Smith, assisted by Lieut. John G. Foster, of the engineers, the location of the battery having been determined by Capt. R. E. Lee. An 8-inch howitzer was put with great toil in position, designated by Lieut. Z. B. Tower, of the engineers, in rear of the right of the Mexican line on the crest of a rocky ridge south of the Rio del Plan, and under the supervision of Lieut. T. T. S. Laidley, of the ordnance. This was hauled by the assistance of four companies of the New York Volunteers, under Major Burnham, and was a creditable service, for the heavy howitzer had to be moved by hand over extremely steep, rough ground. Lieut. R. S. Ripley, Third Artillery, took charge of it the next day.

The Mexican commander still believing that his right would be attacked, ordered two 12 and one 16-pounder to be placed during the night in position on the Telegrafo, but the 16-pounder was left on the roadside about midway to the top. The cavalry was ordered forward from Corral Falso, and the engineers, Robles and Cano, to strengthen the defensive works on and around the hill. In the morning before dawn Santa Anna himself placed a battery (F) in position near his headquarters to command the ravine on the west side of the Telegrafo. General Vasquez commanding on the Telegrafo, ordered an occasional shot to be fired at Atalaya during the night, believing it to be occupied by the Ameri-

cans. The Fourth of the Line remained on the hill side during the night. A portion of the Third of the Line and the Eleventh held the summit, and before daylight was reinforced by the Fourth Infantry, the Third and Second Light. With this force Santa Anna was sanguine of success, should the Telegrafo be attacked, and much enthusiasm prevailed among the troops, the fact being recalled that during the war of Independence the brave and patriotic insurgents had fought and poured out their blood freely upon this very hill, defeating the Spaniards. Now among the rank and file, including the commander, confidence reigned and success was regarded as certain.

Before sunrise Santa Anna had his engineers engaged on the works on the declivity of the hill confronting Atalaya, the American Artillery on that elevation playing at the time upon the Telegrafo, and leaving the road he proceeded beyond the right centre, where, hearing artillery and observing the activity of the fire, he sent orders to General Vasquez on the Telegrafo to economize ammunition and shelter his men from the enemy's projectiles.

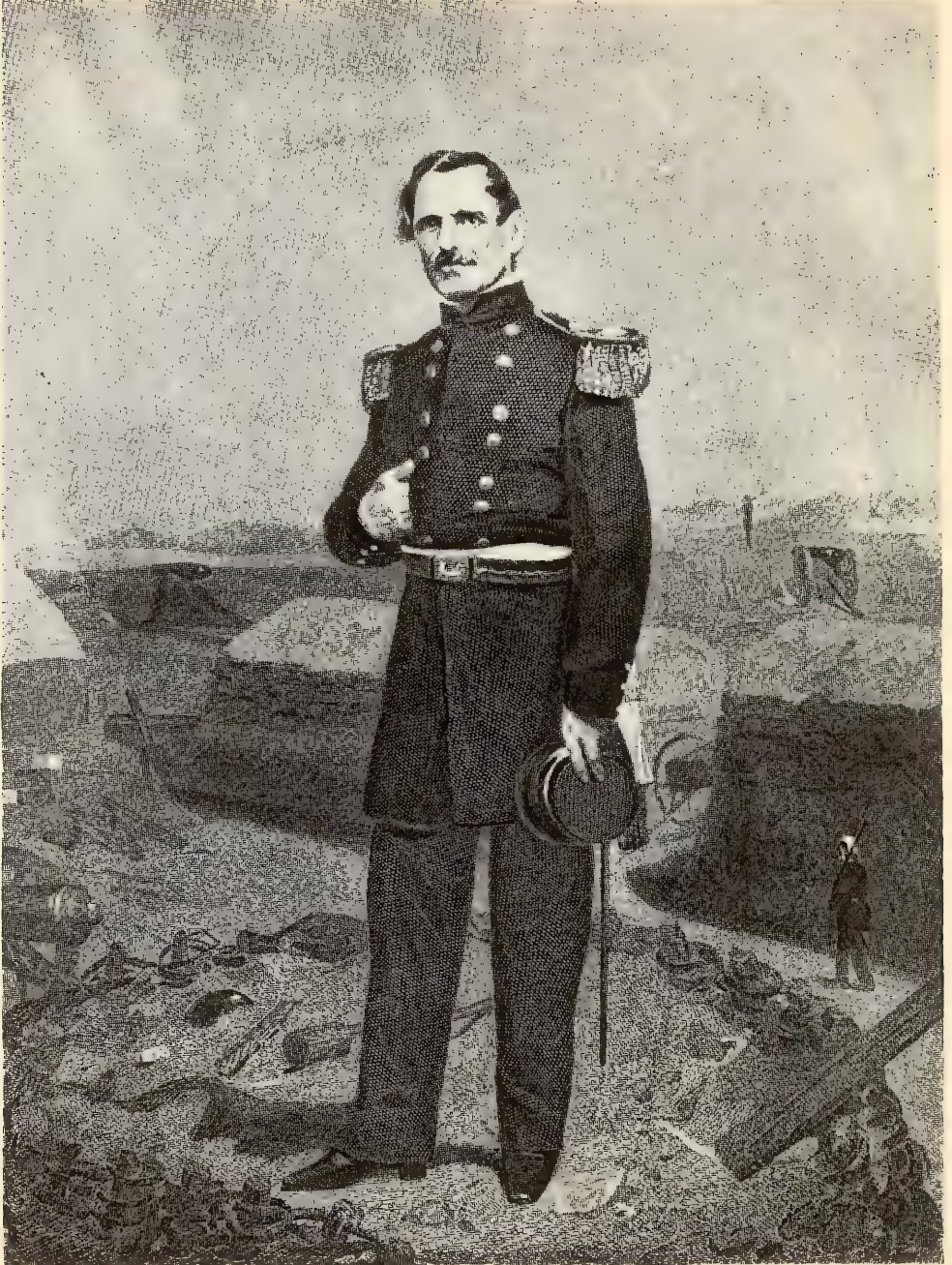
The American artillery, 18-pounders, 24-pound howitzer, mountain howitzer, and Racket battery, fired with the greatest activity, the latter with rockets, directed upon the enemy's left, at and near the base of Telegrafo and next with shells among his infantry near the heavy battery in the road. The United States forces on the Atalaya were commanded by Colonel Harney, Second Dragoons.

The artillery on Atalaya proved very effective, solid shot, shells, and rockets falling among the enemy on the top and along the slopes of the Telegrafo, down into the valleys and deep ravines adjacent, in the camp, about Santa Anna's headquarters, and often far out among his reserves. General Twiggs had been ordered "to move forward before daylight (to-morrow) and to take up position across the National road in the enemy's rear, so as to cut off a retreat towards Jalapa." After the artillery had been engaged some time he (Twiggs) ordered Riley's brigade "to move forward through the valley, passing to the right of Telegrafo, turn the left of the Mexican line and seize the Jalapa road in rear." Riley's brigade was guided by Captain Lee, assisted by Lieut. John G. Foster

with ten men of the engineer company, and Lieut. Calvin Benjamin, Fourth Artillery, in command of a company, was escort to Lee and party.

Brig.-Gen. James Shields with three regiments of his brigade, the Third and Fourth Illinois, Colonels Ferris Foreman and E. D. Baker, and the Second New York, Col. Ward H. Burnett, was ordered by General Twiggs to support Riley's brigade, and the Mexicans being seen extending to their left, Shields was ordered to cross the ravine on the right and keep up the left bank, previously reconnoitered by Captain Lee. Riley, to reach the Jalapa road, advanced under a heavy fire of artillery from the Telegrafo, during which Capt. George W. Patten, Second Infantry, was shot through the hand by a grape shot. The enemy appeared in force on the sides of the mountain, along the base of which the brigade must pass, and opened with an annoying fire upon its left flank. Riley detached two companies of the Second Infantry, one under Capt. James W. Penrose and one under Second Lieut. N. H. Davis, who engaging the enemy in greatly superior numbers, were joined by two companies of the Fourth Artillery, and Riley was compelled to turn his entire brigade to the left to oppose the enemy under General Uruga, moving down the side of the mountain opposite Atalaya.

The artillery duel between the American battery on Atalaya and that of the Mexicans on the Telegrafo continued without intermission. Riley actively engaged and Shields well advanced, now led by Lee towards the Jalapa road, General Twiggs ordered Colonel Harney to assault the Telegrafo vigorously and carry it at all hazard. Harney knowing there was an infantry force on his left, near the battery on the road, ordered one company of the Rifle regiment under Lieut. D. M. Frost to move in that direction, engage it, and hold it in check, "and when the rifles were heard the advance would be sounded." Loring and his lieutenants rose above the crest of Atalaya, and as they (R.) descended to the left were exposed to a severe artillery fire, inflicting losses, and an infantry force being seen moving along the road up towards Telegrafo, Harney, without waiting to hear the fire of the Rifles, gave the order to advance.



JAMES SHIELDS,
BRIGADIER GENERAL, U. S. VOLUNTEERS.
BORN IN IRELAND.—APPOINTED FROM ILLINOIS.

It was obeyed promptly. The stormers rose, passed over to the crest of Atalaya, the Seventh Infantry on the right, the Third on the left, with the First Artillery in rear to support, and under a heavy artillery fire dashed down the slope of Atalaya and up the steep, rocky sides of Telegrafo, not halting until within sixty or seventy yards of the works on the summit. Here, being below the plane of the enemy's fire, they reformed, and the men being much blown, remained a few minutes lying down, when Lieut. G. W. Smith, of the engineers, approached the hill top, reconnoitred the hostile line within pistol shot, and reported to Colonel Harney that there was no obstacle that could not be overcome without a halt.

Harney, in clarion tones and with a rough energy of expression that proved as effective as "up guards and at them," gave the order for assault. His men rose, dashed forward over the short intervening space, were at the palisading and breastwork in an instant, a sharp, bloody struggle with swords, bayonets, and butts of muskets for a few minutes, and Harney and his soldiers were in possession of the works crowning Telegrafo, the key point of the Mexican position.

General Twiggs' order to Harney to charge was well timed. Santa Anna had directed a part of his forces on the Telegrafo to oppose Riley, who (hard fighter that he was) met and drove them back just as Harney's men carried the works on the crest. Harney's left had been made secure by Loring, and Riley now freed his right of danger.

The Mexican guns captured on the Telegrafo were turned upon their camp and battery on the road, also on the main line beyond, upon which there was both a plunging and reverse fire. General Shields in the meantime reached the Jalapa road, and halted to reform his lines preparatory to charging the battery in his front. A discharge of grape while advancing disabled many of his men and gave him a grievous wound, supposed at the time to be mortal. The brigade under Colonel Baker moved forward and captured a part of the battery, and Riley's brigade, under Lieut. Nathaniel Lyon, Second Infantry, the other guns (three).

The Telegrafo being captured, there was but a feeble and brief resistance offered at other points.

General Pillow marched his brigade by a flank through the chapparal towards the center of the enemy's right. At this point, which was fortified, were 700 men and eight guns under Aranzo, a naval captain; on his right were seven guns and an infantry force; on his left also an infantry force and nine guns, and all of these twenty-three guns in position could bear more or less upon Pillow's men. It had been predetermined by the Mexicans to allow the latter to approach to a certain point, then to open fire with all the guns, loaded mostly with grape, followed by the infantry with volleys. The brigade had marched by the right flank, and was in that order at a halt when it received the Mexican fire. A Kentucky company at the head of the brigade under Capt. John S. Williams came into line, and advanced towards the enemy's works. Colonel Haskell's regiment, the Second Tennessee, endeavored to charge, but the abatis, tangled undergrowth, and the heavy fire in front and flanks forced him back with serious losses. The 8-inch howitzer on the south side of Rio-del-Plan had in the meantime been enfilading the Mexican line, and with a reverse fire had no doubt aided in demoralizing them.

The Telegrafo, which dominated the entire field, being held by the Americans, Riley and Shields on the Jalapa road, Worth's division at hand fresh and compact, and it being impossible to escape, surrender was inevitable to the entire right of the Mexican army, which they conceded, and throwing down their arms, marched back to the Plan del Rio.

In the attack on the Telegrafo the chief of the artillery, Colonel Palacios, was seriously wounded, and General Vasquez, commanding at that point, and admired for his courage, having even the sympathy of his enemies, shot down in the midst of the guns of the battery. General Baneneli took command when Vasquez fell, Uruga, his senior, being at the time on the declivity engaged with Riley. Baneneli brought up the Third Light Infantry from the reserves, and ordered them to charge. They dashed up into the smoke, "were surprised to find themselves hand to hand with an enemy so superior in numbers, and surrounded on all sides, were panic stricken in an instant, fell into disorder, and their commander in vain endeavored to keep them in ranks." General Ban-

eneli himself became "involved in the crowd with chiefs, engineers, and other officers who, endeavoring, sword in hand, to keep back the men, were actually rolled together down the declivity, borne along by the multitude, which poured onward like a torrent from the height."

General Arteaga's brigade arrived in the midst of the conflict, became infected by the disorder of the other troops, and fell into confusion near headquarters without becoming engaged. The Eleventh Infantry marched and countermarched under repeated orders from the general-in-chief; the scattered remains of the Second, Third and Fourth Light Battalions, with the Third and Fourth of the Line, became disorganized, and the entire mass without discipline, without morale, panic stricken, moved about in that small piece of road in the most frightful state of confusion. One enthusiastic officer harangued the troops, while a second, with sword drawn, hurled horrid imprecations and threats at the soldiers. Santa Anna even vented his rage upon officers who had lost their positions, and the agitation of the multitude, the difficulties of the ground, the general panic and desperation, rendered the scene indescribable.

"In the meantime the enemy, commanded by General Worth,* passing the barrancas and crags on our left, which had been deemed inaccessible, approached the battery on the road,† that had been thrown up that day, the only one remaining in our possession."

"Santa Anna ordered General Canalizo to charge with the cavalry, but the thick woods close to the road rendered the execution of the order impossible. The enemy advanced in the direction of the road, to the left of our battery, to cut off our retreat; their skirmishers drove away the men at the guns, a party of Cuirassiers dismounted to reinforce the battery. The first adjutant, Velasco, chief of the Cuirassiers, had the glory of falling at the foot of the Telegrafo. The head of the enemy's column was near the road when our cavalry seeing they were about to be cut off retreated rapidly by the Jalapa road. The last effort was made then by Robles and the brave

* It was not Worth's but Shields' brigade.

† Santa Anna is reported to have said: "No army could pass them; not even a goat could pick his way over them."

artillery officers, Malagon, Arguelles, and Olzinger, who, surrounded on all sides, turned their pieces towards the left, directed them against the head of the column a few moments before the skirmishers rushing upon them with the bayonet, got possession, and turned them against us.

“General Santa Anna, accompanied by some of his adjutants, was passing along the road to the left of the battery when the enemy's column, now out of the woods, appeared on his line of retreat, and fired upon him, forcing him back. The carriage in which he had left Jalapa was riddled with shot, the mules killed and taken by the enemy, as well as a wagon containing \$16,000, received the day before for the pay of the soldiers. Every tie of command and obedience now being broken among our troops, safety alone being the object, and all being involved in a frightful whirl, they rushed desperately to the narrow pass of the defile that descended to the Plan del Rio, where the general-in-chief had preceded, with the chiefs and officers accompanying him. Horrible indeed was the descent by that narrow and rocky path, where thousands rushed, disputing the passage with desperation, and leaving a track of blood upon the road. All classes being confounded, military distinction and respect were lost; the badges of rank became marks of sarcasm, that were only meted out according to their grade and humiliation. The enemy, now masters of our camp, turned their guns upon the fugitives, thus augmenting the terror of the multitude that crowded through the defile, and pressed forward every instant by a new impulse, which increased the confusion and disgrace of the ill-fated day.”

It is believed the description of the disorders, disorganization, and demoralization of the Mexican army, as given above by their historian, are not exaggerated.

As soon as the right and centre of the Mexican army had surrendered, General Scott ordered the cavalry, Taylor's and Wall's field batteries to press forward on the Jalapa road and lead the advance of the pursuing columns—Twiggs' division and Riley's brigade. But the fleeing and dispersed Mexicans were practically beyond reach and the pursuing forces being much fatigued were halted near Encero* for the night

* Hacienda belonging to Santa Anna.

without inflicting further damage to the fleeing Mexicans other than that caused by accelerating their flight and increasing their demoralization.

General Scott reports the strength of his army at Cerro Gordo as 8,500; killed and wounded, 431, of which 33 were officers and 398 enlisted men. He estimated the Mexican force as about 12,000, more or less. It is not possible to determine the numbers present from their own history, from which we learn, however, that there were 3,260 men on the right of the National road, exclusive of the cannoneers for thirty-two guns and the reserves of infantry along the road in rear of the Telegrafo, 2,580 or 5,840 in reserve and on their right; the force under Vasquez on Telegrafo and the number of cavalry are not given, and this latter arm was always relatively very strong. Estimating it at 4,000, and with the force on Telegrafo, General Scott's estimate is not far from the truth. He estimated the prisoners taken as about 3,000, all of the 3,260 infantry and the cannoneers of thirty-two guns on the right were captured and a few were also taken on the Telegrafo and more on the road beyond near the battery. The number could not have been much under 4,000. The killed and wounded he estimated at 1,000 or 1,200. The Mexicans give their loss on the 17th "as more than 200, who had fallen dead or wounded that afternoon," but do not give the loss of the 18th. We accept the statement of the American general as to the killed and wounded of the Mexicans as correct, or nearly so.

Forty-three cannon were taken and some 3,500 small arms. The inspector-general of the army, Lieut.-Col. A. Hitchcock, in his report says: "Of those in the batteries, viz., batteries on the right (Mexican) of the National road, who laid down their arms, more than 1,000 contrived to escape on their march from the field of battle to Plan del Rio, some five miles or more along a circuitous road, bounded by woods and ravines; hence the number of prisoners on parole is diminished to about 3,000, exclusive of officers, and these numbered 304, five of whom were generals."

Worth moved out from Plan del Rio early in the morning of the 18th and after a march of a mile or two halted to allow Pillow's brigade to pass to the front, file to the left of

the road, and move against Santa Anna's right. When Pillow had cleared the road, Worth resumed the march and filed to the right on the road over which Twiggs' and Shields' brigades marched on the 17th. Rapid artillery firing was heard in Pillow's direction, followed by heavy musketry, and firing, artillery and infantry was raging also about the Telegrafo. Worth marching rapidly at a double quick, turned Atalaya and came within full view of the Telegrafo, as it was about being captured by Harney and Riley.

All of Santa Anna's army, except one brigade of National Guards, had reached Cerro Gordo by April 12th, while one-half of the American regular force did not leave Vera Cruz until the 13th, and Quitman's brigade of volunteers not until the 15th. It cannot be supposed that the Mexican commander was ignorant of the condition of the hostile army in his immediate front. He should, therefore, have attacked it within a day or two after he reached Cerro Gordo ; his failure to do so can be explained only upon one of two suppositions : First, the position held by him could not be forced, and his enemy with inferior numbers must fight, in order to escape from the *tierra caliente* ; second, that if the enemy delayed his advance, waiting reinforcements, he would certainly be scourged by the yellow fever, and, with his thinned ranks, be easily captured or dispersed.

A want of adequate transportation, and the desire to get his army away from the seacoast before the fever appeared, compelled General Scott to march with his various detachments on separate days, at the risk of being attacked in detail. Whilst awaiting the arrival and concentration of his troops, active reconnoissances were made daily and pushed forward with courage, led by intelligent engineers who appreciated fully the difficulties of the situation. He had ordered an examination of the whole Mexican front, even around his left, if practicable, to the Jalapa road, and upon reports made by Capt. R. E. Lee of explorations to that road, he based his order of battle. The collision on the following morning (18th) demonstrated his sound judgment, and the skill and courage of the subordinates, to whom he confided the execution of the order.



BATTLE OF CERRO GORDO.

APRIL 18TH, 1847.

While it is clear that General Scott's battle order was not carried out in all its details, its main feature—that of seizing the Jalapa road and cutting off the enemy's retreat towards that city—was fully effected. Twiggs ordered Riley to move around the Telegrafo to the road, and in executing the order his flank became exposed to the enemy descending the slopes of that hill, and he was directed to engage them. Seeing them extending to their left, Twiggs ordered Shields to cross the ravine and move up towards the road, and observing the garrison of Telegrafo weakened by detaching to oppose Riley, directed Harney to advance promptly from Atalaya and storm Telegrafo, which he did in the most gallant manner, every man and officer nobly doing his duty. General Twiggs did not confine himself to a literal obedience of General Scott's order, but the spirit of it was carried out with the intelligence of a professional soldier, and the object fully accomplished. General Scott in his official report said: "General Twiggs, who was in the immediate command of all the advanced forces, has earned high credit by his judgment, spirit, and energy."

There was much gallantry displayed by men and officers in the battle of Cerro Gordo, and from the nature of the field their physique was subjected to a severe test. On the 17th Colonel Childs, under a misapprehension of orders, advanced with a small force of some sixty men over the crest of the Atalaya, down its slope, and up the opposite rocky cliffs of the Telegrafo within 200 yards of its crest, and before he heard the recall nine of his small force were killed and twenty-three wounded. Capt. John B. Magruder, of the regiment, advanced to Childs' support with nine men of his company, and Lieut. Alfred Gibbs, of the Mounted Rifles, who with twelve men of his company had become separated from his regiment, killed one of the enemy with his pistol.

Bvt. First Lieut. Frank Gardner, Seventh Infantry, led off in the attack on the Atalaya; detached, he began the action, maintained it until reinforced, and was complimented in the report of his regimental brigade and division commanders; also in the commanding general's.

Lieut. G. W. Smith, engineer corps, is referred to in the report of General Twiggs as having "killed two of the enemy

with his own hand," and Lieut. Earl Van Dorn, of the Seventh Infantry, aid to Gen. Persifor F. Smith, but acting on Colonel Harney's staff, is mentioned in the latter's report as having "killed two Mexican soldiers at the breastworks with his own hand." Lieut. Thomas Ewell, of the Mounted Rifles, joined in the assault of the Telegrafo by the Seventh Infantry, and was killed as he leaped the breastwork on its summit; Lieut. George H. Derby, of the Topographical Engineers, was severely wounded after the top was carried, and Lieuts. N. J. T. Dana, Seventh Infantry, and J. N. Ward, of the Third, the former severely and the latter slightly, before the crest was reached.

On the side of the Telegrafo, opposite the National road, the ascent was more than double that on the roadside, and attended with greater difficulty, and even with no enemy to oppose, ascending it was a laborious physical effort.

In Shields' brigade Lieutenant Cowardan was killed, Lieutenant Murphy mortally and Lieutenants Scott and Johnson, all of the Fourth Illinois, severely wounded; Captain Pearson, New York Volunteers, Lieutenants Maltby and Froman, of the Fourth Illinois, and Lieutenant Rose, Third Illinois, slightly wounded. In Pillow's brigade Lieuts. F. B. Nelson and C. G. Gill, of the Second Tennessee, were killed, and W. P. Hale, adjutant, and Lieutenant W. Yearwood, Second Tennessee, mortally wounded; Brigadier-General Pillow, Maj. R. Farquharson, First Tennessee, Capt. H. F. Murray, Second Tennessee, and Lieut. G. S. Sutherland, independent company Kentucky volunteers, slightly wounded.

The Mexican historian extols Colonel Palacios, chief of artillery, severely wounded on the Telegrafo, "and there," he says, "a warrior's fame crowned the career of General Vasquez in the fullness of his energies, with a glorious death amidst the tumult of battle." General Baneneli, who was with Ampudia in the attack made on Taylor's left at Buena Vista, Velasco first adjutant and chief of Cuirassiers, who fell on the road at the foot of Telegrafo, Robles, the skilled engineer, and the artillery officers, Malagon, Arguelles, and Olzinger, are all highly extolled.

On the 19th General Twiggs moved forward with his

division* and Shields' brigade, under Col. E. D. Baker, while General Patterson with the cavalry rode in advance and was met by a deputation from the city of Jalapa, asking protection for the persons and property of its inhabitants.

Worth's division at 7 a. m. moved out from its bivouac at the base of the Telegrafo towards Jalapa, the change of temperature became perceptible, and in a few hours the sultry heat of the *tierra caliente* was left entirely behind. The view in all directions was superb, the foliage fresh and green; far to the left and front rose the well-known Orizaba, whose white crest had greeted the army while at anchor off Anton Lizardo. The atmosphere was so clear that this huge mountain seemed but a few miles distant, as though it might be reached in an hour. Presently clouds gathered over it, soon to descend concealing it from view, and a few drops of rain fell. All along the road paroled Mexican officers passed us on their ambling ponies. The troops halted for the night near Encero and reached Jalapa early the next day.

Situated upon a declivity of the mountain, Jalapa has rather narrow streets, broken by ravines and ridges, with pretty streams flowing through them, shrubbery, fruit trees, and flowers in profusion. After a short respite the march continued until the column, Duncan's battery leading, halted to allow a squadron of cavalry to pass to the front.

It was rumored among the infantry that Santa Anna was at a factory, or hacienda, near, and that he would soon be captured by the cavalry. Some believed the report, others

* Early in the morning of the 19th a detail of twenty-five or thirty men from the Seventh Infantry was ordered to assist in burying the dead, a number of whom had been interred the evening before. The soil was shallow and burial often imperfect. Santa Anna's hosts had disappeared, leaving only the helpless, the wounded and dead, among whom were several headless bodies, bodies cut in twain and horribly mangled, arms and legs lying about detached from bodies. On the very top of Telegrafo several soldiers digging with their picks near a body stretched at full length, were approached and asked what they were doing; the reply was: "Going to bury him," pointing to a man lying with a broad felt hat over his face and the rain beating down upon him. The lieutenant of the detail leaned over the fallen comrade, saw that he was still breathing, lifted the hat and recognized Lieutenant Dana, Seventh Infantry, who had been wounded through the hip and had remained twenty-four hours on the field, but now revived.

were skeptical, but all wished the cavalry good luck. The infantry had not stacked arms, but were sitting about without much regard to order, some even lying down dozing. About an hour after the cavalry passed, the clatter of horses' hoofs was heard upon the hard turnpike, rapidly approaching. A moment later they came in sight around a bend in the road, just ahead of the battery; the horses of the latter became frightened, and those of the traveling forge turned, started full speed down the pike to the rear, scattering the infantry to the right and left, helter-skelter over the stone walls into the adjacent meadows. The commander of the leading brigade, a little advanced in years and somewhat stout, had fallen asleep. Awakened by the noise of the forge as it dashed by him and by the yelling and laughing of the men as they tumbled over the stone fences, and somewhat dazed, he rubbed his eyes and at the top of his voice gave the command, "Form square." Hundreds of voices were heard along the road, "Never mind the square, over the wall, every one of you."

The forge cleared the road of Worth's division before it was arrested in its flight. The commander of the leading brigade, becoming fully awake and seeing but little damage done, enjoyed the absurdity of "form square" as much as any of the soldiers.*

The march was resumed, and after a mile or two the troops bivouacked where there was abundant wood and water. Worth's division had now passed to the front. After sunrise on the 21st the march was resumed, the roadside abounding in shade trees and flowering shrubs intermingled near an occasional house, with fruit trees of several varieties, indicating a more temperate region. The atmosphere was cool and remarkably transparent. As the road wound around mountain spurs, through dark glens, or up long, laborious ascents, the artillery, infantry, and white covered wagons, now hidden from view and again reappearing, gave life and animation to the beautiful scene. Now and then an open extended view was obtained, often the rumbling of falling

* One artillery soldier, if remembered correctly, had his leg broken, and the pole of a caisson was shattered.

waters was heard, and prismatic colors from ascending spray dimly seen. As the road ascends the character of the vegetation changes; the rich growth seen near the base gradually disappears, and is replaced by that of a cooler climate.

A little over half way to the summit, or table land, the road passes through a strong defile, La Hoya, where several pieces of abandoned artillery were seen. Trees had been felled, undergrowth cleared, and breastworks constructed. Rocky heights, broken by chasms, present themselves on the one or other side, often enfilading the ascent. Gen. D. Gregorio Gomez had recommended to reorganize the Cerro Gordo army at this Pass, and make a second stand against the invaders, but the defeat had been too disastrous, and the demoralization too great for any resistance to be even attempted. Beyond La Hoya were seen evergreens, pines, mosses, and lichens, with scoria, or volcanic rock, in hills rising out from the mountain side rugged and fantastic in outline. La Hoya is about two leagues distant from Las Vegas on the table land, and here the division encamped for the night, on a small stream running from the mountain, Cofre de Perote, called not improperly Rio Frio. The night was cold, and overcoats and blankets were required. The ascent of the mountain was easily made, and the road was excellent, having been made by the Spaniards under the viceroys.

The troops were on the march early the 22d; the morning was bright and cold—Orizaba and Cofre de Perote off to the left, the latter always covered with snow. From Las Vegas to Perote, four leagues, the country was level and sterile. The town and Castle of Perote were occupied without resistance; the Mexican forces—3,000 cavalry and 2,000 disorganized infantry, generally without arms, fugitives from Cerro Gordo—had retired, leaving Colonel Velasquez to turn over the armament of the castle, consisting of fifty-four guns and mortars—iron and bronze—in good condition and of various calibres, 1,165 cannon balls, 14,300 bombs and hand grenades, and 500 muskets. The Castle of Perote is a four-sided bastion work, situated on a plain a mile from town, with ample quarters for 2,000 men and officers and a supply of good water within the walls. The whole work was of the most massive

and substantial masonry, with a deep and wide ditch, having regular scarp and counter-scarp walls. The Pass of La Hoya, with its artillery abandoned, and the Castle of Perote, with its heavy guns and mortars, were the legitimate fruits of Cerro Gordo, and naturally fell into the invader's hands. By the same victory the road to the Mexican capital was open to them, and had General Scott been provided with the requisite force and transportation, the war might have been speedily terminated.

CHAPTER XIII.

AFTER CERRO GORDO SANTA ANNA RETIRES TO ORIZABA.—
GENERAL SCOTT AT JALAPA.—VOLUNTEERS DISCHARGED.—
WORTH ADVANCES UPON PUEBLA.

After his crushing defeat on the 18th of April Santa Anna, apparently bewildered, left the National road at the foot of Cerro Telégrafo, and, letting his horse go at random, descended the barranca by a narrow, tortuous path, crossed the stream, and with difficulty gained the opposite height, when he reined up and ordered Generals Ampudia and Rangel and Colonel Ramiro to collect the dispersed troops and march them to the rear. Accompanied by a small party of officers he then proceeded to the Hacienda Encero, owned by himself, and six miles from Jalapa, by a path almost parallel to the National road. When near the hacienda his party was fired upon by Scott's cavalry and light artillery, pressing eagerly up the Jalapa road in pursuit of Mexican lancers, and was forced to leave the path, hesitating which direction to take, but finally concluding to take the road leading to the Hacienda of Tuzamápan. The party was gloomy and silent, and Santa Anna, lately erect and haughty, buoyant with hope, and wielding unlimited power, was now downcast and humbled, uncertain where to go or whom to trust.

Several halts were made to give him the rest that his lameness rendered imperative. Asking a curate on the road for a fresh horse to replace his own jaded one, the request was pertly refused, and this, insignificant in itself, wounded him deeply, he considering it indicative of his fallen state. At 5 a. m. he

reached the Hacienda of Tuzamápan, and was joined by two soldiers of the Eleventh, who brought with them the money-chest of their corps, intending to deliver it to their commander, General Perez—an act the more commendable as there was no officer with them and they had been left to shift for themselves. He remained all day at the hacienda, but at 11 p. m. the Major Domo informed him that a party of Americans was in close pursuit, and the litter ordered for him not being completed, he mounted his horse and, preceded by a servant carrying a lamp, took the path leading from Tuzamápan to Orizaba, and reached the ranch of Volador the next morning, where he obtained much-needed rest. Here he seemed to rally from the depression weighing him, and expressed a determination to appeal to the last resource—the system of guerrillas—and continue the war.

Leaving Volador in a litter early the next morning (20th), and traversing mountain spurs and deep ravines, often over rocky by-ways and down slippery precipices compelling him to leave the litter and proceed on foot, he reached, at 10 a. m. (21st), the pretty and flourishing town of Huatusco, where he feared an unfavorable reception, but was agreeably disappointed, the Ayuntamiento coming out on foot to receive in due form the President of the Republic, and escort him to the Sub-Prefect's residence where a sumptuous breakfast awaited him. The citizens crowded around him expressing sympathy and respect, and he, evidently hopeful of recovering the power lost at Cerro Gordo, encouraged them to persist in their patriotic struggle. Recalling the example of General Valencia, who, when misfortunes threatened them on all sides and the friends of independence almost despaired, took refuge when pursued in a cave near Huatusco, even then not wavering in fidelity and devotion to their cause, he promised by like virtues a similar result—the triumph of the right. He dispatched by express to the Supreme Government a vague and unsatisfactory report of the battle of Cerro Gordo, and threw himself again into the political arena from which he had apparently been excluded forever.

Early on the 22nd, with grateful recollections of his warm-hearted reception, he left Huatusco, to which many of his dispersed soldiers had repaired, for Orizaba, where he arrived that night and was met by Señores D. José Joaquim Pasado and D. Manuel Tornel, Generals Leon and Garcia Terán, and a large number of citizens.

Leaving his litter and taking a landau, he entered the city, drove rapidly through the principal streets, and stopped at the house of Señor Tornel. The officers of the little brigade commanded by General Leon, called in a body to pay their respects to him and from this time he occupied himself industriously in collecting and reorganizing his army. Four days after the battle of Cerro Gordo, he addressed the following letter to the *ad-interim* President, General Anaya:

ORIZABA, *April 22, 1847.*

MY ESTEEMED FRIEND: The despatch which I have forwarded to the Minister of War will already have informed you of the events which occurred on the 18th inst. The enemy made an extraordinary effort to force the pass, and exasperated by the repulse he had experienced the day before, and because he knew his ruin was inevitable unless he succeeded, attacked me with his entire army, which was not less than 12,000 men. He put everything on the hazard of the die, and the cast was favorable to him. I do not regard the cause of the nation as hopeless if it will defend its honor and independence as circumstances require. I presume you have taken all proper measures for the public safety, and first of all for that of the capital. I shall be able to aid it very soon if it will defend itself. At present I have with me 500 men and four guns, and there is no doubt but I shall collect in a few days a force equal to that I rallied at Cerro Gordo. I only require that you send me some money through the medium of bills of exchange, as I find it impossible to raise a dollar. We must, my friend, not give ourselves up as lost, and, before God, you shall see that I will make no treaty with the enemy which will dishonor us or put us in a worse condition.

Write to me when convenient, and reckon always upon the poor services of your most affectionate friend, who wishes you every happiness.

A. L. DE SANTA ANNA.

Due regard for the health of his troops, threatened by that most dreaded of scourges, yellow fever, hastened the departure of General Scott from the coast, and caused him to march to the interior with a limited amount of transportation. Had there been no enemy between Vera Cruz and Peroté he would still have been compelled to halt at Jalapa and send his teams back for additional medical and subsistence stores. His leading division reached Plan del Rio April 11, the third division, owing to delays in getting transportation, not until daybreak of the 17th, and a brigade of volunteers (Quitman's) not until the 21st.

The battle of the 18th opened the pass of Cerro Gordo and enabled the United States forces to escape from the sultry *tierra*

caliente to the more temperate region of Jalapa. The large number of prisoners would have proved a serious inconvenience to the subsistence department had they not been paroled. Within a few days after the battle the sick and wounded were transferred from the camp at Plan del Rio to ample and comfortable quarters in Jalapa.

General Scott regarded his difficulties and dangers as being mostly in the rear, between Jalapa and Vera Cruz—the hot sand and disease, the impossibility of establishing intermediate posts at Plan del Rio, *Puente Nacional*, and other points, except for a month or two during the winter, the danger of having trains captured or destroyed, unless strongly guarded, as was subsequently the case, and escorting them seventy miles back and forth, to do which would soon exhaust his small cavalry force. With an increase of this arm of the service, that duty could be performed and his communications kept open. He had reason to believe the additional force authorized by Congress would be despatched without delay to his line.

The twelve months' volunteers in the beginning of April raised the point that they should be discharged in time to reach their homes by the time of the expiration of their service, in order to enable them to pass out of Vera Cruz and through New Orleans before the sickly season. While General Scott did not concede their claim to be discharged before the expiration of twelve months, he sympathized with them, and was willing, if they would not re-enlist, to have them mustered out in time to leave the coast before the prevalence of the *vomito*.

Upon arrival at Jalapa, April 27, he learned through a communication from the War Department that from one to two thousand of the new recruits for the ten regiments had been ordered to Brazos; that all the other forces would be directed to that point, and every effort made to relieve General Taylor from his critical situation.

The secretary* had, without any application from General Taylor, ordered to the Rio Grande line troops originally deemed absolutely necessary for the success of operations against the Mexican capital from Vera Cruz. In this state of affairs, Gen-

*The secretary, excited by newspaper reports, had become, it will be remembered, very much alarmed for the safety of the Army at Corpus Christi.

eral Scott did not consider it prudent to hazard an advance, as the term of enlistment of a large portion of the volunteers would expire before these operations could be completed, and the remainder of his forces was inadequate for his purpose.

As it was not intended to attempt a movement on the capital until reinforcements arrived, there seemed no good reason for taking these troops further into the hostile country to discharge them later from service, and send them through Vera Cruz at a time when the *vomito* would be raging. They were requested to volunteer for further service but declined and were promptly passed through Vera Cruz and discharged. Lieut. C. Roberdeau Wheat, of Tennessee, by great exertions, induced a sufficient number to remain to form a company, which was mustered into service, elected Wheat captain, and served to the end of the war. All idea of marching upon the capital for the present being abandoned, there was nothing to be done but to attend to the health and instruction of the men and await reinforcements.

In order No. 135, Jalapa, May 4, 1847, discharging the seven regiments of twelve months' volunteers, General Scott said:

"The general-in-chief regrets to learn, through a great number of undoubted channels, that in all probability not one man in ten of these regiments will be inclined to re-enlist for the war. This predetermination offers, in his opinion, no ground for reproach, considering the long, arduous, faithful, and gallant services of those corps, however deeply all regret the consequent and unavoidable delay in the prosecution of this war to an early and honorable peace, for the general-in-chief can not, in humanity and good faith, cause regiments entitled in a few weeks to an honorable discharge to advance further from the coast in the pursuit of the enemy, and thereby throw them upon the necessity of returning to embark at Vera Cruz at the season known to be, at that place, the most fatal to life."

Two days after issuing the above order General Scott addressed a communication to the War Department, from which the following is quoted: "To part with so large and so respectable a portion of the Army in the middle of a country which, though broken in its power, is not yet disposed to sue for peace, to provide for the return home of seven regiments from this interior position at a time when I find it quite difficult to provide transportation and supplies for the operating forces which re-

main; and all this without any prospect of succor or reinforcements, in perhaps the next seven months, beyond some three hundred Army recruits, presents novelties utterly unknown to any invading army before.

“With the addition of ten or twelve thousand new levies in April and May, asked for, and until very recently expected, or even with the addition of two or three thousand new troops destined for this army, but suddenly, by the orders of the War Department, directed to the Rio Grande frontier, I might, notwithstanding the unavoidable discharge of the old volunteers—seven regiments and two independent companies—advance with confidence upon the enemy’s capital. I shall nevertheless advance, but whether beyond Puebla will depend upon intervening information and reflection.”

Having received medical supplies, ammunition, salt, clothing, etc., and designating the garrison for Jalapa, consisting of five companies of the First Artillery serving as infantry, one troop of horse, the whole of the Second Pennsylvania, and three companies of the First, all under Brevet-Colonel Childs, appointed Governor of Jalapa and commanding officer, General Scott issued orders for ‘Twiggs’ division to march to Peroté, Brigadier-General Quitman’s brigade, consisting of three regiments and accompanied by a train of wagons with supplies for the Army having marched there the 7th of May. Worth had occupied Peroté April 22, and on the 24th Garland’s brigade advanced by easy marches to Tepeyahualco, nineteen miles beyond, arriving there the second afternoon, having encamped the night before at the Hacienda of San Antonio. The road was level, the country sterile with slight exceptions, the air crisp, and the snow mountain visible. The elevation being 10,000 feet, the quickest marching did not bring out the slightest perspiration.

Tepeyahualco was a wretched little hamlet of a dozen houses at the foot of Mount Pizzaro, conical in shape, and rising up from the level plain 2,000 feet. On its top was a large cross, visible at a great distance. From Peroté on to Ojo de Agua, forty miles, was a dry, level plain, so impregnated with alkali as to chap the lips. The air was remarkably transparent, making it difficult to estimate distances. As evidence of this the troops (Worth’s division) had occupied the Castle of Peroté only a few minutes, when, walking on the *terre plein*, one officer said to another that it was fortunate the enemy had evacuated it, for,

"being a regular bastioned work on a horizontal site, it would have required forty days to take it." He replied no; he was sure "we could plant our batteries on that hill," pointing to Mount Pizzaro, "and soon drive the garrison out with solid shot and shell; our 18-pound howitzers and 10-inch mortars could easily do the work." He little reckoned how great the range was, for it was nineteen miles to Mount Pizzaro, upon which he proposed to place the batteries. At Tepeyahualco several of our soldiers died, and many were made sick by the drinking water, which was bad and had a coppery taste.

The remainder of the division under General Worth arrived on the 9th, and on the following morning the forward march was resumed. Far off to the left, over the alkali plain, appeared *mirage*, perfect and to the eye most deceptive. Not only was water seen, but apparently shades and shadows of clouds moving upon its smooth surface; smoke ascending from the chimney of a *jacal* (cabin) made the impression of a steamboat at rest upon a lake. After a march of ten or twelve miles it encamped for the night near Vireyes, a hacienda picturesquely situated at the base of a rugged but not very high mountain.

The following day the same dreary plain, bright sun, cold air, alkali, and mirage; this continued on to Ojo de Agua, where the division arrived in the afternoon and encamped, finding an abundance of clear water. The next morning (12th), after a tramp of several hours, it made a short halt at Nopalúcan, which was surrounded by fields of *magúey*; then resumed the march and encamped for the night at *El Pinal*, the entrance to a wild, rugged, mountain pass. About 2 a. m. the pickets out on the road towards Puebla were heard to fire; instantly the long roll was beaten, the regiments fell into line and remained standing in that order until daylight. A number of pack-mules from a merchant train came along the road towards the pickets in a fast trot, followed by the muleteers who, not halting and giving the countersign when challenged by the pickets, were fired upon and the whole command in consequence lost a night of much needed rest.

After a march of several hours over a rough road, the town of Acajete was passed, with its fountains, plaza, and pretty buildings, and a few miles beyond the volcano of Popocatepetl came in view, filling all with wonder and admiration, its height being 17,700 feet, a truncated cone crowned with snow, below

the snow level a black belt without vegetation, and below this the hardy pine. In the same general range of mountains and to the north is Ixtacihuatl, 15,700 feet high, its crest stretching along in an undulating line, and Malinche, an isolated peak, rising from the plain, all three during the rainy season covered with snow.

With these three mountains in front and Orizaba behind, the soldiers marched often in silence, awed by the grandeur of their surroundings. The road lay for several miles in the bed of what was supposed to have been a running stream, with banks so high that wagon tops could not be seen in portions of it. Two or three miles beyond this, the troops were halted at Amasoque, where an order was published at evening parade announcing that there would be a rest the next day (14th), the march resumed the following night, and *reveill  * would be beaten under the walls of Puebla on the 15th.

Santa Anna, when last referred to, was at Orizaba without money, yet busily occupied in reorganizing and augmenting his forces, under a self-imposed promise to Anaya to gather a force as large as the one he had commanded at Cerro Gordo and a pledge never to make a peace discreditable to Mexico.

He marched from Orizaba by way of Aculcingo and Amasoque to Puebla, arriving at the latter place on the 12th, there being but one day's interval between the troops of Worth and the brigades of Leon, Perez, and the cavalry under General Alcora, personally commanded by Santa Anna, when he passed Amasoque.

It having been found impossible to make resistance at Puebla, the infantry was ordered to withdraw on the 14th towards San Martin, whilst he (Santa Anna) moved with two thousand horse towards Amasoque. He had been deceived by a spy, who represented it easy to surprise a party of Americans marching in great disorder from Nopal  can. Arriving at the heights of Chachapa, overlooking Amasoque, he discovered he had been misled, and that he was really in the presence of a strong division of infantry—the American vanguard—and the party in rear reported to be marching in disorder was Quitman's brigade, close upon the advance column, and not to be surprised.

At an early hour (the 14th) Worth's division, in Amasoque, began to clean equipments, bathe, comb, shave, black boots, some to wash their clothes, having been ordered to make a good

appearance and favorable impression the following morning, marching, as was designed, into Puebla with music and unfurled banners. Some of the soldiers, ambitious to have everything in prime condition, had taken the barrels out of the gun-stocks and were even polishing them, as was the custom in those days. Officers were in groups strolling about the town, famous throughout Mexico for its manufacture of spurs, bridle bits, and saddles of superior quality and unique in design and workmanship. Some officers purchased spurs with enormously large rowels, made by hand, and ingeniously and skillfully inlaid with gold and silver.

Several of the junior officers visited the principal church in the little town; the yard was neat and well kept, and in it were several fine trees covered with a mass of hanging creepers dotted with scarlet flowers. The interior was enriched with paintings, many of which were pretty and of artistic merit, and ornaments of gold and silver were in greater profusion than usual in a town of its size. While in the church, much interested in what they were seeing, and the recipients of kindly attention from a *padre*, they heard the long roll from every drum of the division, continuous and incessant, creating not merely surprise, but alarm; and instantly they were seen crossing the plaza in all directions as fast as they could run to join their commands.

The Fourth Infantry had bivouacked in a large *corral* in the suburbs, and while the men were putting on cartridge boxes preparatory to forming in ranks several lieutenants mounted the roof to ascertain, if possible, from observation the cause of the alarm, and looking toward the city of Puebla they saw a beautiful display of Mexican cavalry advancing from that place and moving in column as though intending to pass around to the rear. With two miles of cavalry visible, and a proper proportion of artillery and infantry, Santa Anna must have a large force was the thought uppermost in all minds. The Fourth Infantry fell speedily into ranks, marched out beyond the town, and formed in line near Duncan's battery, other regiments being already in line to the left. The artillery opened, range rather long, but accessible, and caused the enemy to incline a little to the left (Mexican); the fire was rapid, and a few skirmishers were thrown out. One 8-inch howitzer was placed in battery and threw a few shells, the heavy firing being designed in part as a warning to Quitman, known to be a few miles in rear.

The Mexican lancers kept to the left of the road, passed beyond the town, and then turned off squarely to the left (north), and were soon lost to sight in the distance. Quitman's dust was seen rising in the rear, and the Mexicans had scarcely disappeared when his troops arrived, having made a rapid and long march.

The Mexican cavalry retired toward Malinche, halted for a rest in a wood full of barrancas and thickets, and after a fatiguing expedition of nine leagues arrived at 5 p. m. in Puebla, weary and dispirited, having failed to surprise the Americans, and having lost a few of its own men.

A large gathering awaited at the Garita of Puebla the result of this operation, conducted by Santa Anna in person. The return of the troops, the presence of their President, the sight of a few wounded, produced a patriotic glow, which found relief and gratification in cries of *viva* Puebla! *viva* Général Santa Anna! death to the Yankees! Santa Anna addressed them a few hopeful words, then moved off in the twilight, and was soon on the road to the City of Mexico, the infantry having preceded him.

The affair of Amasoqué created much excitement, being entirely unexpected. The troops had heard of the deplorable plight, and the handful of men with which the "recreant Ampudia" retreated precipitately through Peroté; that Santa Anna was a "wandering fugitive," and naturally were not prepared for a display, evincing a good organization and much strength in one arm at least of the enemy's service.

The hostile cavalry had all disappeared when Garland's brigade formed in line, a little over a mile from Amasoque, in a newly-ploughed cornfield, and was ordered to remain there until night, when the march would begin, and the *reveille* be heard under the walls of Puebla. In the early afternoon, with a clear, bright sun and blue sky, thin, white, fleecy clouds, converging upon the peak of Popocatepetl, overshadowed its snowy crest, then descended along its slopes to the region of pines, and sweeping eastward shrouded Malinche; and becoming surcharged down came "sheets of shiny rain," the black heavens illumined by vivid, blinding flashes of lightning and sharp peals of deafening thunder being heard in all directions. This was the first experience of the storms and showers that occur during the rainy season of five months on the table

lands of Mexico. Whilst it rained it came literally in torrents, "*á cantáros, á chuzos,*" in the language of the country—"pitchforks, bucketsful."

Garland's brigade was ankle-deep in mud and water when an aid came from division headquarters, announcing the march suspended until 12 o'clock at night; at that hour he reappeared to order the march at about 2 a. m., but said he would return again at the exact hour. He was seen no more during the night. The brigade being in the advance, led the march, which began after sunrise, the officers and men having eaten nothing since breakfast the day before, and having had no rest all night.

On an eminence (Chichapa) two or three miles from Puebla, a commission of the Ayuntamiento met General Worth to treat for terms. The troops halted about three hours, then resumed the march to the city, not halting again until the grand plaza, in front of and between the governor's palace and cathedral, was reached. Puebla had no scattered or straggling suburbs; the city was entered at once on well-paved streets, the houses were compactly built in contact on and throughout every block. On either side the broad road, at the entrance to the city, were great crowds of people not of the better class, and among them were many workwomen with fruit, poultry, etc., for sale, and numbers of priests with wide-brimmed hats turned up on the side, which attracted much attention, being the first seen.

Arms were stacked, and many, especially in Garland's brigade, lay down and slept for several hours, while quarters were being assigned. The Fourth Infantry was quartered east of the plaza on the corridors of the Church of San Augustin. Similar quarters were assigned to other commands. All were impressed with the beauty and cleanliness of Puebla, the surface being well adapted to draining and the daily rains keeping it free of dust.

With reference to the first appearance and occupation of Puebla by the American troops, the Mexican historian says: "The singular appearance of some of the soldiers, their trains, their artillery, their large horses, all attracted the curiosity of the multitude, and at the corners and squares an immense crowd surrounded the new conquerors. The latter, extremely fatigued, confiding in the mutual guarantees stipulated by the Ayuntamiento and General Worth, or perhaps despising a people who easily permitted the occupation of their territory, stacked arms

in the plaza while waiting for quarters, while some wandered into neighboring streets to drink *pulque* and embrace the *leperos*,* with whom they seemed old acquaintances. There is no doubt that more than ten thousand persons occupied the plazas and corners. One cry, one effort, the spirit of one determined man, would have sufficed, and if once this multitude had pressed in upon the enemy, they would have inevitably perished. Nothing was done." General Worth took quarters in the governor's palace, east of the Grand Plaza, and upon its flagstaff hoisted the stars and stripes.

From the day (May 15) his division entered Puebla it was evident to the citizens that they would not be disturbed either in person or property, and could attend to all matters of business or pleasure. The daily markets were open to all, and no officer or soldier presumed to take except at the market price, which was an affair of buyer and seller. With a strange and hostile army in their midst, some restraint must have been felt by the people, but it was the wish and aim of the military that such feelings should not arise from any act or word on their part. The civil administration was not interfered with, the city police was continued, and at all hours of the night could be heard calling the time and weather, according to custom: "*Son las doce de la noche, y sereno*—Its 12 o'clock and clear." "*Ave Maria! Son las dos, y venturo*—Hail Mary! it's 2 o'clock and stormy." After the first few days the churches had their usual throngs of worshippers, there being more of such buildings in Puebla than in any city in the United States, though it had hardly 70,000 inhabitants, and daily the church bells chimed forth solemn or merry peals, and the streets were filled with people in gala dresses attending festivals or going to or returning from mass.

American officers appeared on the streets with swords, the men with side arms, each neatly attired. All were enraptured with the delightful climate, clear, blue sky, never overcast except during the daily showers, and awed by the solemn grandeur of the lofty volcanoes that bar the great highway north. No other Mexican city has a view, at the same time, of Orizaba, Popocatepetl, and Ixtacihuatl, the last two separating the valley of Puebla from that of Mexico, and of a fourth mountain, Malinche, all covered with snow in the winter months.

* Badly clad, idle, vagabond population.

CHAPTER XIV.

ARRIVAL OF GENERAL SCOTT IN PUEBLA.—ADDRESS TO THE MEXICAN PEOPLE.—ASKS TO BE RELIEVED FROM COMMAND.—PERSONAL REMARKS.—OPERATIONS OF THE NAVY AFTER THE ARMY MARCHED FROM VERA CRUZ.—COMMODORE PERRY CAPTURES TABASCO.—NUMBER OF SCOTT'S ARMY WHEN HE ADVANCED FROM PUEBLA.

General Scott remained a month at Jalapa, and having relinquished the hope of a speedy general advance, set out with an escort of four cavalry companies, on May 23, for Puebla, Twiggs' Division having marched the preceding day. It being known that he would probably arrive in Puebla on the 28th, a number of officers rode out to meet him, and his coming was the subject of conversation, not only on the streets, but behind the heavily-barred doors of private dwellings. Along the thoroughfare on which it was known he would pass, the balconies were filled with ladies, the desire to see him being irresistible. "Mira! Mira! look! look!" was heard in subdued tones. "El Generalísimo! El Generalísimo! the General-in-Chief! the General-in-Chief!" The people in the streets escorted him up to the *porte cochère* of the palace and cheered him. The soldiers, volunteers as well as regulars, were delighted to welcome him to their midst, and there can be no question of his having had the entire confidence of his army. The regulars of course knew him, had unbounded trust and admiration for him, and it was impossible for the more intelligent officers of the volunteer service, many of whom were distinguished in the learned professions, and had held high political positions, to be thrown with him without being impressed

with his general intelligence and vast fund of information, gleaned from extensive reading and held by a wonderfully retentive memory.

The capture of Vera Cruz and castle of San Juan de Ulúa, armed with hundreds of guns and mortars, many of them of the heaviest calibres in use at that time, and all directed by educated and skilled artillerists, with a loss of less than 100 killed and wounded, was a military feat without parallel. Of a different order was the assault upon the Mexican Army intrenched in the pass and upon the heights of Cerro Gordo, in which five general officers with their commands, together with batteries in position numbering over 42 guns, were taken. This was an achievement requiring the display of qualities equally essential and more brilliant in an army commander. Vera Cruz was an affair of the staff, engineers, ordnance, and artillery, while Cerro Gordo was won mainly by the infantry. It was fortunate for the Army and the country that there was a general in command who knew the use of each arm of service and of the different staff corps, as well as their relative value, and how to employ them, whether separately or conjointly, as was subsequently shown according to the necessities of the particular case. That his great abilities and learning were not limited to the strictly military, is shown by his martial law order, his several addresses to the Mexican people, and many orders bearing upon civil administration, and showing great executive ability. The sentiments contained in the following address, issued after the battle of Cerro Gordo, and while in Jalapa, illustrate alike his head and heart, and throw much light on the policy of the war:

MEXICANS: The late events of the war, and the measures adopted in consequence by your government, make it my duty to address you in order to lay before you truths of which you are ignorant because they have been criminally concealed from you. I do not ask you to believe me simply on my word—though he who has not been found false has a claim to be believed—but to judge for yourselves of these truths from facts within the view and scrutiny of you all.

Whatever may have been the origin of this war, which the United States were forced to undertake by insurmountable causes, we regard it as an evil. War is ever such to both belligerents, and the reason and justice of the case, if not known on both sides, are in dispute and claimed by each. You have proof of this truth as well as we, for in Mexico, as in the United

States, there have existed, and do exist, two opposite parties, one desiring peace and the other war.

Governments, however, have sacred duties to perform, from which they can not swerve; and these duties frequently impose, from national considerations, a silence and reserve that displease at times the majority of those who, from views purely personal or private, are formed in opposition, to which governments can pay little attention, expecting the nation to repose in them the confidence due to a magistracy of its own selection. Considerations of high policy and of continental American interests precipitated events in spite of the circumspection of the Cabinet at Washington. This Cabinet, ardently desiring to terminate all differences with Mexico, spared no efforts compatible with honor and dignity. It cherished the most flattering hopes of attaining this end by frank explanations and reasonings, addressed to the judgment and prudence of the virtuous and patriotic government of General Herrera. An unexpected misfortune dispelled these hopes and closed every avenue to an honorable adjustment. Your new government disregarded your national interests as well as those of continental America and yielded, moreover, to foreign influences the most opposed to these interests—the most fatal to the future of Mexican liberty and of that republican system which the United States hold it a duty to preserve and to protect.

Duty, honor, and dignity placed us under the necessity of not losing a season of which the monarchical party was fast taking advantage. As not a moment was to be lost, we acted with a promptness and decision suited to the urgency of the case in order to avoid a complication of interests which might render our relations more difficult and involved. Again, in the course of civil war, the government of General Paredes was overthrown. We could not but look upon this as a fortunate event, believing that any other administration representing Mexico would be less deluded, more patriotic, and more prudent, looking to the common good, weighing probabilities, strength, resources, and above all, the general opinion as to the inevitable results of a national war. We were deceived, and perhaps you Mexicans were also deceived, in judging of the real intentions of General Santa Anna when you recalled and when our Government permitted him to return.

Under this state of things, the Mexican nation has seen the results lamented by all, and by us most sincerely, for we appreciate, as is due, the valor and noble decision of those unfortunate men who go to battle ill conducted, worse cared for, and almost always enforced by violence, deceit, or perfidy.

We are witnesses, and we shall not be taxed with partiality, as a party interested, when we lament with surprise that the heroic behaviour of the garrison at Vera Cruz in its valiant defense has been aspersed by the general who had just been routed and put to shameful flight at Buena Vista by a force far inferior to his own. The same general rewarded the insurgents of the capital—promoters of civil war—and heaped outrage upon those who had just acquired for themselves singular distinction by a resistance beyond expectation and of admirable decision.

Finally, the bloody event of Cerro Gordo has plainly shown the Mexican nation what it may reasonably expect if it is no longer blind to its real situation—a situation to which it has been brought by some of its generals whom it has most distinguished and in whom it has most confided. The hardest heart would have been moved to grief in contemplating any battlefield in Mexico a moment after the last struggle. Those generals whom the nation has paid without service rendered for so many years have in the day of need, with some honorable exceptions, but served to injure her by their bad example or unskillfulness. The dead and wounded on those fields received no marks of military distinction, sharing alike the sad fate which has been the same from Palo Alto to Cerro Gordo; the dead remained unburied, and the wounded abandoned to the clemency and charity of the victor. Soldiers who go to battle, knowing they have such reward to look for, deserve to be classed with the most heroic, for they are stimulated by no hope of glory, nor remembrance, nor a sigh—not even a grave.

Again, contemplate honorable Mexicans, the lot of peaceful and industrious citizens in all classes of your country. The possessions of the church menaced and presented as an allurement to revolution and anarchy; the fortunes of rich proprietors pointed out for the plunder of armed ruffians; the merchant and the mechanic, the husbandman and the manufacturer, burdened with contributions, excises, monopolies, duties on consumption, surrounded by officers and collectors of these odious internal customs; the man of letters and the legislator; the freeman of knowledge who dares to speak, persecuted, without trial, by some faction, or by the very rulers who abuse their power; and criminals, unpunished, are set at liberty, as were those at Peroté. What then, Mexicans, is the liberty of which you boast?

I will not believe that Mexicans of the present day want the courage to confess errors which do not dishonor them, or to adopt a system of true liberty—one of peace and union with their brethren and neighbors of the north.

Neither can I believe the Mexicans ignorant of the infamy, of the calumnies put forth by the press in order to excite hostility against us. No, public spirit can not be created or animated by falsehood. We have not profaned your temples, nor abused your women, nor seized your property, as they would have you believe. We say it with pride, and we confirm it by an appeal to your bishops and the curates of Tampico, Tuzpan, Matamoros, Monterey, Vera Cruz, and Jalapa, to all the clergy, civil authorities, and inhabitants of all the places we have occupied.

We adore the same God, and a large portion of our Army, as well as of the people of the United States, is Catholic, like yourselves. We punish crime wherever we find it, and reward merit and virtue.

The Army of the United States respects, and will ever respect, private property of every class, and the property of the Mexican church. Woe to him who does not, where we are. Mexicans, the past is beyond remedy, but the future may yet be controlled. I have repeatedly declared to you that the Government and the people of the United States desire peace, desire your sincere friendship. Abandon, then, State prejudices, cease to be the sport of private ambition, and conduct yourselves like a great American

nation. Abandon at once those old colonial habits and learn to be truly free, truly republican. You may then soon attain prosperity and happiness, of which you possess all the elements; but *remember that you are Americans*, and that your happiness is not to come from Europe.

I desire, in conclusion, to say to you, with equal frankness, that were it necessary, an army of one hundred thousand Americans would soon be among you, and that the United States, if forced to terminate by arms their differences with you, would not do it in an uncertain or precarious, or still less in a dishonorable manner. It would be an insult to the intelligent people of their country to doubt their knowledge of your power. The system of forming guerrilla parties to annoy us will, I assure you, produce only evils to this country and none to our Army, which knows how to protect itself, and how to proceed against such cut-throats; and if, so far from calming resentments and passions, you try to irritate, you will but force upon us the hard necessity of retaliation. In that event, you can not blame us for the consequences which will fall upon yourselves. I shall march with this Army upon Puebla and Mexico. I do not conceal this from you. From those capitals I may again address you. We desire peace, friendship, and union; it is for you to choose whether you prefer continued hostilities. In either case, be assured, I will keep my word.

WINFIELD SCOTT.*

HEAD-QUARTERS OF THE ARMY,
JALAPA, *May 11, 1847.*

Not having heard of the approach of reinforcements, nor even the recruits—nine hundred for the regular Army—that were to have embarked months before from Newport, Ky., and New York city, General Scott, within a week after his arrival in Puebla, ordered Colonel Childs, commanding at Jalapa, to take silent preparatory measures for its prompt abandonment, removing all ordnance stores and the sick and wounded. In the event of further offensive operations, the presence of the Jalapa garrison with the main army at Puebla was deemed indispensable, and this involved the necessity of abandoning communications with Vera Cruz.

Sick and wounded not in condition to bear removal were to be left under the safeguard of the civil authorities and of the church, with solemn declarations to each that if any injury was

* In General Scott's Autobiography, Vol. II, page 549, we find Brevet Major-General Worth wrote from the advanced position, Puebla: "It was fortunate that I got hold of a copy of your proclamation. I had a third edition struck off, and am now with hardly a copy on hand. It takes admirably, and my doors are crowded for it. * * * It has produced more decided effect than all the blows from Palo Alto to Cerro Gordo."

(Ex. Doc. No. 60, House of Representatives, 30th Congress, 1st Session.)

inflicted upon any soldier, or any surgeon in charge, troops would return and hold the entire city responsible; nor must any soldier be carried off under any pretense whatever, for, if spirited away, it would be to be murdered by lawless banditti. The honor of the United States was pledged to pay liberally for any attention or kindness shown or supplies furnished.

The sick and wounded at Peroté unable to bear transportation were to be left there and the garrison to be reduced to a minimum, as the castle would enable a small force to hold out for a long time. Should Colonel Childs hear of any detachments being at or *en route* from Vera Cruz he was to delay his departure from Jalapa until they could join him, and empty wagons escorted by cavalry would be despatched him at once. His arrival at Puebla would be waited for. If active operations were resumed it would be necessary to strengthen the main army in front by the Jalapa garrison and a portion of that from Peroté.

One thousand sick had been left at Vera Cruz, about the same number of sick and wounded at Jalapa, and two hundred at Peroté. On June 4 the sick in Puebla numbered seventeen hundred, leaving but five thousand eight hundred and twenty enlisted men for duty. Puebla could not be held and the advance upon Mexico be made with such a force. The sickness was attributed mainly to an insufficient supply of clothing and the want of salt meat, due to inadequate transportation. Not a dollar in money had arrived at Vera Cruz since its occupation, and the inconvenience was seriously felt, as but little money could be obtained on drafts. An attempt to subsist the Army by living at free quarters, or on forced contributions, would have ended military operations.

In a letter to the Secretary of War, dated Puebla, June 4, 1847, General Scott says: "Considering the many cruel disappointments and mortifications I have been made to feel since I left Washington, or the total want of support and sympathy on the part of the War Department which I have so long experienced, I beg to be recalled from this army the moment that it may be safe for any person to embark at Vera Cruz, which I suppose will be early in November. Probably all field operations *will be over long before that time.*"

It will be remembered that General Taylor also felt aggrieved at the action of the War Department, and wrote letters, respectful but decided in tone, calling attention to acts of the Secretary

derogatory to his rights as an Army commander, also repelling an indignity attempted, as he believed, to be practiced upon him.

In reply to the request made by General Scott to be recalled, Secretary Marcy, in letter dated July 12, 1847, says: "Considering that you had claimed as a matter of right due your superior rank, to be placed at the head of our armies in the field, in a state of actual war, and had earnestly besought that position as a matter of favor, the President was not a little surprised that, after so brief a period of service, you should ask to be recalled." His application to be relieved should not have caused surprise, as he had been informed that an effort had been made to supersede him by a lieutenant general* to be appointed from civil life. He must, from this, have regarded his being in command of the most important army in Mexico as due only to his rank, and that he was distasteful to or did not have the confidence of the President. He felt he had not been the recipient of civilities which, in the organization of his staff, he had a right to expect. While General Scott could, did in fact, submit to this, he may yet have believed it better for the service for the President to place some one in command whose suggestions would be more readily accepted. Reinforcements and supplies came so slowly that he believed his recommendations had but little weight.

The Secretary continued: "The grounds put forth for this change of purpose have not probably had with him (the President) the influence you expected. They are of such an extraordinary character as to claim a passing notice. Of 'the many cruel disappointments and mortifications I have been made to feel since I left Washington' you have omitted to specify a single one, and whether they are real or imaginary is left in great uncertainty." The disappointments and mortifications were not specified, because General Scott did not deem it necessary to repeat what he had previously written in regard to the vexatious and inexcusable delays in furnishing troops, ordnance stores, and transportation, which prevented the landing at Vera Cruz six weeks beyond the time agreed on in Washington before his departure for Mexico. The fact that operations at

* It was rumored that Senator Benton of Missouri had been selected for the position.

Vera Cruz, even at that late date, were embarrassed, because a large portion of the supplies deemed essential had not arrived when the place surrendered, was not again dwelt upon, nor did he refer again to the fact that land transportation for a movement to the interior was utterly inadequate, and that troops intended for the Vera Cruz line had been directed to the Rio Grande when they had not been applied for by General Taylor.

All these vexations had been previously called to the attention of the War Department and the President, and he did not consider it necessary to repeat them nor to discuss the President's action in the effort to send a lieutenant general appointed from civil life to Mexico to supersede him, who had been General-in-Chief of the Army of the United States for more than six years.

The Secretary says further: "The sending of Mr. Trist to Mexico as a commissioner of peace, and the suspicion you cherished that you had been degraded by his being clothed with military authority to interfere with your rightful command are probably prominent among these 'cruel disappointments and mortifications.' " The sending of Mr. Trist* or any other person or persons as commissioner or commissioners of peace to attend the Army was not regarded unfavorably by General Scott, who had invited such action on the part of the Government, having in a letter from Vera Cruz of April 5 said: 'With American commissioners at the headquarters of this army I think it quite probable that by our arrival at Puebla, if not before, we should be met by Mexican commissioners empowered to treat,' " etc.

It was not the presence of Commissioner Trist with the Army that General Scott complained of; in his letter of May 20 from Jalapa he states: "You tell me that 'should he (Mr. Trist) make known to you (Scott) in writing that the contingency has occurred in consequence of which the President is willing that further military operations should cease, you will regard such notice as a direction from the President to suspend them until further orders from the Department.' " That is, says General Scott, "I am required to respect the judgment of

* Mr. Nicholas P. Trist, Assistant Secretary of State, and who had filled many responsible positions, having studied law with Thomas Jefferson, whose granddaughter he married, was sent to Mexico in the spring of 47 as peace commissioner.

Mr. Trist here on passing events purely military as the judgment of the President, who is some two thousand miles off." In this same letter he says: "It will be remembered also that in my letter to Major-General Taylor, dated June 12, 1846, written at your (Marcy's) instance, and, as I understood at the time, approved by the Cabinet, his power to agree to an armistice was merely adverted to in order to place upon it certain limitations. I understand your letter to me of the 14th ultimo as not only taking from me, the commander of an Army under the most critical circumstances, all voice or advice in agreeing to a truce with the enemy, but as an attempt to place me under the military command of Mr. Trist," which the quotation previously made shows.

A number of letters passed between General Scott and Mr. Trist, which bore evidence of a good deal of irritation; also between the latter and Mr. Buchanan, Secretary of State, and between Secretary Marcy and General Scott. These last-mentioned letters were read with much interest at the time, and were supposed to have been the cause of much ill-feeling subsequently between those two distinguished men. It would require too much space to refer to them in detail here; hence a brief notice only will be given, which will show, however, that there was no real cause of disagreement between the Government and General Scott so far as regarded the peace commissioner. Mr. Trist upon his arrival in Vera Cruz forwarded to General Scott, then at Jalapa, two letters from the Secretary of War and a sealed communication to the Mexican Minister.

The Mexican Congress upon hearing of the defeat at Cerro Gordo, passed many violent decrees, breathing war to the bitter end against the United States, declaring that the Executive has no power, and shall have none, to conclude a treaty or even an armistice with the United States, and denouncing as a traitor any Mexican functionary who shall entertain either proposition. These decrees had been reported by General Scott to the War Department, and until further orders or until a change of circumstances, he doubted whether he could so far commit the honor of his Government as to take any direct agency in forwarding the sealed dispatch sent him by Mr. Trist from the Secretary of State. He wrote to Mr. Trist: "On this delicate point, you will do as you please, and when if able, I shall have advanced near the Capital, I may at your instance,

lend an escort to your flag of truce, and it may require a large fighting detachment to protect even a flag of truce against the *rancheros* and banditti who now infest the National road all the way up to the Capital."

He did not as an army commander like to receive a sealed dispatch with directions from Mr. Trist to forward it to the Mexican Minister, nor did he acknowledge the right of the commissioner to grant an armistice, as quoted from the Secretary of War's communication of April 14. Had Mr. Trist presented himself at General Scott's headquarters, showed him a copy of the sealed dispatch to the Mexican Minister, and called attention to the care with which it was framed; also showed his instructions to deliver it to him (General Scott), to forward with such escort as he might deem necessary, there would have been no misunderstanding. His (Trist's) instructions were: "The General-in-Chief shall not for the sake of carrying out this order, do aught to jeopardize the existence of the Army, or interfere with any movements or operations whatever, which he may deem necessary or expedient for the most vigorous possible prosecution of the war. The transmission of the communication above referred to is at all times to be deemed a secondary consideration to any of those just mentioned; but it is also to be deemed at all times paramount to everything else, and so far as may be compatible with them the utmost attention is demanded to it." General Scott could not have drawn up instructions covering his own views in the case better than those confided to Mr. Trist.

The Secretary of State, July 13, 1847, wrote to Mr. Trist: "The documents" (Trist's letters to General Scott and the replies of the general) "have produced feelings of deep mortification and disappointment in the President's mind. It is lamentable to reflect that the restoration of peace may have been defeated or delayed by a violent and embittered personal quarrel between two functionaries of the Government in the enemy's country, and whilst the war is raging; * the greatest pains were taken in framing your instructions to prevent all possible interference on your part with the appropriate military duties of General Scott. It was partly to convince him of this fact that you were authorized to exhibit these instructions to him, together with

* Page 830, Ex. Doc. No. 60, H. R., 30th Congress, 1st Session.

the *projet* of the treaty. Your authority, so far as he was concerned, was limited to the single point of giving him notice that the contingency had occurred, to wit, the ratification of the treaty by the Mexican Government," on the happening of which, as provided by the third article, hostilities are required to be suspended.

The ratification of such a treaty by Mexico, according to the spirit of the act of Congress of the 3d of March, 1847, "making further appropriation to bring the existing war with Mexico to a speedy and honorable conclusion, was to be the signal for the termination of hostilities." * * * "Under these circumstances, it was with deep regret that the President learned, from your letter to the General of May 20, that you had undertaken in his name to become the medium of giving to that officer an order in advance, to be executed when you should think proper; again to deliver into his hands my communication to the Mexican Minister of Foreign Affairs; and, to enforce obedience to this order, you declare that, for this special purpose, you stand in precisely the same relations to the President that one of his aids bears to himself when entrusted with a verbal order from him to his subordinate officer. It is a most disagreeable task thus to criticise your conduct." * * * "It was, therefore, unfortunate that you had not in person delivered to him the despatches with which you were entrusted, and at the same time made him fully acquainted with the character and objects of your mission, as well as with the nature of my communication to the Mexican Minister of Foreign Relations. The President trusts that ere this, in obedience to my instructions of the 14th—of which I now transmit you a duplicate—you have called upon General Scott and communicated to him the instructions and *projet* of a treaty with which you have been entrusted, and that, even if friendly relations have not been restored, neither you nor he will suffer your personal feud to defeat or delay the conclusion of a treaty of peace with Mexico."

Before receipt of the above letter Mr. Trist wrote from Puebla, July 23, 1847, to the State Department: "In my No. 8,* under date of the 7th instant, I transmitted a copy of a letter addressed by me to General Scott, under date of June 25, and his reply to

* This dispatch was never received at the State Department. See *Ex. Doc. No. 60, H. R., 30th Congress, p. 830.*

the same. This constituted the commencement of our official intercourse with reference to the duties with which I am charged. Justice—to say nothing of my own feelings toward a gentleman and a public servant whose character I now believe that I had entirely misconceived—demands that I should embrace this early opportunity to say that his whole conduct in this regard has been characterized by the purest public spirit and a fidelity and devotion which could not be surpassed to the views of the Government in regard to the restoration of peace. This spirit on his part, as will clearly appear when the details are communicated, has manifested itself, not in a passive way merely—as might be supposed from the nature of our relative positions and duties—but in a disposition to assume responsibility, and responsibility of the gravest kind, in utter disregard of consequences to himself. And this disposition, or rather this readiness and fixed determination on his part, although the occasion which called it forth did not relate to the discharge of his military duties, strictly speaking, has not required any appeal from me to elicit it, but has manifested itself in the most spontaneous and patriotic manner. Under these circumstances, it could not but be a cause of the most serious regret on my part if the correspondence between us that took place shortly after my arrival in this country should in any way be brought to the notice of the public; and consequently, if in your judgment consistent with propriety, it would be highly gratifying to me to be permitted to withdraw it from the files of the Department.”

General Scott wrote to the War Department from Puebla, July 25, 1847: “Although daily in expectation of something of special interest to communicate, nothing has occurred of that character save a happy change in my relations, both official and private, with Mr. Trist since about the 26th ult.; our intercourse has been frequent and cordial, and I have found him able, discreet, courteous, and amiable. At home it so chanced that we had but the slightest possible acquaintance with each other. Hence, more or less reciprocal prejudice, and of the existence of his feelings toward me I knew by private letters before we met that at least a part of the Cabinet had full intimation.

“The pronounced misunderstanding between Mr. Trist and myself would not have occurred but for other circumstances, his being obliged to send forward your letter of April 14, instead of delivering it in person, with the explanatory papers which

he desired to communicate,* his bad health in May and June, which, I am happy to say, has now become good,* and the extreme mystification into which your letter, and particularly an interlineation, unavoidably threw me. So far as I am concerned I am perfectly willing that all that I have heretofore written to the Department about Mr. Trist should be suppressed. I make this declaration as due to my present esteem for that gentleman, but I ask no favor and desire none at the hands of the Department."

Notwithstanding the mutual explanations made by General Scott and Mr. Trist, and willingness on their part that this correspondence, which was mainly personal, and written on the part of the former under misconceptions for which he was not responsible, might be withdrawn, it was retained on file in the department and published.

There was also a private note of General Scott's—known as the "hasty-plate-of-soup letter"—that appeared in the newspapers at the time it was written, and caused the party press to vent much ridicule upon its author. At the beginning of the war General Scott spent from fifteen to eighteen hours a day in his office, and one day when the Secretary called he was reported absent, but was at the time in his back office taking a plate of soup brought to him, as he would not take time to go to his luncheon. On returning to his desk and learning of the Secretary's call, he sent him hurriedly the note in which the above expression was used, giving the information required and making suggestions, which were wise and to the point.

Before the Army marched from Vera Cruz a general order from the Adjutant General's Office reached camp, announcing promotions and of the numbers, myself to the grade of second lieutenant in the Seventh U. S. Infantry. I had been assigned, on leaving the academy, to the Fourth U. S. Infantry as a brevet second lieutenant.

Although this order was received while the Army was near Vera Cruz, I was retained with the Fourth Infantry, Garland's Brigade, Worth's Division, until Puebla was occupied. A few days after the arrival of Twiggs' Division I was on my written request relieved from duty with the Fourth Infantry and ordered to report to Lieut.-Col. Joseph Plympton, commanding the

* Ex. Doc., 60.

Seventh Infantry, of Riley's Brigade, Twiggs' Division. My service with the Fourth had been in every respect agreeable, and I had become much attached to the officers with whom I was associated, especially those with whom I messed. I had been made the acting adjutant of the regiment by Colonel Garland within two or three weeks after joining. Being subsequently made Governor of Monterey, when General Taylor marched for Victoria, he was relieved from command of the regiment, and under a new commander I asked to be relieved from the duty. After serving with the Seventh Infantry two or three weeks the adjutant, Lieut. F. N. Page, a graduate of the academy of 1841, was promoted to the rank of captain in the Adjutant General's Department. This promotion gave great satisfaction, as all of his brother officers knew that he deserved it, and that he would prove efficient, his intelligence, industry, and a conscientious devotion to duty were an ample guarantee. He was subsequently the author of "Review of General Staff Organizations of European and American Armies." I was appointed adjutant of the Seventh Infantry by Colonel Plympton in Page's place and accepted, and regarded it as a great good fortune to be associated with Colonel Plympton, who, during my short service as adjutant, was always kind and considerate, and during the many years that he subsequently commanded the regiment I learned to appreciate him more fully, and in common with other officers to entertain for him sincere respect and affection. Brig.-Gen. John A. Quitman, U. S. Volunteers, was promoted to major general April 14, 1847, and the order announcing it reached Puebla the latter part of June. Being entitled to an additional aide-de-camp, he offered me the position and requested me to join his Staff; I was disposed to remain with my regiment, believing that to be the proper place, especially while engaged in war. I showed General Quitman's note, however, to Colonel Plympton and requested his advice, and he, urging me to accept, as the new position would give me a wider field of observation, I did so. General Quitman was a lawyer by profession; had been Chancellor of his State (Mississippi); was a scholarly, cultivated man, being an easy, graceful writer; was of high social position, and had great political influence; had distinguished himself at the battle of Monterey, in the storming and capture of the *Teneria*, and received therefor a sword presented by act of Congress. He was also a planter, owning cotton and sugar

plantations, the former in Mississippi, the latter in Louisiana, from which he derived good incomes. He was charming in his intercourse with those near him, and not only made friends, but attached them strongly. He bore the expenses of his headquarters in the matter of servants, horses, and the mess, and being a second lieutenant of infantry at that time, with nine of that grade above me, and receiving only \$65 per month pay, these latter points are gratefully remembered.

During the period of inactivity of his army, enforced by deficiency in numbers, General Scott could not have been more fortunate in its location. Puebla and the surrounding country were famous for beauty of scenery, for incomparable climate, and for great social advantages. There was much sickness among the troops, due to causes independent of locality and climate. There were daily military exercises in all branches of the service, including evolutions of the line for the infantry. Just beyond the limits of the city, on the Tlascala road, was a broad, level plain, upon which an army of a hundred thousand men could have manœvered, and on which there were daily drills. Rising up from this plain were Malinche, Popocatepetl, and Ixtacihuatl. Off in the direction of the last two Snow Mountains, and looming up over the same plain, could be seen the dome and spire of the church upon the summit of the pyramid of Cholula, near whose base is a miserable hamlet, all that remains of what was once the largest, most famous, and prosperous city of the Aztec empire. Their Rome or Mecca, it was the annual resort of priests and pilgrims from all parts of the empire, who came hundreds of leagues, and, being on foot, consumed a large portion of the year in the journey. During this concourse there was a grand feast at which the priests ate and blessed bread regarded as sacred, being the body, as they affirmed, of the incorporeal God.* There were also theatrical representations, amusing farces, etc., the festivities closing with a grand masquerade ball. History tells us with what savage ferocity the inhabitants of this interesting city were treated by Cortez while accepting their hospitality, and how, without cause, he fell upon them suddenly, butchered thousands of men, women, and children, and destroyed the sacred city. Many

* *Pimentel. Memoria sobre las causas que han originado la situacion actual de la raza indigena de Mexico y Medios de remediarla.*

excursions, often entire regiments (men and officers), visited Cholula during the three months the Army remained in Puebla and examined the scene hallowed by such interesting associations.

When not on duty there was much to amuse and interest while strolling about the city—the picturesque costumes seen on the streets, the *rebosos* of the women, *serapes* of the men, the hats and antiquated garments worn by the priests, the horse equipments and riding habits, the blankets of the *leperos* and *aguadores*.

Most of the army being Protestants, and never in a distinctly Roman Catholic country before, and Puebla being pre-eminently the city of churches, they were naturally much interested in the religious ceremonies and processions daily seen in them, especially in witnessing the celebration of high mass in the cathedral, a superb building, whose massive walls covered nearly a square, and whose high domes and steeples, towering above all other buildings, were seen for miles over the plain in every direction. Enormous bells, whose deep, sonorous notes were heard far away, were suspended in its cupolas, and during the hours of the silent night marked with solemn tones the flight of time.

While the Army was en route from Vera Cruz to the interior of Mexico, Commodore Perry ordered the *Albany*, the *John Adams*, and the *Germantown*, the bomb vessels *Vesuvius*, *Etna*, and *Hecla*, to Lobos Island preparatory to an attack upon Tuspan, and sailed, April 12, from Sacrificios on the *Mississippi*, having in tow the steamers *Spitfire*, *Vixen*, *Scourge*, and the gunboats *Bonito*, *Petrel*, *Reefer*, with a detachment of three hundred officers, seamen, and marines, from the line of battleship *Ohio*; also the *Raritan*, with one hundred and eighty seamen and marines from the *Potomac*, added to her own complement. These various vessels anchored near Lobos, found the other vessels previously ordered already in position, and were joined by the *Decatur*.

The fleet sailed for the anchorage under the reef at Tuspan, the 15th, but was blown asunder by a norther during the night to be united again on the morning of the 17th, spent in sounding and buoying the channel of the bar, lightening the small vessels, and in other preparations for ascending the river.

The bar at the mouth of the Tuspan river was crossed early on the 18th by the steamers, gunboats, and some thirty barges

filled with detachments from the different vessels anchored outside, having with them four guns. After crossing the bar Commodore Perry hoisted his flag on the steamer *Spitfire* and advanced up the river, the gunboats and barges being in tow until within range of the Mexican batteries. The guns on the *Spitfire* drove the enemy from his defensive works while the other vessels landed at points favorable for assaulting the forts, or attacking the town.

On the right bank, one or two miles below Tuspan, upon a commanding bluff sixty feet high, was a battery known as La Peña, which the men, led by their officers, charged boldly. After several discharges from the 32-pounder carronades and one 9-pounder, the enemy abandoned the battery, the 32-pounders were captured and brought off, and the 9-pounder disabled. A water battery, known as La Palmasola, in which in embrasure were two long 18-pounder iron guns, was next attacked and captured. The boats then crossed over the left bank and drove the enemy from a fort called the Hospital, situated upon a steep eminence near the centre of the town and in which was one 32-pounder. *The Mexicans were pursued through the town into the chapparal and the forts destroyed. The captured 32-pounders were the guns of the *Truxton*, run aground on the coast, and taken by the Mexicans when in this helpless condition.

The dispositions by the enemy for the defense of Tuspan were judicious. General Cos commanded and had, as shown by his order book, about six hundred and fifty men. Loss sustained by Perry was fourteen, two killed and twelve wounded; of the latter were Commander Tatnall, of the *Spitfire*; Flag-Lieutenant James L. Parker, of the *Mississippi*, severely; Lieutenant Whittle, of the *Ohio*, slightly. The *Albany* and *Reefer* were left off Tuspan, the *Hecla* ordered to Soto de la Marina, the *Etna* to Tabasco, the *Vesuvius* and *Porpoise* to Laguna, the *Germantown* to cruise along the coast north of Lobos. The commodore with the remaining vessels returned and anchored at Anton Lizardo.

After the battle of Cerro Gordo the advance division of the Army continued the march as far as Puebla, and was there joined by the remaining forces under Scott. Active operations

* Tuspan was captured the day Santa Anna was defeated at Cerro Gordo.

were then suspended until reinforcements arrived from the United States, but it was different with the naval forces.

The next expedition undertaken by Commodore Perry was to the east, along the coast to the mouth of the Goazacoalcos. Sailing for Laguna, he touched off the bar at the mouth of the river May 12, and was there joined by the *John Adams*, *Decatur*, and *Stromboli*. At this point he discovered a well-constructed but abandoned fort, with twelve guns; disabled the pieces, burned their carriages, and blew up the fort. The *Scorpion* and *Vixen*, under Commander Bigelow, with Commanders Adams and Mackenzie, sailed up the river twenty-four miles the next day and made a reconnoissance as far as Manatitlan. Commander Walker was left with the *Stromboli* in the river and the commodore sailed in command of the *John Adams*, *Decatur*, *Scorpion*, and *Vixen* for the Tabasco river, off the bar of which he anchored on the 14th; remained there a few hours, and leaving the *Vixen* to aid in towing the launches up the river to fresh water, sailed on eastward to Laguna, where he arrived and landed with a small force on the 15th, to be joined by the *Vesuvius*, *Porpoise*, and *Washington*. Having taken possession of the town and island of Carmen, he remained there two days, sailed on the 18th on his return voyage, and anchored that evening off Tabasco, where he found the *Raritan*, *Albany*, *John Adams*, *Decatur*, *Germantown*, and *Bonito*, and anchored inside the bar were the *Etna*, *Vixen*, and the revenue steamer *McLane*. He landed here, occupied Frontera, and made Captain Brunt civil and military governor, opened the port, and assigned to Brunt's command the *Bonito* and an armed barge to watch the mouth of the San Pedro and Chiltepec rivers, and of other small streams emptying into the Tabasco.

Having no authentic information from Yucatan, he directed Capt. S. L. Breese and Commander A. S. Mackenzie to sail in the *Albany* for Campeachy to be joined at Laguna by the *Washington*. Giving orders for the *Raritan*, *John Adams*, *Decatur*, and *Germantown* to complete their supply of water and then return to Anton Lizardo, he sailed by way of Goazacoalcos, and up it on the 21st as far as Manatitlan, of which he took formal possession and received the surrender of the neighboring and more inland towns of Cosaleaque and San Cristobal of Ishautlan. He descended, passed out of the river, and sailed for Vera Cruz, intending to return and attack Tabasco.

Commodore Perry sailed from Anton Lizardo and anchored off the bar of the Tabasco river the 13th of June, having with him the following vessels: The *Mississippi*, *Albany*, *Raritan*, *John Adams*, *Decatur*, *Germantown*, *Stromboli*, *Vesuvius*, *Washington*, and the steamers *Scorpion*, *Spitfire*, *Scourge*, and *Vixen*; the *Etna* and *Bonito* were to remain in the river near its mouth. He crossed the bar with the flotilla on the 14th; the barges and surf-boats had seven pieces of artillery and heavy details of officers, seamen, and marines from the vessels at anchor outside, and a strong detachment from the *Potomac* of seamen and marines; all were then towed by the steamers across the bar, and taking the vessels at Frontera the entire force formed in line and sailed up the river. The *Scorpion*, with the broad pennant of the commodore flying, led, and had in tow the *Vesuvius* and *Washington*, the boats of the *Mississippi* and the *John Adams*; the *Spitfire* was second, with the *Stromboli* and *Bonito* in tow, and the boats of the *Albany*; next the *Scourge*, with the American merchant schooner *Spitfire*, having on board Capt. G. W. Taylor, with his sub-marine apparatus; in rear was the *Vixen*, with the *Etna* in tow, and the boats of the *Raritan*, *Decatur*, and *Germantown*.

The town of Tabasco, situated upon the river of the same name, was about one hundred miles from the sea. The river was narrow, tortuous, with a rapid current, was known to have artificial obstructions, and at different points along its banks were earth-works believed to be held by comparatively heavy forces. The expedition was regarded as one of extreme peril.

The following morning, when within thirty miles of Tabasco, and while the vessels were ascending the river slowly, knowing the enemy to be in several fortified positions concealed from view by the dense chapparal, the leading vessel was fired upon. This fire was instantly returned by the marines and artillery, heavy guns, and was soon silenced. The boats continuing the ascent were again under fire from a second intrenched position known as Colmina, and held by one hundred and fifty men under Col. Miguel Bruns; the hostile fire was returned as in the first case, and with like results. One seaman of the *Vesuvius* was severely wounded; Lieut. William May, of the *Mississippi*, severely, and two seamen slightly. It was believed the Mexicans had quite a number killed and wounded at this place.

Over a mile above Colmina was the main work of the enemy, Acachapan, commanding the approach by land for a considerable distance and that by the river for near two miles. It was reported that three hundred infantry and a like number of irregular cavalry, all commanded by Col. Claro Hidalgo, held this place. The two positions occupied below, and from which the Mexicans had been driven, were held by troops detached from Acachapan. In October, 1846, the river had been ascended to within range of this work, in which at the time were three heavy guns; considerable firing ensued, and the boats withdrew.

The commodore, not knowing if the steamers could pass, without detention, the obstructions known to be in the river near this point, and anxious to reach and attack this main position, ordered the different commanders to make every effort to push up the river, and determined to disembark and take command in person of the infantry and artillery. A place known as the "Seven Palm Trees" was selected as the most favorable for landing. The barges and the surf-boats, filled with men, were formed in line opposite this point, the shore in the meantime being raked by the guns of the flotilla. The needful preparations having been made, the commodore in his own, accompanied by his adjutant, Captain Mayo, in a second boat, gave the order to "forward," and taking the lead, the whole command giving three cheers, pulled for the shore, landed and formed in column under the orders of Captain Mayo. In ten minutes this force, consisting of ten guns and eleven hundred men, were on shore, formed in good order, and had pulled by hand the artillery up the bank, twenty-five feet high and almost perpendicular.

As the command moved forward it was fired upon by infantry in Acachapan; the artillery responded and the enemy was forced to retire, but carried off two guns, posted subsequently in Fort Iturbide, near the town of Tabasco. A few killed and wounded were found in the abandoned works. The advance beyond this was retarded by the high grass and occasional chapparal; the men suffered much from the heat, which was excessive, and especially severe on the men hauling the guns by hand. Outposts of the enemy were driven in by artillery fire and found shelter in Fort Independencia. The vessels had in the meantime passed the obstructions, and steaming up, this work which had been held by Colonel Nicholas Oropesa with one hundred and fifty men was abandoned. Four or five hundred yards above,

across the road, was a deep ditch covered by *abatis*, and a quarter of a mile beyond this and one mile below the town was Fort Iturbide, surrounded by a ditch six feet deep. In this work were two 26-pounders in embrasure and 28-pounders also in embrasure. One 18 and one 9-pounder were found dismantled. Fort Iturbide was evacuated under the fire of the steamers, being commanded at the time by General Domingo Echegaray, under whom were Colonels Alexander Garcia and Miguel Bruns with four hundred artillerymen and infantry.

Perry's loss was nine wounded; of the number was Passed Midshipman W. H. Hudson, of the *Scorpion*. Three 28-pounders, two brass 6-pounders, and one iron 9-pounder were brought off; five hundred and fifty-four muskets and musket-barrels and a good deal of infantry and other military stores and equipments were captured and destroyed.

About 4 p. m. Commodore Perry took possession of Tabasco and occupied the public quarters with his troops. It had been a laborious and fatiguing march of nine miles, much of it through high grass, the heat severe, and under it some of the men, mostly among the artillery who had to drag the guns by hand, had fallen from exhaustion.

Penetrating the interior of a hostile country by means of narrow and crooked streams with strong currents, and water the depth of which only permits the use of light draft boats, is an operation known to all to be difficult and dangerous.

The expedition was crowned with success, being skillfully ordered and judiciously conducted. There was much enthusiasm among the officers and men, and a brilliant display of courage when under fire, whether on the steamers, the launches, while landing, or on the march to the assault of fortified places believed to be well manned.

All contraband of war having been secured and destroyed, a few of the captured guns transferred to the flotilla, the fortifications about the town razed and the powder magazine blown up, the commodore on the 22d retired down the river to its mouth, leaving the city to be held by the *Scorpion*, sixty men, the *Etna*, sixty-five men, the *Spitfire*, sixty, the *Scourge*, sixty, and one hundred and fifteen marines with sixty additional seamen as artillerists, an aggregate of four hundred and twenty

officers and men, both well armed and well drilled.* The citizens *en masse* left the town, few, save foreigners, remaining.

The men were sent on shore daily to be drilled, the town during the night being held by a weak force in the plaza. Lieut. D. D. Porter, with a small party from the *Spitfire*, drilled as usual on the 25th, and the exercises being over, marched through several streets of the city and discovered that in several directions there were facilities for approaching the plaza, and for firing under cover upon those occupying it; the sentry had been fired upon the preceding night. He continued to the suburbs and sent several of his men a short distance beyond, who, being fired upon by a picket force of the enemy, rejoined Porter; while countermarching, his rear being attacked, he halted, faced about, and engaged the Mexicans; was soon reinforced by a small party and succeeded in driving them off. The town, as the Mexicans knew, was at the mercy of the boats anchored in the river near by, and could be battered down and burnt easily.

Perry ordered the *Scorpion*, Commander Bigelow, from Frontera to Tabasco, where it arrived in nine hours, at 1 a. m. of the 27th. Captain Van Brunt reported the slight affairs that had occurred, and the rumor that General Echagary[†] was at Tamulza, within three miles of the town. The *Scourge* was ordered to move up the river, to cut off the enemy's retreat, whilst he (Bigelow) proceeded by land with one hundred and fifty men and one gun. The arrival of the steamer *Vixen* with reinforcements enabled Bigelow to increase his land force to two hundred and forty men and two guns. The *Vixen* then joined the *Scourge*.

Arrangements being promptly made, the expedition set out at 7 a. m., the 30th, and when within a quarter of a mile of the village, the land forces were fired upon from thickets on the right and left of the road and returned the fire, several shots being discharged by the two guns. The Mexicans disappeared, leaving two of their number dead in the edge of the bushes, and a few arms were found in the town church.

The steamers for the want of good pilots got aground several times, and arrived at Tamulza after the land forces had marched

* The reports of Commodore Perry have been consulted, as well as those of subaltern officers.

on their return to Tabasco. In this affair two American swere killed and two wounded. With the capture of Tabasco, the Gulf coast of Mexico became entirely closed to commerce, save as authorized by the United States; no port remained occupied, not closely guarded by vessels of war, and with the occupation of Mazatlan, November 11, there remained to Mexico only the seaport of Acapulco on the Pacific. On the Gulf, Tampico and Vera Cruz were held by land troops; Tuspan, Anton Lizardo, Alvarado, Goazacoalcos, Frontera, and Laguna by the naval forces.

There was much sickness in the fleet during July and August. Commodore Perry was ordered July 20th (received August 16th), to send a vessel to assist in the defense of Tampico. To this he replied, after citing the activity and number of the guerrillas: "So far from its being advisable to detach any part of my small force to assist the garrisons of the Army, I have not enough to hold, without extraordinary efforts, all the places at which custom-houses have been established, and where there are no garrisons, and no other means of defense against the enemy than two or three poorly-armed and half-manned small vessels." He continues: "Nothing can exceed the zeal and spirit which animates the officers and men of the vessels, but it will be impossible that the health and strength of those who have escaped sickness can hold out against this extraordinary wear and tear, unless they are occasionally relieved. Most of the vessels of the squadron are short of their complement of men and officers. In taking possession of these places, and establishing custom-houses under the regulation of the war tariff, I took it for granted that I should be furnished with the means of permanently holding them, and of protecting those interests which have been compromised by our acts. The withdrawal of this protection for want of adequate means would reflect great discredit on the United States, and throw many worthy persons depending upon our good faith into imminent peril of life and fortune."

July 8th.—General Pillow, with one thousand men of the new ten regiments, seven hundred volunteers under General Cadwalader, eight hundred recruits for the old regular Army, under Colonel McIntosh, and the garrison from Jalapa and part of that from Peroté, arrived in Puebla. Colonel McIntosh had started from Vera Cruz with his recruits, escorting a large

train of supplies, before the other troops named had arrived. He was much annoyed and delayed on the march by repeated attacks* of the enemy, who captured some of his wagons and killed and wounded forty or fifty of his men. Soon after this Colonel McIntosh was joined by forces that had arrived in Vera Cruz after his departure, and these and the whole command reached Puebla together.

Learning that Brigadier-General Pierce had arrived June 28 in Vera Cruz, and would probably leave July the 3d, General Scott resolved to await his arrival, confidently expected about the 17th. Preparations for the advance upon the city of Mexico were actively pressed to completion, but General Scott on the 16th heard with great disappointment that General Pierce had been delayed in Vera Cruz for want of transportation, and could not leave that place before the 16th.

Scott needed the men and also the money Pierce was to bring. The chief commissary of the Army had not received a dollar from the United States since the landing of the Army near Vera Cruz, March 9, he had been compelled to purchase on credit under great disadvantages, and owed then, July 25, a considerable sum. The chief quartermaster labored under like inconveniences. He had received only about \$60,000. These two chiefs of the staff had sold drafts to small amounts and had borrowed from the pay department, which had received only half of what had been estimated for. Four months' pay was then overdue to the troops. Under these circumstances General Scott determined to await the arrival of the forces and supplies from Vera Cruz, under command of Brigadier-General Franklin Pierce.

Over one thousand Mexican men and women were employed at the time in making shoes and pantaloons for the Army. Overcoats and blankets were much needed. The new troops had been told they would find clothing in New Orleans; next that it would be issued at Vera Cruz, and finally that they would find it at Puebla. Thus they reached the front as destitute as those that had been in the field from the beginning of hostilities.

* The chiefs of guerrillas, mostly infesting the hot woods near the coast, were Manuel Garcia, José Maria Garcia, Aburto, Mendoza, Salcedo, and Robolledo; the latter, according to Mexican history, excelled in valor, moderation, and for his humane and generous character.

As far back as the 28th of February General Scott had written to General Brooke in New Orleans to direct the quartermaster at that place to send large supplies of clothing to his Army in Mexico. The latter replied, March 16: "The quarter-master at New Orleans had neither clothing nor shoes, and he was fearful, unless they had been sent out direct to his army, he would be much disappointed."

Before the arrival of General Pillow the army at Puebla numbered for duty 5,820. The number of sick was 1,017, aggregating 6,837. With the addition of General Pillow's command the total for duty was 8,061, the sick, 2,215; aggregate, 10,276. General Pierce arrived August 6 with his brigade of 2,500. This increased the aggregate to 12,776, of which number 2,500 were sick and 600 were convalescent, too feeble for an ordinary day's duty. These convalescents, with an equal number of effectives, remained under Colonel Childs to garrison Puebla, leaving 10,300 for the movement on the capital.

The Mexican army organized to resist the American approach was supposed by General Scott to number—good, bad, and indifferent—near 30,000. In advancing upon the City of Mexico Scott had to sever temporarily connection with Vera Cruz, and, to use his own words, "the scabbard was thrown away, and we advanced with the naked blade."

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CHAPTER XV.

THE MARCH FROM PUEBLA TO THE VALLEY OF MEXICO.— SANTA ANNA IN THE NATIONAL CAPITAL.

All doubts and suspense were terminated on August 6th by orders announcing the advance from Puebla upon the City of Mexico, Twiggs'* division, preceded by Harney's cavalry, leading on the 7th, followed by Quitman on the 8th, then Worth, while Pillow brought up the rear on the 10th.

Before dawn on the 7th the rumbling of wagons and artillery on the cobble stone pavements, the heavy, measured tramp of infantry, and the sharp clattering of iron-hoofed cavalry indicated that Twiggs' command, which had become known as the "Cerro Gordo division," was in motion. The various detachments were converging upon the Grand Plaza, the point of rendezvous, at daylight staff officers and mounted orderlies were seen galloping about in many directions, and soon the troops entered the plaza and formed in the order of march.

The balconies fronting the Grand Plaza were even at that early hour thronged with citizens, many ladies, bright and beautiful, being of the number. About sunrise General Twiggs, attended by his Staff, rode into the plaza. All seemed to see him at the same instant, and a simultaneous loud huzza from every man in the division greeted him. Raising his hat in

* Twiggs' division, two brigades—first, Bvt.-Brig.-Gen. P. F. Smith, Rifle Regiment, First Artillery, serving as infantry, Third Infantry, and Taylor's battery; second brigade, Col. Bennet Riley's brigade, Fourth Artillery, serving as infantry, First and Seventh Regiments of Infantry.

recognition of the greeting, he in a deep, strong voice called out, "Now a regular Cerro Gordo shout," and it came with an earnest enthusiasm, shared by the outside troops, and all assembled to witness the commencement of a movement which the whole army believed was destined to conquer peace.

Pointing down the street leading out of the Garita towards the City of Mexico, Twiggs gave the command "Forward;" his division, with drums beating and banners flying, left the plaza, and in a little time had passed the city limits. It was a thrilling spectacle, of serious and intense interest, being regarded as the beginning of an enterprise that admitted of no failure, either victory or a soldier's grave; in success, safety; in defeat, annihilation.

The advance having begun, all eyes and thoughts were turned towards the enemy's capital. No one looked back towards Orizaba, but forward upon Popocatepetl and Ixtacihuatl. Three days' march, and Popocatepetl, seen daily for five months, since the army came sailing south along the coast to Vera Cruz, was lost to view as the leading division descended the mountain slope towards the valley.

Worth's division was the first to land at Vera Cruz; Twiggs led off from that place to Jalapa; Worth from the latter to Puebla, and Twiggs was now again in the advance. It was the rule with General Scott that one of the only two regular divisions should always be in front. The engineer company headed the column.*

Quitman's, known as the volunteer division, and composed of Shields' brigade of two regiments—the New York and South Carolina volunteers—and Lieut.-Col. S. E. Watson's brigade,† in which were the Second Pennsylvania volunteers, and a detachment of United States marines, moved on the morning of the 8th. The battery of Colonel Steptoe and the heavy or siege battery, under Captain Huger, of the ordnance, accompanied this division, and a company of the Third Dragoons (Captain Gaither) escorted division headquarters.

Worth, whose division consisted of Garland's brigade, composed of the Second and Third Artillery regiments serving as

* There was but one company of engineer soldiers in the United States army.

† This officer was of the United States Marine Corps.

infantry, the Fourth Infantry, Duncan's battery, and Clarke's brigade, made up of the Fifth, Sixth, and Eighth regiments (infantry), moved from Puebla about sunrise on the 9th. Pillow's† division, the last to leave Puebla, marched on the 10th. Colonel Childs, with a small, effective garrison and the invalids, remained in command. General Scott left on the 8th, overtook Twigg's division at San Martin that night, and remained with it until the whole army reached the Valley of Mexico.

The divisions in succession made the same distances and encamped at the same places; first night at Rio Prieto; second, at San Martin; third at Rio Frio; fourth, descended into the valley, halting at different points—Twiggs' at Ayotla, Quitman at the hacienda of Buena Vista (five miles in rear), Worth at Chalco (two or three miles to the left of the road), and Pillow at Chimalpa (a mile or two beyond Chalco).

The march of Quitman's division will be referred to in detail, it being the same as that of the leading and two following divisions. The first day's march terminated at Rio Prieto (map 8), nine miles from Puebla, and so called from its blackish and indifferent water. A pretty and fertile valley extended far to the front, having Malinche off to the right and the two well-known, lofty, and often-referred-to snow mountains on the left. Halting the second night at San Martin, after a march of twelve or fourteen miles, the troops were early on the road, which was more ascending; five or six miles beyond San Martin, cultivated fields disappeared and chaparral bordered the sides. After several miles, the road crossed a stream having a deep bed, with a rapid current and spanned by a massive stone bridge, called Puente Tescmolu-can.

The head of the column had passed a mile beyond the bridge when the sound of musketry was heard in rear. A halt was ordered, and in a few minutes a soldier galloping to the front reported that the rear guard had been fired upon. An aid, Lieutenant Lovell, was sent back, and returning re-

† Consisting of the brigades of Generals Pierce and Cadwalader; in the former were the Ninth, Twelfth, and Fifteenth regiments of infantry; in the latter the Voltigeur regiment, the Eleventh and Fourteenth Infantry, and Magruder's battery.

ported that two of the small mounted rear guard had been wounded, one mortally, by a hostile party concealed in the chapparal. The march was resumed, and continued to Rio Frio, where the division bivouacked near 5 p. m. Before sundown it began to rain, and the troops suffered much from the cold, although there was an abundance of good wood. This camp was the highest in elevation between the coast and the Mexican capital, and the march, probably twenty miles, the longest. Quitman was on the march early on the 11th, and a mile beyond the Rio Frio (a small mountain stream) there was a steep rise in the road, made slippery by the rain of the previous night. There was some little delay here, it being necessary to double teams and make details of men to aid the siege train up the hill.

Beyond this point the road wound to the right and left with an ascending grade, the air was cool and bracing, the men in excellent spirits and much excited, knowing they would soon cross the highest point, be on the western or Pacific slope, and in view of the far-famed valley. The pines were neither so large nor so tall as those passed on lower elevations; the fleecy clouds were not far above our heads; through them the valley was seen but dimly, and the mountains rising up beyond inclosed what for the moment seemed to be a vast lake.

As the march continued, the clouds broke and the mists and fogs lifted, revealing to full view the portion of the valley in our immediate front. Being in the rainy season all was fresh and green; far in front and down below could be seen haciendas with picturesque enclosures and cosy hamlets, the steeples and domes of churches of Chalco, on Lake Chalco, whose smooth waters stretching far beyond, were hemmed in on the left by the mountains, and skirted by olive groves concealing straggling villages.

On arriving on the 10th at the hacienda of Buena Vista, near the base of the western slope of the mountains, the enemy was first seen, appearing in considerable force about a mile in front. Major Sumner was ordered by Colonel Harney to charge them with one squadron, and moved at a rapid pace, the remainder of the cavalry following as a support. The enemy retreating hurriedly, were not overtaken, though Sumner pursued them a mile and a half.

342 *The Guns of El Peñon Confront Scott's Army.*

The army having, without serious resistance, descended into the valley, and halted within a few days' march of the National Capital, a brief reference will be made to the former and to the latter.

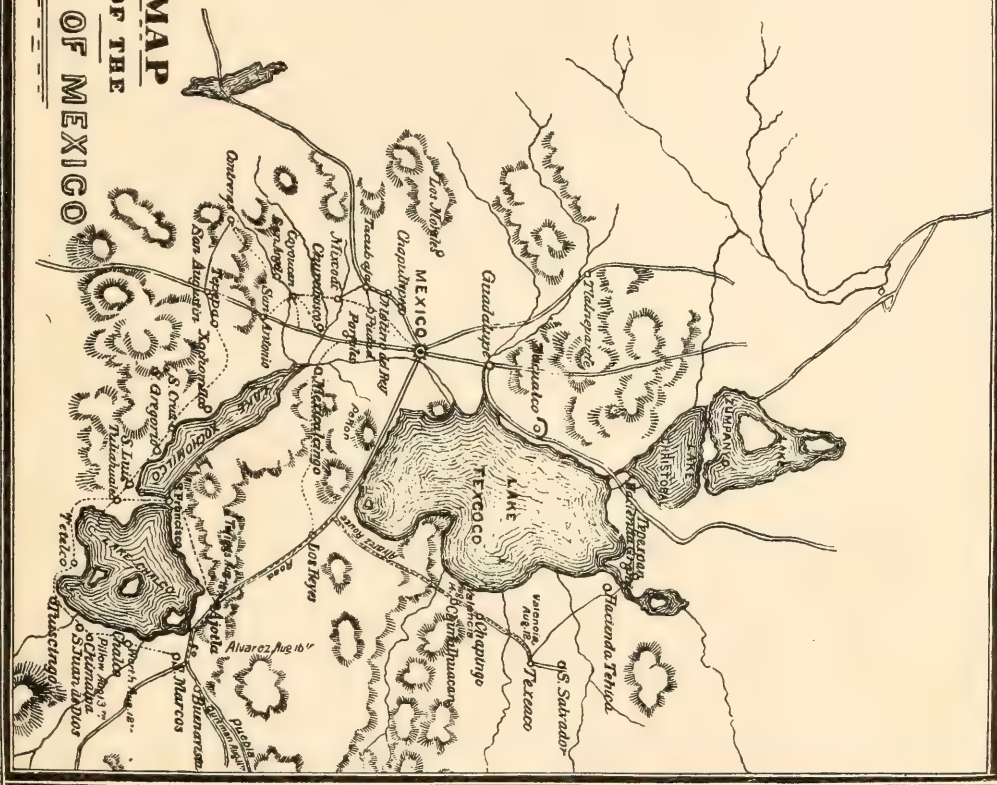
The valley, surrounded by mountains, is over 7,500 feet above sea level, elliptical in outline, the longest diameter being eighteen, the shortest twelve and a half Spanish leagues in length; its surface nearly level, with a slight declivity toward Lake Texcoco, northeast of the capital. In this valley, remarkable for fertility and abounding in fine corn, wheat, and other cereals and fruits, are five lakes; San Christobal and Zumpango being the smallest, and lying in the northern direction, Texcoco, the largest, in the eastern, Chalco in the southeast, and Xochimilco in the south, a little east of south. It has occurred at long intervals that these lakes filled during the rainy season, and swollen by floods shed from the surrounding mountains, have overflowed, their waters inundating even the capital itself; and even when this does not happen, there is always, during the winter months, a large portion of the valley submerged, rendering high causeways, bordered by deep ditches, indispensable to approach the city.

The capital is solidly and compactly built, with streets at right angles. Without the engineer's aid, it is susceptible of a good defense, as the force acting on the offensive is compelled to enter it over these causeways, seven in number; but when strengthened by the engineer's art, it becomes a formidable place, requiring both skill and courage as well as force to operate against it successfully.

As Scott's army approached from the east, it was confronted by Peñon, an immense hill of volcanic lava (map 10), seven miles from the Garita* de Lazaro. Over 300 feet high, well fortified, and with thirty guns in position, it commanded all the approaches to the causeway directly at its base; there was a battery some six or eight hundred yards in front of it on the road, and one similarly situated a like distance beyond on the side next the city. The waters of Texcoco reached the

*A Garita is a covered post at the entrance to the city by the causeway, where duties are collected, passports examined, and it is always occupied by one or more sentries.

MAP
OF THE
VALLEY OF MEXICO



causeway on the north side, and on the south the surface was inundated. To the north were rugged hills, lying between the main highway leading to the capital and Texcoco; near the latter, between it and the town of Guadalupe, were fortifications from which a causeway three miles long led to the Peralvillo Garita. The approaches in this direction were not reconnoitered, the route being regarded with little favor. South and west of Peñon was Mexicalcingo, a village on the canal, running through the city and connecting lakes Xochimilco and Texcoco.

The road to Mexicalcingo, which was well fortified, runs on a levee made by the Aztecs, leaves the main highway several miles east of Peñon, and a mile beyond, passing through the San Antonio Garita, intersects the main southern road from the capital to Acapulco, on the Pacific Ocean. About two miles in rear or east of Ayotla, a road leaves the main highway, passing through Chalco and other smaller places on the lake of that name, and skirting the southern shore of Lake Xochimilco, continues on west until it intersects the Acapulco road at San Augustin, twelve miles from the capital. The road from San Augustin to the City of Mexico was high and broad, bordered by deep ditches, filled with water, and three miles in advance was fortified at San Antonio. At the Rio Churubusco and beyond, as the city—three miles distant—is approached, ditches and marshy flats alternate.

West of the San Augustin road, which enters the city through the San Antonio Garita, are two roads parallel with it, one entering the city through the Niño Perdido Garita, the other by way of Piedad, at the Belen Gate; crossing these roads were ditches, and a line of works extended from the San Antonio to the Niño Perdido on the west and to the Candelaria Gate on the east. West of Piedad is Tacubaya, three miles from the city, and eight hundred or a thousand yards in front or east of this is Chapultepec, which, rising up over 100 feet above the plain, was well fortified, and regarded by the Mexicans as the key to the capital. It commands access to two causeways leading into the city, one (and the shorter) through the Belen Gate, near which is the Citadel, a four-sided bastion work, with flooded ditches; the other

through the San Cosme Garita ; both gates were fortified, as were also the roads connecting them with Chapultepec. The Mexican capital, founded, as supposed by the Aztecs, August 18, 1327, had at the time of the conquest by Cortez a population of 300,000, but in 1847 it was estimated to be 200,000, considerably augmented by the dwellers in the neighboring towns, villages, and haciendas.

We have previously mentioned the fact that the energetic, and in some respects, able commander of the Mexican army, on the fourth day after his defeat at Cerro Gordo wrote from Orizaba to General Anaya, the *ad interim* President, announcing his determination and ability to organize an army equal to the one with which he had confronted Scott on April 18th, and urged him to take proper measures for the public safety, first of all for the defense of the National Capital.

Upon receipt of this letter General Anaya inaugurated immediately strenuous efforts to recruit more troops and to raise means to obtain supplies, there being little or no money under his control, and he was thus engaged when Santa Anna arrived. On his entrance in the city with the debris of the Cerro Gordo army, the whole aspect of affairs changed ; symptoms of a revolution then brewing were dispelled, followed by an immediate display of great zeal and activity. The fact was painfully evident that a proper defense of the capital called for a large force, many positions and long lines were to be fortified and strengthened, to accomplish which required not only men and guns, but time and money ; of the former there was none to spare, of the latter still less, and that to be obtained only by forced contributions.

Gen. Nicholas Bravo, a division commander, was appointed General-in-Chief of the Army of the East, with Gen. Manuel Rincon second in command ; Gen. Don Gabriel Valencia to command the Army of the North, with Gen. Don Gabriel Salas as second.

The Mexican Government, confident that it was impossible for General Taylor to penetrate the interior of the country by the San Luis Potosi route, directed the Division of the North, as it was called, to march to the capital, leaving San Luis the 9th, 10th, and 11th of July. By rapid marching it reached the valley, was reunited on the 26th, at Cuauh-

titlan within twenty-eight miles of the city, and was subdivided into three commands, the First under General Mejia, composed of the Fijo of Mexico, the Actives of San Luis Potosi, the Seventh Cavalry, and the Cavalry of San Luis Potosi; the Second under General Parrodi, consisting of the Actives, Tenth and Eleventh Infantry, the Guarda Costa of Tampico, Queretaro, Celaya, Guanajuato, and the Auxiliaries of Celaya; the Third under General Salas, who, although second in rank, had requested this command, which was composed of the engineer regiment, the mixed battalion of Santa Anna, the Actives of Aguas Calientes, the Second, Third, Eighth, and Guanajuato cavalry regiments, and seven pieces of light artillery. Most of the artillery remained at San Luis Potosi, for want of draft mules, several days after the infantry and cavalry, but rejoined at Cuauhtitlan.

On the 27th General Valencia, accompanied by his Staff, called upon President Santa Anna, in the National Palace, was courteously and cordially received,* and they discussed freely the dangers threatening the country and their obligations to save it at any price.

Valencia called attention to the extreme destitution of his troops, their great need of clothing, etc., and gave freely his views on the plan of campaign, which differed widely from the President's, who, instructed possibly by experience, was for a defensive resistance, and to this end had ordered intrenchments to be made north of the capital, at that time the weakest point, while Valencia, confident and relying upon the valor of his troops, advocated the offensive and wished to attack the Americans on the march from Puebla. There were several conferences resulting in the adoption of Santa Anna's views.

Valencia's command was marched to Guadalupe, and orders given for Zacualco, a short distance from that place, to be fortified. Reconnoissances were made on the roads leading to Texcoco, San Christobal, and the mountains of the Chiquihuiti, to Zumpango, Tepozatlan, and in many other direc-

* Santa Anna had relieved Valencia the winter before, while he commanded at the Tula Pass in the State of Tamaulipas, for fear he might by some rash act compromise the coming campaign which terminated at Buena Vista.

tions, to obtain information required to enable them to adopt the best plan possible to resist and defeat the Americans in case they advanced on the capital by the Piedras Negras route.

August 8th Santa Anna reviewed the Army of the North, and Valencia, attended by his Staff, rode forward on the causeway to the Garita Peralvillo to receive him as he advanced, attended by a brilliant Staff and a numerous escort, whose richness and splendor were in marked contrast with the plain and much worn attire of the veterans of the North. After Mass was celebrated in the Church of Nuestra Señora de Guadalupe both generals rode along the lines, military bands and salvos of artillery sounded through the air, enthusiasm inspired by confidence was visible in every face and was still further aroused by the reading of the following patriotic and stirring address: "Friends and companions in arms, great is the pleasure which pervades my heart to see once more the great men of the Angostura. The enemy, intent upon sustaining the vilest aggressions, menace the lovely capital of the republic, and we return to reunite ourselves to defend and save it, and to terminate with glory the contest. The same noble pride is perceived in your countenance which you presented on that memorable day, and it is observed that you retain the strict discipline which you acquired in the long school of the frontier of the north, where your prowess and your names will never be forgotten.

"Soldiers, here as well as there, fight the advancing invader, and if the decrees of Providence shall finally be propitious, we will achieve a triumph that will give life to the country, confer additional luster on its high and well-merited fame, and be the admiration of the world. The day of the great combat is at hand. The worthy and gallant General Valencia and the same valiant chiefs who pointed to you, in the north, the road to honor amid dangers and privations, will now lead you on to battle and to victory. In exchange for your sacrifices, a name awaits you that will never die, the applause and benediction of your countrymen and the eternal gratitude of your general."

New forces were raised hurriedly, to whom arms and equipments were issued and such instruction given as the lim-

ited time would permit; powder was manufactured, cannon, cannon balls, bombs, grenades, grape-shot and musket-balls cast at the foundry under the skilled and careful direction of Lieut.-Col. D. Bruno Aguilar, and paid for with funds collected through a committee by private contribution. Many pieces of artillery were brought to the capital from distant cities and nothing was neglected to place it in the best state of defense. The spirit of the people revived, they no longer despaired, but confidently expected their arms to triumph and their honor to be vindicated.

At 2 p. m. August 9th., alarm guns were fired, giving warning of the American approach, known positively the day before. The guns brought to their various rendezvous the National Guards, composed of the Corps Victoria, Hidalgo, Independencia, and the Bravos; the first consisted of business men of the city, representing large fortunes, and arrayed in rich uniforms; the second of exempts, ardent youths, and old men who had passed their time in sedentary occupations, fathers of families with high social position and distinction; the last two corps, of the laboring classes, artisans, mechanics, all alike earnest in desire to serve their country in its pending extremity.

For the defense of the capital, there were, in addition to the Army of the North, commanded by Valencia and the National Guards just enumerated under General Anaya, other forces, regulars and irregulars; among them the cavalry of General Alvarez, composed in part of regular troops and of National Guards, organized as follows: (1) The brigade of General Terres, formed of the First Active Batallion of Mexico, of that of the Lakes and of the Second Light Infantry; (2) that of General Martinez of the Actives of Morelia, and the corps of invalids; (3) that of General Rangel, the Grenadiers of the Guard, the Mixto de Santa Anna, the San Blas, the Nationals of Morelia, and the Company of San Patricio; (4) that of General Perez, of the First, Third, and Fourth Light, and the Eleventh Infantry; (5) that of General Leon, of the Active Battalion of Oajaca, the Tenth of the Line, the Actives and Nationals of Queretaro, and the Mina of the District; (6) that of Colonel Zerecero, of various pickets of Aldama, Galeano, and Matamoros, the battalion of Acapulco, and parts

of the battalions of Tlapa and Libertad. Other corps of the South were in San Angel and Coyoacan under General Andrade, reporting directly to General Bravo, who commanded the whole line. Chiefs of artillery were General Carrera, director of arms, and Colonel Partearroyo, commandante-general of same in the army; Colonel Aguado commanded a battalion of foot, and Colonel Iglesias of horse artillery. Of serviceable pieces of artillery, there were 104; the disposable troops were about twenty thousand. Gen. Mora y Villamil was director of engineers, and the chiefs with corps who became directors and had charge of works, were Generals Liceaga and Monterde, D. Miguel Blanco, Lieutenant-Colonel Cano and the two brothers, Robles.

Of the many defensive works, some unfinished, most of them hastily constructed, those at El Peñon, laid out and constructed under supervision of Lieutenant-Colonel Robles, were regarded as the best and most important, for the reason that they would probably be the first encountered by the enemy, guarding, as they did, the entrance to the city over the main or eastern highway. To the South were the works at Mexicalcingo, San Antonio, the Convent and Tete-de-Pont at Churubusco, the latter still unfinished. On the southwest was Chapultepec, which, naturally strong, had been rendered almost impregnable by the labors of the engineer, and commanded with its artillery the road to the West, and that leading through the Garita de San Cosme. Both the San Cosme and Santo Tomas Garitas were well fortified. There were no advanced works on the north except those at the Garitas Nonalco, Vallejo, and Peralvillo.

The hopes inspired by the army, whose mission was the defense of the Mexican Capital, were not based on numbers, but on tried valor and admitted excellence. The Army of the North which composed a part of this force had been on active and prolonged service on the Rio Grande frontier, beginning in 1836, had been inured to camp life, to the fatigues and dangers of active campaigns, had encountered the Americans and were anxious to avenge past reverses. With the Army of the East were brigades entitled to consideration and from which much could be expected, although many of the rank and file came from the people without selection and had

had no experience. The National Guards were for the first time to face the dangers of the battle-field, but full of honor and pride, and meeting the enemy in front of the National Capital, as well as fighting for their homes, no one could question their valor or doubt their intention to endear themselves to their countrymen by a successful defense. In the ranks were the rich and the poor, the intelligent and the ignorant, the honored artisan, the commercial speculator, every phase and type of society, men of every opinion, of all parties, of all ages and classes, a band of united Mexicans, every family having sent a father, brother, husband, or lover.*

When the Americans approached the capital Santa Anna assumed command and all respected and obeyed his orders; the presence of the invaders at the Garitas silencing personal and political enmities and concentrating all minds on the one absorbing question—national defense.

On the evening of the 9th Twiggs encamped at Rio Frio, and the same day the brigade of General Leon, formed of the Active Battalion of Oajaca, the Tenth of the Line, the Actives and Nationals of Queretaro, and the Mina of the National Guard of the District, marched for El Peñon. The people crowded the way, the troops, whose soldierly appearance inspired all with pride and confidence, marched with martial music, the greatest enthusiasm prevailed, and the air resounded with loud cheers to the army, to Santa Anna, and to the republic. The harmony prevailing encouraged the best hopes for the nation, its independence, its regeneration, its achievement and maintenance of a place worthy of itself on the continent* of Columbus.

The brigade of General Anaya, in which were the Independencia, Bravos, Victoria, and Hidalgo, marched for El Peñon on the 10th (the day Twiggs' division reached Ayotla) and in these corps of citizens (we may call them volunteers) were found elegant young men, venerable sires, representatives of the people in the tribune, illustrious scholars and modest artisans. To this brigade and to General Leon's was assigned the post of honor, for it was supposed they would be the first to meet the American army. To witness their departure from the

*Mexican history.

capital the Grand Plaza was crowded with people, and the balconies and azoteas of the palace and neighboring buildings were filled with the relatives and friends of the gallant band, and as it marched from the plaza, bearing the benedictions of all, the martial strains of national airs mingled with thousands of vivas.

The troops causing such a demonstration knew nothing of war, were on their first march, and arriving at their destination in a drenching rain with limited camp equipage, were in the greatest discomfort. It is readily inferred that they were not equal to a contest with the rank and file of Scott's army, however much personal courage they may have possessed.

On the 11th Santa Anna rode out from the capital attended by a numerous escort and a brilliant Staff and reviewed the troops. His presence in camp naturally attracted crowds from the city, and there were hundreds of carriages filled with ladies—mothers, wives, sisters and *amantes* of the soldiers. The day was enchanting, a festival air pervaded the encampment; all was animation, and hopeful and confident they believed success was certain and cheerfully accepted hardships and discomforts.

The reported advance of the enemy having been confirmed, the Army of the North—Valencia's command—was ordered to move north and east of the capital to the town of Texcoco, from which the right flank and rear of the American army could be harassed or attacked. To General Bravo was assigned the line of Mexicalcingo, Churubusco, and San Antonio; Gen. Don Juan Alvarez with his division of cavalry to take post at Nanacamilla, to gain the rear of the enemy and intercept his communication with Puebla as soon as he should cross the San Martin Tescmelucan. Don Manuel Rincon was placed in command of El Peñon, believed to be the first point of attack; Alvarez, with his cavalry division, to fight the enemy on the march. Should Valencia be attacked at Texcoco he was to fall back to the intrenchment at Guadalupe.

The march to Texcoco was begun early on the 10th; Valencia's forces carried with them twenty-two guns and numbered 4,000 exclusive of the artillery. He ordered Chief Engineer General Blanco to continue the works at Zacualco and finish them as quickly as possible. His troops passed the

night of the 10th at Tepespa and the Hacienda Grande. On the 11th, at 2 p. m., the cavalry was at Texcoco, the infantry remaining in the Hacienda Grande and Chica until the morning of the 12th, and then marched to that town. The three advanced divisions of Scott's army had reached the valley by this day. A large Mexican picket force occupied the Hacienda of Chapingo, with smaller detachments posted on all paths and roads connecting with the Puebla road. Mules were harnessed, horses tied, and the troops remained compact, everything being ready to move at a moment's notice. Reconnoissances were made to the mountains of Chimalhuacan and from thence to the Mill of Flores; the pickets were on the alert, and the moment the Americans began the attack upon Peñon, they were to be attacked in turn on their right flank and rear.

General Scott, having with him the engineer officers, accompanied the leading division of the army on its descent into the valley and halted it at Ayotla, where he established his headquarters. Many roads leading to the city diverging from it made it a central and convenient point from which to make reconnoissances. An inspection of the map shows that the direct road from Ayotla runs by way of Peñon into the city; at Los Reyes, a short distance from Ayotla, a second road bears off to the left and leads there by way of Mexicalcingo (near the same place, Los Reyes); a third road leads to the right, east of Lake Texcoco, to the town of that name, thence by way of Guadalupe to the city, and immediately at Ayotla a fourth road skirts the west shore of Chalco and intersects the road (on which the army marched) east of that lake, about midway between the towns of Chalco and San Augustin. General Scott knew of these advantages of Ayotla, and took proper measures to secure speedily all needed information.

Before sunrise of the 12th the engineers, Captains Lee and James L. Mason, with Lieut. I. I. Stevens, went out to reconnoiter El Peñon, while Maj. John L. Smith, the senior engineer with the army, and Lieutenants Beauregard and Tower, took the road to the right towards Texcoco. In the afternoon Lee and Beauregard rode along the north and west shore of Lake Chalco as far as the village of San Francisco,

situated on the main road between Lakes Chalco and Xochimilco, and ascertained that the road on the east and south shore of the former was practicable, thus corroborating reports received before leaving Puebla.

"On the 12th* a heavy dust being seen in the direction of the American camp, they were reported to be advancing; the alarm was given, the different battalions were soon under arms, and an attack was expected, but it proved to be only a reconnoissance, the first made by Scott's engineers with strong supporting force." On the 13th Captain Mason, with Lieutenants Beauregard, Stevens and George B. McClellan, was sent towards Mexicalcingo, Stevens to continue his observations on the Peñon, while the other three examined the former. Captain Lee and Lieutenant Tower re-examined the vicinity of Chalco, going over the same road as on the previous afternoon, and then joined their comrades in front of Mexicalcingo.† On the 12th General Scott sent verbal instructions to General Worth, whose headquarters were at Chalco, to push reconnoissances around the southern shore of Chalco and Xochimilco, and written orders were sent to him on the 13th to the same effect; the reconnoissance was made on the 14th, and the road reported practicable.

The opinion of the American engineers, based upon their reconnoissance of the 12th, was "El Peñon could be taken, but at a great and disproportionate loss." In the second reconnoissance, made the 13th, the engineers advanced with a strong supporting force towards Peñon, and at the hamlet of Los Reyes bore off to the left following the road to Mexicalcingo, five miles south and a little west of Peñon. Mexicalcingo is at the intersection of the canal, from Xochimilco by way of the city to Lake Texcoco, with the road on which the engineers were moving, and this road crosses nearly at right angle beyond Mexicalcingo, the highway from San Augustin by way of San Antonio and Churubusco to the city.

A company of dragoons and the rifle regiment escorted the engineers, and the remainder of Smith's brigade remained in

* Mexican history.

† This reconnoissance of Mexicalcingo was characterized by General Scott as the boldest made during the whole war.

observation near Peñon, while Lieutenant Stevens continued his examination of it. General Scott was with his engineers this day as on the 12th, and of this reconnoissance, he says : "It would have been easy (masking Peñon) to force this passage, but on the other side of the bridge we should have found ourselves four miles from this (San Augustin) road on a narrow causeway, flanked on the right and left by water or boggy ground.

"Those difficulties closely viewed threw me back upon the project long entertained of turning the strong eastern defenses of the city by passing around south of Lakes Chalco and Xochimilco, at the foot of the hills and mountains, so as to reach this point, and hence to manoeuvre on hard ground, though much broken, to the south and southwest of the capital, which has been more or less under our view since the 10th inst.

"Accordingly, by sudden inversion, Worth's division with Harney's cavalry brigade leading, we marched on the 15th inst. Pillow's and Quitman's divisions followed closely, and then Twiggs' division, which was left until the next day at Ayotla, in order to threaten the Peñon and Mexicalcingo and to deceive the enemy as long as practicable."

In the march around Lake Chalco on the 15th Worth's division (map X) bivouacked at a small village, Tetelco; Pillow's a short distance in rear, at Chimalpa; Quitman's at Chalco, while Twiggs' remained still at Ayotla.

On the same day (15th) General Santa Anna addressed the following communication to General Valencia at Texcoco : "By repeated dispatches which have reached these headquarters (Peñon) it is positively known that the enemy has concentrated all his forces at Chalco and its vicinity, leaving but 1,000 men with six pieces of artillery at Ayotla, who are very soon to follow the movement of the rest of the army, and that the theatre of the war will undoubtedly be the line of San Antonio, since the enemy is about to commence his march to Tlalpam (San Augustin it is also called). His Excellency the President *ad interim* and general-in-chief deems it necessary therefore to strengthen that point by concentrating thither the most select portions of the army with a view to a general battle. He therefore desires me to direct Your Ex-

cellency to countermarch the army under your command tomorrow to Guadalupe Hidalgo, whence you will proceed to Coyoacan to await further orders. General Alvarez has been directed to occupy Ayotla as soon as the enemy vacates it and to follow in his rear to Chalco, which he will occupy in like manner, in order that we may have a respectable force in that quarter with which to annoy him and to intercept his communications with Puebla."

Early in the morning of the 16th, General Twiggs having seen his trains drawn out and in motion on the road to Chalco, thence to follow in rear of Quitman's division, formed his troops and began the march. As the head of his column approached the point where the road to Chalco turned off to the right, a division (Alvarez's troops) of the enemy was seen at the hacienda of Oka Laka, a half mile to the left.

Santa Anna, quickly apprised of the march of the Americans around Chalco, and as he conjectured upon San Augustin, and that Ayotla was still held, ordered up the cavalry of Alvarez under General Torrejon, and by dawn of the 16th they were near the rear of Twiggs, then following the other divisions of the army.

Owing to a heavy rainfall Valencia did not arrive at Guadalupe until 3 a. m., then resting a few hours resumed the march, and by 11 a. m. the head of the column was at San Angel; Torrejon had been recalled and reached Guadalupe an hour in advance of the infantry. When the cavalry under Torrejon threatened the left flank of Twiggs, the light battery of Captain Taylor was advanced to meet them, unlimbered, opened fire and continued it some fifteen or twenty minutes when the enemy retired, leaving upon the field one officer and six men killed.

Quitman, whose command bivouacked the night of the 15th near Chalco, resumed the march early on the 16th, and soon had his attention called to the sound of artillery in his rear, which proved to be the affair at Oka Laka. The long, well-dressed lines, gleaming lances, and rippling banners of the Mexican Lancers were seen by him and Staff as they moved down the declivity of the mountain towards Twiggs' flank.

Worth at the head of the column was under march at an early hour the 16th, and passed through the small villages of

San Juan and Tulancingo, abounding in olive groves. A short distance beyond the latter, from the crest of a mound, the City of Mexico with its multitude of church domes and steeples could be seen, the Mexican flag still waving over the Peñon; the march was continued to the town of San Gregorio, where Worth bivouacked. Pillow's division halted at Tulancingo, Quitman's at Tetelco, and Twiggs' a short distance in rear of the latter.

Early on the 17th Worth was again on the march. Beyond San Gregorio the border of Xochimilco was skirted, and here obstructions in the road were first encountered, a ditch having been dug across it, and large stones rolled down from the hillside; but these obstacles were soon overcome by the engineer company with a detail from the leading brigade, while the Mexicans, who were firing from the heights above, were driven off by Col. C. F. Smith's light battalion. The head of the column was halted some two miles from San Augustin, and during the rest, Capt. George A. H. Blake, Second Dragoons, in command of the advance guard, moved forward, entered and took possession of the town after a skirmish with the enemy. The column then moved on and Worth bivouacked that night (17th) in San Augustin, Pillow at Xochimilco, four miles in rear, Quitman at Tuliahualco, and Twiggs close in his rear.

San Augustin, known at the time of the Spanish Conquest by the name of Tlalpam, became the depot, and may be regarded as the base for the time of the American army. Situated at the foot of the mountains, twelve miles south of the city, on the highway leading to Acapulco on the Pacific, it is sufficiently elevated above the level of the valley to be above inundation, and is a healthy and pleasant residence. A fashionable resort, often the scene of social gaieties, it was crowded to excess the afternoon of the 17th of August, many wealthy and fashionable families from the city being of the number. They had gone there not for recreation only, but to escape from the scene of strife; and unfortunately, suddenly found themselves in the midst of the invaders.

General Scott, having reversed his columns and commenced the turning movement around the lakes on the 15th, Santa Anna ordered Valencia to retire on the 16th from the vicinity

of Texcoco and march via Guadalupe and the capital to San Angel; General Anaya to march the night of the 17th to Churubusco; General Bravo (in command of the line extending from Mexicalcingo, via Churubusco), to San Antonio, and General Rincon to follow Anaya.

Santa Anna in person changed his headquarters to Churubusco, and the brigade of Perez, 3,000 strong, was ordered to Coyoacan.

Mexican authorities admit that Santa Anna and his generals were greatly disappointed in not being attacked at the Peñon, where they were well prepared, and where the skill of the engineer, Robles, exerted in vain, was expected to accomplish great results. They were prompt, however, to change the position of their troops so as to confront those of Scott, now threatening the capital from the south. Mexicalcingo, under General Garcia, became the* left of the new line; San Angel, under Valencia, the right; Coyoacan was held by Perez, and the Convent of San Pablo and *tete-de-pont* of Churubusco by Anaya. San Antonio, well fortified, was in front of the *tete-de-pont* and guarded the left of Coyoacan. The several points now held by Santa Anna lay contiguous, and were connected with good roads, by means of which his troops could act both promptly and advantageously.

General Valencia's troops, he preceding them in a coach, arrived from Texcoco on the 17th at San Angel, where he mounted his horse and sallied out on a reconnoissance, following the road to Padierna, thence across the *pedrigal* towards San Augustin. He examined carefully and made inquiries as to the practicability of the *pedrigal* for artillery, determined to place batteries on the open ridge or hill called Pelon Cuauhtitlan, and ordered the engineers, Cadena and Segura, with Gen. Gonzalez de Mendoza and Don Jose Mario (a person of known skill) to make a detailed and thorough reconnoissance.

His soldiers were received with the greatest hospitality by the citizens of San Angel, all houses being thrown open to the veterans from the north, as they were called. While en-

* Mexicalcingo, the *Tete-de-pont*, the convent, and San Antonio were fortified.

gaged in reconnoitering between Padierna and San Augustin, D. Antonio del Rio, prefect of San Augustin, joined him and reported that the Americans had entered the town and that a small party had moved out a short distance towards Peña Pobre. This was Captain Blake's company, Second Dragoons, accompanied by Captain Mason, of the engineers.

CHAPTER XVI.

THE BATTLE OF CONTRERAS, CALLED BY MEXICANS THE BATTLE OF PADIERNA.

In the morning of the 18th Worth's division, preceded by Harney's cavalry, moved from San Augustin, on the main highway leading north to the Mexican capital, twelve miles distant, with orders to reconnoiter, "mask or carry" San Antonio, three miles in advance, and halted about one mile in front of it near the Hacienda of Coapa.

The other divisions of the army moved up, Pillow's to San Augustin, Quitman's to within three-fourths of a mile of it, and Twiggs' a short distance in Quitman's rear. A reconnoissance in the direction of Padierna, four miles due west of San Augustin, and situated on one of the principal roads to the city, was ordered to be made by Capt. R. E. Lee, assisted by Lieutenant Beauregard, and supported by two companies of the Eleventh Infantry under Lieut.-Col. Wm. M. Graham, and Capt. Phil. Kearny's company of the First Dragoons. The reconnoissance of San Antonio was made by Capt. Mason, assisted by Lieutenants Stevens, Tower, G. W. Smith, McClellan, and Foster, and accompanied by Capt. Seth B. Thornton, of the Second Dragoons.

On turning a bend in the road this party came within full view of a battery of heavy guns, about 800 yards in front, were fired upon, Thornton* killed, and the guide, Fitzwater, wounded. This was the first cannon fired in the Val-

* The fate of Captain Thornton was peculiarly touching. The capture of his small party on the Rio Grande was the first reverse to American arms, and his death, August 18, 1847, was the first loss sustained by the American troops in the Valley.

ley by the Mexicans, the cavalry company retired several hundred yards, and closer reconnoissances were commenced at once.

The battery on the road, found to be strongly intrenched, swept it with its fire, also the marshy ground to the right, and the *pedrigal* to the left. The term *pedrigal* is applied to a field of lava or volcanic rock, of uneven surface, over which there were a few foot paths; it lay between the roads running from San Augustin and Padierna to the capital; in a north and south direction was five or six miles long; not quite as great in length east and west.

Right of the road at San Antonio, on both sides of which were ditches filled with water, the enemy had strengthened his line, which extended only to the *pedrigal*, by works consisting of redans and lunettes connected by parapets, extending northeast over half a mile towards Mexicalcingo. The *pedrigal* was entirely impracticable for artillery and cavalry, and could be crossed by infantry only in open order; to the right the ground was boggy, and much of it under water. Such was the report of the engineers, Mason having examined the left and Stevens the right of the road.

Lee and Beauregard reported that the *pedrigal* intervening between San Augustin and Padierna could be crossed for a little over a mile by wagons, but the remainder of the distance was practicable for infantry only, each man picking his way, for well-formed and in compact order they could not cross it. They further reported the enemy in position beyond the *pedrigal*, with artillery commanding its surface to the extent of the range of their guns, many of which were of large calibre, but that a road over the *pedrigal* could be made, the one leading by the enemy's intrenched position into the city reached, his left turned, his rear attacked, and his communications with the capital thus intercepted.

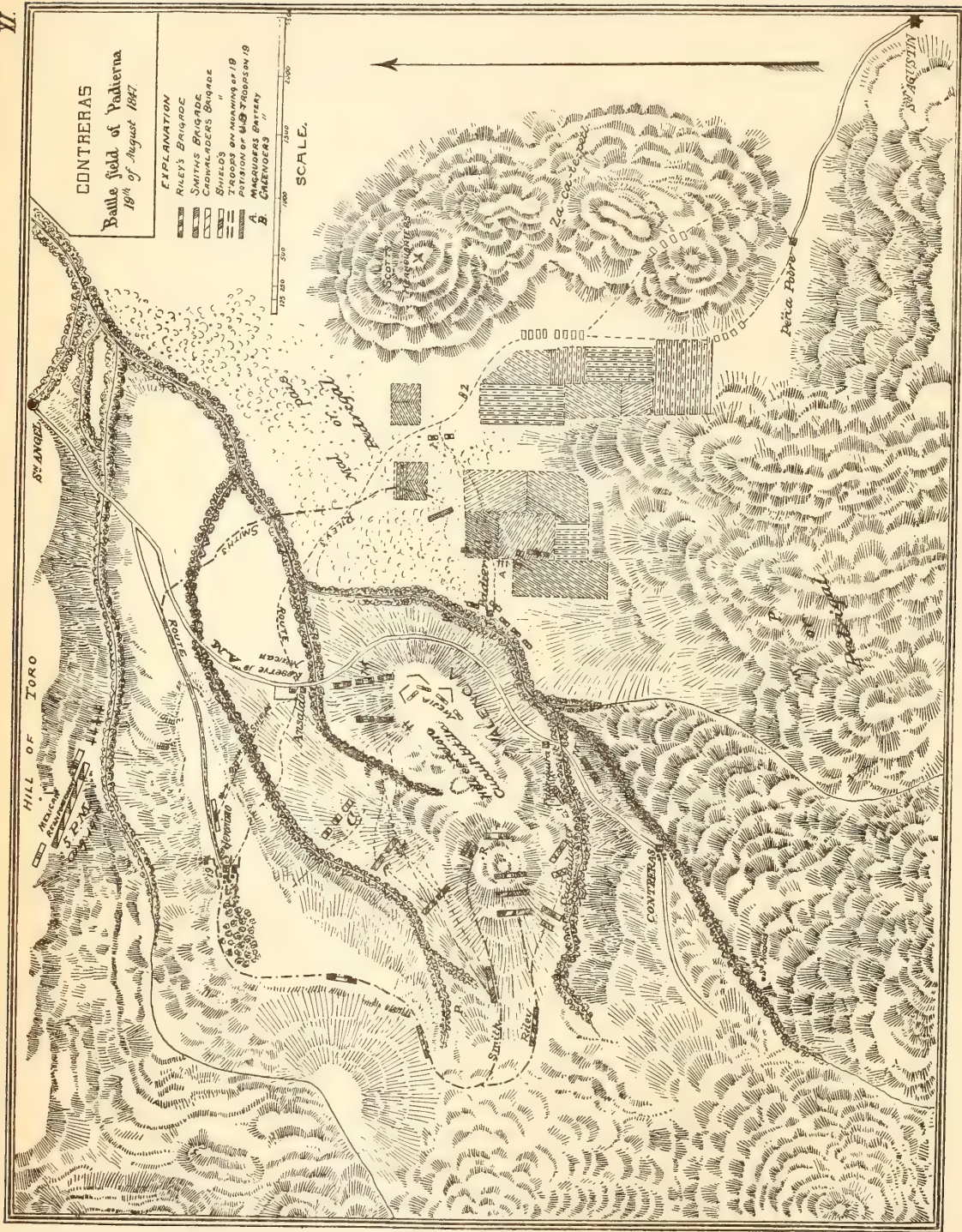
Lee and Beauregard had gone over half the distance between San Augustin and Padierna before they were met by the enemy's pickets—guerrillas under Reynosa—between whom and the escort there was a slight collision. After hearing the reports of the engineers made in San Augustin, General Scott determined the night of the 18th to move in the direction of Padierna; ordered Worth to mask San Antonio,

Quitman to hold San Augustin, the depot, hospital, etc., while Pillow was to make the road over the *pedrigal*, and Twiggs to cover the operation with his division. General Scott issued these orders after listening attentively to the reports of his engineers and duly weighing the discussions that followed between himself and the general officers at his headquarters.

In the early morning of the 18th Valencia ordered General Blanco with the Sappers to construct batteries and General Mejia to take post with his brigade on the Pelon Cuauhtitlan. Santa Anna, through the Minister of War, wrote from San Antonio to General Valencia at San Angel: "The general-in-chief directs me to say to Your Excellency that the enemy having now (18th at 3 p. m.) taken up a position on our left, in front of San Antonio, with a part of his forces, it is clear that to-morrow, at the latest, he will undertake the attack of this fortification, although it appears there is a movement going on at the same time on our right. His Excellency therefore directs you at daylight to-morrow morning to fall back with your forces to Coyoacan and send forward your artillery to the Fort and the *tete-de-pont* at Churubusco."

Valencia disobeyed this order, writing to his commanding general as follows: "I should like much to be able to obey this order, but in view of present circumstances my conscience as a military man and my patriotism will not permit me. I believe the national cause will be lost if I should abandon these positions and the road leading from San Augustin through Padierna to these points. To me it is as clear as the light of day that the enemy will undertake his attack if not to-morrow the day after, and that he desires to make two attacks at the same time, the one true and the other false, and that should he find at the commencement of his movements one of the points of attack abandoned, as this, for instance, he will pass by this route with all his forces, and thus be enabled to assail our flank and turn our rear, or, if he prefer it, he may pass on without obstruction to the City of Mexico."

It is stated that General Valencia, although writing as above to his commanding officer, was disposed to obey the order if reiterated, and after his own cursory reconnoissance on the 17th ordered two skilled engineers, Cadena and Segura, accompanied by General Mendoza and Jose Mario, to make a



thorough examination. General Mendoza reported "That Padierna was absolutely indefensible, and that it was believed best to retire for reasons expressed in his note."

Having declined to obey his chief's order, Valencia promptly made such disposition of his forces as would best meet, in his opinion, the impending danger. At the earliest dawn of the 19th, the streets of San Angel were thronged with soldiers and with crowds of citizens, friends and kindred; inspiring music and noisy *vivas* were heard, until with the sound of trumpets the main body of his army in all the pomp of triumph was in line of march for the field of Padierna. Valencia is represented to have been a man of martial bearing and captivating manners, who inspired his subordinates with confidence and admiration. Leaving San Angel, he despatched Colonel Barreiro to Zacatepetl to observe and report the movements of the Americans, and on arrival at the batteries ordered the following disposition of his forces: In the Rancho of Padierna, at the edge of the rugged *pedrigal*, the First Regiment (map XI) of the Line, under D. Nicholas Mendoza; covering the front of this force, at some distance, a detachment of infantry¹ under Captain Solis, and still further forward a detachment² of the Seventh Cavalry; to the left of Padierna, the corps of San Luis Potosi; to the right, the Auxiliaries and Actives of Celaya, Guanajuato, and Queretaro, in the order named, comprising the brigade of Lieutenant-Colonel Cabrera; on the ridge in rear of Pelon Cuauhtitlan were the batteries and the brigade of General Mejia.

In the second line, in rear of Mejia, were the Tenth and Twelfth Battalions, Fijo of Mexico and the Guarda Costa of Tampico. The reserve, posted in Auzaldo, consisted of the Sappers, the Mixto de Santa Anna and Aguas Calientes, with part of the cavalry, the Second, Third, and Eighth of the Line, and the Actives of Guanajuato, all under General Salas; supporting the right of his line were two regiments, the Seventh and the San Luis.

Between 12 and 1 o'clock, Colonel Barreiro reported the Americans to be moving over the mountain of Zacatepetl and the *pedrigal*. These were Twiggs' and Pillow's divisions; a part of the former crossed over Zacatepetl, and the latter moved on the *pedrigal*.

Padierna, the extreme right of the Mexican army, is four miles west of San Augustin; and for a mile and a half there was a wagon road practicable only as far as a Rancho, known on the Mexican maps as Peña Pobre, near the southern end of the high, rocky mound, Zacatepetl, which rises from the *pedrigal* over 100 feet, and is a half mile long. A bridle-path from Peña Pobre winds around the southern end of Zacatepetl, then leads north several hundred yards, turns due west and crosses with many sharp turns, to the right and left, the *pedrigal*, on which is Padierna with its humble dwellings of adobe, and just beyond it a small stream flowing from the mountains on the south. A mile below Padierna this stream unites with a similar one, north of which and several hundred yards from its junction is Auzaldo. Northwest of this, six or eight hundred yards, is San Geronimo; less than a half mile southwest of Padierna is Magdalena, and a like distance above the latter is Contreras. Following the path through Padierna, and crossing the little stream, we strike the road leading from Contreras, by way of Magdalena, Auzaldo, San Angel, Coyoacan and Churubusco, to the city. In rear of the road the surface rises up into an open ridge (Pelon Cuauhtitlan), ascending towards the mountains, and on this Valencia posted the guns that swept with their fire the whole surface of the *pedrigal* towards San Augustin.

Early in the morning of the 19th Santa Anna ordered the battalions of Hidalgo and Victoria forward from Churubusco to San Antonio, believing that point to be the most seriously threatened, and Pillow's division was moved out from San Augustin on the road to Padierna, to be covered by Twiggs'* division as soon as it could reach the front. The engineer company was recalled from Worth, and with a working party of 500 men detailed from Pillow's division was ordered to make the road to Padierna practicable for artillery. The work thereon was under the supervision of engineer officers, and while it was being opened General Scott notified Pillow that Valencia was placing heavy guns in position, and he

* When Twiggs moved, following Quitman, and passed on beyond San Augustin, Alvarez closed upon the rear, his pickets being less than a mile from San Augustin; he held the road over which Scott had marched around the lakes

might anticipate interruption of his work, but to push it forward and finish the road as far as practicable without engaging the enemy. General Twiggs was to move to the front and keep the enemy back, and in the event of the action becoming serious Pillow was to support Twiggs with his whole division.

Before the road was made practicable half the distance beyond Peña Pobre, at a turn to the left, Twiggs' division passed Pillow's and approached the advanced posts of the enemy. Capt. John McClellan, of the Topographical Engineers, and Lieut. George B. McClellan, Engineer Company, rode to the front to reconnoiter, and were fired upon by the Mexican advanced pickets, the Seventh Cavalry, wounding Lieutenant McClellan's horse. Gen. Persifor F. Smith ordered the Mounted Rifle Regiment under Maj. W. W. Loring to drive in the Mexican pickets, and a section of Magruder's battery under Lieut. Preston Johnstone to co-operate. These two guns were conducted into position by Lieutenant McClellan, and had hardly unlimbered when they received a fire from the enemy's guns in position on the elevated ridge beyond Padierna. The remainder of Smith's brigade and the other section of Magruder's battery moved forward, and the Mexican advanced force, Seventh Cavalry, and an infantry force under Solis, supported by the First of the Line, was driven back close to their main works, near which General Parrodi was wounded, and left the field. Lieut. J. G. Foster, of the Engineer Company, conducted the mountain howitzer battery into a sheltered position, from which it fired with effect. When Smith's brigade advanced as described, the Engineer company, under Lieut. G. W. Smith, went into action with the Third Infantry of that brigade.

Riley was ordered to the right and front over the *pedrigal* to the village of San Geronimo, to take a position, if possible, in the enemy's rear. Lieut. Z. B. Tower accompanied Riley's brigade in its forward movement and remained with it until after the battle the morning (map XI) of the 20th. From the crest of Zacatepetl Riley's movement could be seen, and as it demonstrated the practicability of the *pedrigal*, Cadwalader's brigade was ordered as a support to him. Shortly after, General Scott, seeing reinforcements approaching Val-

encia from the capital, ordered one regiment of Pierce's brigade (the Fifteenth Infantry, Colonel Morgan), conducted by Lieutenant Beauregard, to move forward and occupy San Geronimo; and a little later General Shields, with the New York and Palmetto regiments, just arrived on the field from Quitman's command, was ordered to follow and sustain Morgan.

General Smith, as no further advantage could be gained in his front, moved to his right and front across the *pedrigal*, leaving detachments from the Mounted Rifles and Third Infantry to guard the guns of Magruder and Callender, which were ordered to open fire as he moved off by the right flank, the Rifles, with the engineer company at their head, leading. The march was directed towards a church in San Geronimo, the steeples of which were plainly visible, Lieut. G. W. Smith conducting the brigade, and as it reached the village of San Geronimo a large Mexican force was seen on the crest of a high ridge, off to the right some six or eight hundred yards. Pierce's brigade (less Morgan's regiment) was ordered directly to the front, to the position vacated by Smith's brigade, and advanced under a heavy fire from the enemy's artillery. General Pierce being temporarily disabled by the fall of his horse, Colonel Ransom, Ninth Infantry, led the regiments forward, conducted by Lieutenant I. I. Stevens, to the right and front of Magruder's battery. Uniting with the detachment left by General Smith, Ransom pressed forward, seized Padierna, and, driving General Mendoza from it, remained at Padierna. This advance of Ransom was to divert the attention of Valencia from the brigades already over the *pedrigal* and near San Geronimo.

As the brigade of General Smith approached the village, Lieut. G. W. Smith was ordered forward to reconnoitre it and to ascertain the position of Riley's brigade. He found the village to be a strong defensive position, but Riley had gone beyond and was not seen. General Smith contemplated attacking the Mexican force seen while crossing the *pedrigal*, and was now on the hill of Toro off to the right, but a deep and wide barranca intervened, and this, with the near approach of night, caused him to abandon his purpose. This menacing force used their artillery for a short time without effect.

Riley's brigade was the first to pass the *pedrigal*, and as it escaped from it, crossed a small stream and occupied the road beyond, with Captain Drum's company, Fourth Artillery, deployed as skirmishers. A detachment of lancers, escorting a small mule train, was encountered, the train captured, a few of the escort killed, and the survivors dispersed. The brigade moved on until the advance regiment reached a ravine on the right of San Geronimo, which was crossed by Drum to meet and drive back a second body of lancers. Riley now passed through the village, and Captain Wessells' company was detached to cover a reconnoissance made by Captain Canby, A. A. G., and Lieutenant Tower in direction of Valencia's camp. Further to the right, Capt. Silas Casey's company engaged a body of lancers, supposed to be the Guanajuato regiment, and repulsed them with a loss of both men and horses. Several of Casey's men were wounded. A Mexican cavalry force threatening Wessells. he attacked, drove it off, and was then ordered to hold his position and observe and report any movement of the enemy from his intrenchments.

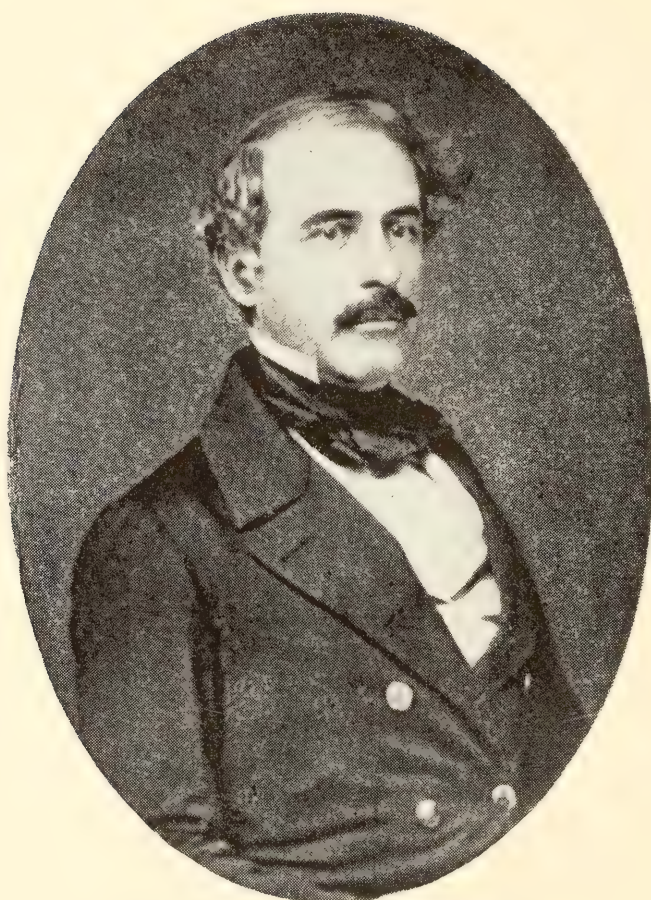
Riley seeing a large force of lancers on his right, ordered the Second Infantry, under Capt. T. Morris, and the greater portion of the Seventh Infantry, under Lieut.-Col. Joseph Plympton, to advance against it. A brisk fire of artillery opened upon them from Valencia's position, and aided by this the lancers made several charges, but were repulsed with considerable loss. This cavalry force, two regiments, was commanded by Brigadier-General Frontera, who was killed leading the charge, and fell close to the Americans. Valencia had ordered Frontera to attack with these regiments, and with Torrejon to repulse the Americans. Riley apprehending no further trouble in that direction, moved the brigade into a ravine that protected it from Valencia's artillery and remained there some time, expecting an attack to be made upon the enemy's position, but none, however, was made, and finding his right flank and rear threatened by an overwhelming force he withdrew to the village of San Geronimo to re-establish communication with the troops in rear. This • retrograde movement began with the right of the brigade and was skillfully and gallantly covered by a battalion of the

Seventh Infantry, under Capt. Charles Hanson. The battalion was comprised of his own, Captain Henshaw's company, and one under Second Lieut. S. B. Maxey. On reaching the village it was found to be occupied by Cadwalader's and Smith's brigades and the Fifteenth Regiment of Pierce's brigade, under Colonel Morgan.

The movement of Riley's brigade, after crossing the *pedrigal*, displayed much skill and courage, being in the presence of a large hostile force and without support. The Second Infantry formed square to repel the charge of Mexican cavalry. Among the wounded (fifteen or twenty) were Capt. J. W. Anderson and First Lieut. C. S. Lovell, of the Second, and First Lieut. Charles Humber, of the Seventh Infantry, the latter by a fragment of shell in the face.

As Cadwalader's brigade drew near San Geronimo, a heavy Mexican reinforcement was seen coming up the road from the city and he made immediate dispositions for defense, being joined by the Fifteenth Infantry. The Eleventh, thrown forward down the road towards the enemy, delivered a volley from three of its companies and drove back a body of cavalry supporting a reconnoitering party. Riley's brigade, Cadwalader's, and Smith's just arriving, caused the Mexican reinforcement to halt.

When 'Twiggs' division displayed on the *pedrigal* and drove in the Mexican advanced forces, Valencia despatched (about 2 p. m.) one of his aides to General Santa Anna at San Antonio, reported the enemy approaching Padierna, the artillery to be firing, and that the battle had commenced. This report inspired Santa Anna with anxious forebodings, and, sending an aide at once to Coyoacan with orders to General Perez to march his brigade immediately to Padierna, he set out at a gallop to join him, having with him the regiments of Hussars and the Second Regiment of Vera Cruz, together with five pieces of artillery. He arrived at Coyoacan as Perez's command was filing out towards Padierna, and directed that they march at an accelerated pace. This was the force seen about 5 p. m. approaching from the city, which halted on the hill of Toro, and having cavalry on its flank, displayed in line with music and vivas, and threatened the Americans, but made no attack, only fired a few shots from the battery.



ROBERT E. LEE,

CAPTAIN, U. S. ENGINEERS.

BORN IN AND APPOINTED FROM VIRGINIA.

About dusk of the 19th General Smith found himself in the village of San Geronimo with three brigades, his own, General Cadwalader's, and Bvt.-Col. Bennet Riley with the Fifteenth Infantry of Pierce's brigade, having Valencia on one flank, and a large Mexican force on the other, reinforcements now known to have been sent Valencia by Santa Anna. General Smith had neither artillery nor cavalry, nor did any officer with him have a horse, although among them were several brigade and regimental commanders, who having served in the war of 1812 were well advanced in years. Besides there was no communication with other portions of the army, save over the *pedrigal*, tedious and difficult by daylight, and well nigh impossible at night, and this night was unusually dark and dismal, a cold rain falling.

Learning from Colonel Riley that the rear of Valencia could be reached without difficulty, he determined to attack him as soon after daylight as possible, carry his works and the batteries commanding the path across the *pedrigal*, and thus restore communications with the main army. The troops were disposed in the following order for the night: Cadwalader in the outer edge of the village, Riley's brigade parallel to it in line inside, the Rifles on his right, and the Third Infantry in the church-yard. The troops were without shelter or fire, and it rained most of the night. Lieut. Z. B. Tower (engineers) reported at this time that he had been in the ravine to the rear of the enemy's position, and that though difficult, it was practicable.

After dark Capt. R. E. Lee* arrived at the headquarters of General Smith, in the church of the village, bearing a request from General Scott, sent about sundown from Zacatepetl, to be informed as to the exact condition of affairs beyond the *pedrigal*. The position of the enemy, as well as that of the three brigades, was explained to Captain Lee, who was requested to inform General Scott of his (Smith's) intention to assail the rear of Valencia's line at daylight,

* Subsequently superintendent of the Military Academy at West Point, commander of the Confederate Army, at his death president of Washington and Lee University, the idol of the Southern people and acknowledged by impartial minds all the world over to be one of the greatest and purest men of modern times.

commencing the movement from the village at 3 a. m., and his wish for a strong diversion to be made on Valencia's front.

General Smith now informed the brigade commanders of the plan and order of attack, and directed them to have their several commands formed with the heads of columns resting on the path by which they were to march by 2:30 a. m. Shields who had reported about midnight was directed to hold the village and cut off the retreat of the enemy, when defeated, or to take in flank the reserves (seen before night) if they advanced to attack him (Smith) before or while engaging Valencia.

During the 19th Worth masked San Antonio, and Captain Mason made a detailed reconnoissance of the *pedrigal* on the left (American) of the road, reported it practicable for infantry, though rough, and that there was a path by which they could move and turn the intrenched position at San Antonio.

After dark Colonel Ransom fell back from Padierna to Magruder's battery, leaving there a few men of this brigade. Valencia was on the alert, and, learning that Padierna was abandoned, ordered Cabrera's brigade forward to reoccupy it. A spirited engagement took place between Commandant Zimavilla with his battalion and Ransom's men, the former being aided by a fire of artillery. Two companies of the Third Infantry, under Captain Craig, rushed forward from Magruder's battery, drove the Mexicans back, and rescued the detachment, which with Craig's command returned to Magruder's battery, and left Padierna to be again occupied by the Mexicans.

When night veiled the field Santa Anna fell back to San Angel, but neglected to inform Valencia of this fact, who was in good spirits. His losses had been insignificant, and the courage displayed by his men had inspired hopes of victory. In Padierna with pickets in front was the brigade of Cabrera; in front of San Geronimo, the regiments of Aguas Calientes; at the bridge near Auzaldo, the brigade of Torrejon, and at the Fabriquita that of General Romero. Valencia was near the batteries, and the inconveniences and discomforts of the dark and rainy night were the same for both armies.

At 9 p. m. Ramiro and del Rio arrived at Valencia's headquarters. The former states that he delivered an order from

Santa Anna to Valencia to withdraw. General Salas, present at the interview, denies this, but says the order was brought to Valencia to retire, first spiking his guns, destroying the ammunition, and saving only what was possible. The order was disobeyed.

At 2:30 a. m. of the 20th the troops under General Smith began to form and take their places preparatory to the march which would bring them on Valencia's rear. At 3 a. m. Riley's brigade began to move, conducted by Lieutenant Tower and Lieut. W. H. T. Brooks, aid-de-camp to General Twiggs, but now acting on General Smith's Staff. Cadwalader's brigade, composed of the Eleventh Infantry, under Lieut.-Col. Wm. M. Graham, the Voltigeur regiment, under Colonel Andrews, and the Fifteenth Infantry, under Colonel Morgan, followed Riley, and General Smith's brigade followed Cadwalader, the general and Staff and Lieutenant Beauregard being at the head. The Mounted Rifles was commanded by Major Loring, the Third Infantry by Capt. E. B. Alexander, and the First Artillery by Bvt.-Maj. Justin Dimick. Leading the Rifles in front of the brigade was the engineer company. Brigadier-General Shields, with the New York and South Carolina regiments, Col. Ward B. Burnett and Pierce M. Butler, occupied the village to intercept Valencia's retreat, prevent reinforcements reaching him, etc.

The streets of the village were narrow, cut into gullies, muddy and slippery, and could scarcely be seen, so dense was the darkness of the night. The troops were ordered to keep closed up, the march was by the right flank, and, owing to the difficulties enumerated, was slow, and the line became extended. A portion of Cadwalader's brigade having sought shelter from the pouring rain, the men had to be hunted up, aroused and brought out from under hedges and trees, and this caused some delay. Smith's brigade, under Major Dimick, waiting more than one hour for them to move on, and fearing they had lost the path and were waiting for a guide, Lieut. G. W. Smith, who had explored the route over which the troops were to march with Lieutenant Brooks, of Twiggs' Staff, took charge of those thus delayed, first turning over the command of the engineer company to Lieutenant McClellan,*

* Subsequently commander United States Army, Democratic candidate for the Presidency in 1864, and later Governor of New Jersey.

followed closely by Major Dimick, commanding Smith's brigade. There being a dense fog in the early morning, no disadvantage resulted from the delay mentioned, and the whole command had passed out of the village and were well in rear of Valencia unperceived before the fog lifted.

General Smith took position^P on an eminence in full view of the Mexican works, down the declivity about 1,000 yards distant, and gave orders for the attack, the troops at the time being in rear of his position; Riley was to continue his march up the ravine several hundred yards to a slope leading to a high point of the ridge; then facing by the left flank, ascend it, and be in sight of the enemy's works about 800 yards distant and lower down towards the road and stream, that intervened between them and the *pedrigal*. Cadwalader was to follow Riley, pass on when the latter faced to the left, and guard his right flank during the assault, or if necessary aid him. The Mounted Rifles and the engineer company, accompanied by Lieutenant Beauregard, were directed to file to the left, before reaching the point where Riley had ascended the slope, and having marched about 300 yards, face by the right flank and ascend the steep slope, which would bring them^R on the ridge in rear of a Mexican force^A confronting Riley.

General Smith held the Third Infantry and First Artillery in rear to be used in case of contingency during the battle. When Riley^A rose up from the ravine he was in rear of Valencia, but still screened from view by a slight acclivity parallel to his front, and when the top of this was reached he was within full view of the enemy, who opened fire upon his right flank from the force^A previously referred to, posted in rear of the Mexican line. Throwing out the first two columns of divisions as skirmishers, he moved down hill towards Valencia's works, the engineer company and the Rifles being already in position in rear of the Mexican detachment, then rose and fired a volley upon it, and Riley continuing on upon them, they faced about, broke, and fled in the utmost precipitation to the main line in rear, pursued by Riley, the Rifles, and engineer company.

The Third Infantry and First Artillery drove off a large cavalry force^C, and were then advanced against the portion

of the Mexican^N line to the left of the batteries and near the bridge towards Auzaldo. A portion of the Eleventh Infantry^{II} drove off a cavalry^M force that threatened Riley's right, whilst the remainder of Cadwalder's brigade moved forward to Riley's support; but the latter had advanced so rapidly that the main works of the enemy were carried before they came up.

When Valencia was routed General Shields, who had held the village after being vacated by Smith's command, ordered his regiment to seize the main road by which the enemy must retire, intercept and cut off his retreat, and the order was executed as speedily as practicable. The South Carolina regiment crossed a deep ravine and, deploying across the road, opened fire upon mingled masses of cavalry and infantry; the New York regiment reached the road lower down and delivered an effective fire; many of the enemy were killed and wounded, 365 prisoners captured, twenty-five being officers. These regiments had been threatened by the Mexican cavalry before getting into position on the road, and had also been under the fire of Valencia's guns. In seventeen minutes from the time the action began it was over, and Valencia's command, "Veterans of the North," existed as an organization no more.

General Smith's operations were assisted very materially by the diversion made on the *pedrigal* in front of Valencia's position. Early in the morning the Ninth Infantry, Colonel Ransom; four companies of the Twelfth Infantry, Major Wood; three companies of the Third Infantry, Captain Craig; a detachment of the Mounted Rifles, under Captain Sanderson, advanced and two batteries on that part of the field opened fire, one under Captain Magruder, First Artillery, and the Mountain Howitzers, under Lieutenant Reno, of the ordnance, the commander, Lieutenant Callender, having been wounded the afternoon of the 19th. All, directed by Captain Lee and Lieutenant Foster, displayed on the *pedrigal*, and were the first to attract Valencia's attention while General Smith's troops were getting into position, and when he advanced Ransom moved forward, became warmly engaged, and, not being restricted to making a mere diversion, contributed greatly to Valencia's defeat.

372 *Reinforcing Brigades Resume Their Positions.*

General Scott had determined, cost what it may, to open the route via Padierna to the City of Mexico, and to that end ordered General Worth to move from San Antonio early in the morning of the 20th with one of his brigades, Garland's, by way of San Augustin to Padierna, and to give like orders to Quitman, who was to move with the remainder of his division, leaving only the cavalry to hold San Antonio. The battle being over before these reinforcing brigades reached the field, they were ordered to resume their positions, Quitman to reoccupy and hold San Augustin and Worth to attack San Antonio in front when approached from the rear by the troops of the other divisions.

At 4 a. m. Valencia mounted his horse, called around him his generals and other high officers and asked their advice ; the majority concurred in his decision, that all should go to their posts and acquit themselves the best they could under the circumstances. The following is the account of the battle in the Mexican history : "The forces of the enemy advanced at daybreak in three columns ; one directed its course to a height in rear of the ridge of Pelon Cuauhtitlan, upon our right flank, another attacked by San Geronimo, the third remained on the *mal pais* (*pedrigal*) beyond the road, and advanced upon the ranch of Padierna. The first column, throwing itself upon our position with the utmost celerity, overcame all opposition under the orders of Gonzales de Mendoza, and overran our camp." This was Riley's brigade, and the Mexican statements confirm his reports.

"Valencia endeavored to oppose this attack with other troops, but overwhelmed on all sides and reduced to a small circle, the rout became general, and the pack mules, the women* and the wagon trains, were all hopelessly pressed together. It was a series of useless and heroic efforts, which it would be ungrateful to conceal. Lieutenant-Colonel Zires retired, fighting with the enemy, Generals Blanco and Garero tried to maintain themselves until disabled with wounds. The small remnant of the brigade of Cabrera made an honorable retreat from Padierna to Auzaldo.

* Wives of soldiers, who carried rations and cooking implements or foraged the country for something to eat.

“General Valencia led up some of his infantry against the enemy, but the circle of American fire coiled like a serpent around our forces and stifled them in disorder. Two roads remained, one by the inaccessible hills of San Geronimo, the other by that of Auzaldo, both cut by the Americans. Those who took the former rolled like a torrent from heights, overwhelming in haste the soldiers, the mules, the loose horses, the wounded—who filled the air with their groans—and the women, who, shrieking, ran everywhere like furies. All this heterogeneous mass was trampled by the Americans, and these barbarous invaders aimed their shots at it.

“Those retiring in confusion, who took the road of Auzaldo, also encountered an American column† that had advanced and opened fire, murdering our people. Then some of the chiefs made courageous attempts to reform ranks, and at this place many distinguished military men were wounded.

“Before reaching the bridge, which the road at San Angel crosses, General Valencia was informed that Santa Anna had left San Angel at 6:30 by taking the road of Olviar, where he was apprised of the defeat, and then, turning to the left of the bridge, Valencia took for the hills towards San Angel; but his friends told him that Santa Anna was furious, and in one of his bursts of passion had given orders for him to be shot, on hearing which he took another road.

“At the bridge, Señor General Salas, who merits an honorable and special notice, in the midst of the fire, sword in hand, placed himself at the head of the cavalry of Torrejon, stopped the dispersion, and so intent was he upon charging the enemy that he was taken prisoner.”

In his official report of the battle on the morning of the 20th, General Scott says: “I doubt whether a more brilliant or decisive victory—taking into view ground, artificial defenses, batteries, and the extreme disparity of numbers, without cavalry or artillery on our side—is to be found on record. Including all our corps directed against the intrenched camp, with Shields’ brigade at the hamlet, we positively did not have over 4,500 rank and file; and we know by sight, and more certainly by many captured documents and letters, that

† Shields’ brigade.

the enemy had actually engaged on the spot 7,000, with at least 12,000 more hovering within sight and striking distance, both on the 19th and the 20th.

"All not killed or captured now fled with precipitation. Thus was the great victory of Contreras achieved; our road to the capital opened; 700 of the enemy killed; 813 prisoners, including eighty-eight officers, four generals, besides various colors and standards, twenty-two pieces of brass ordnance, half of large calibre, thousands of small arms and accoutrements, an immense quantity of shot and shell, powder and cartridges, 700 pack mules, and many horses—all in our hands." Having given orders for the prisoners and public property to be collected, General Smith ordered the pursuit of the enemy, and was forming the various columns when General Twiggs arrived, and reiterating the instructions already given for a vigorous pursuit, all save a small guard moved forward.

A brief reference will be made to a few of the details of this remarkable battle. Riley having reached the designated position in rear of the enemy's right, closed ranks, faced by the left flank preparatory to the advance, believing the ravines known to be in front, could be more readily passed in that formation. A moment before the advance was to begin, he received an order from General Smith to form his brigade in two columns of attack; the one on the right commanded by Major Gardner, Fourth Artillery, was composed of his regiment and three divisions of the Second Infantry, that on the left commanded by Lieutenant-Colonel Plympton, was composed of two divisions of the Second Infantry and the whole of the Seventh Infantry. The column formed was "double column, at half distance," the Fourth Artillery at the head of the right and the Second Infantry at the head of the left column.

The two columns moved forward under Colonel Riley, and continued to advance until met by the enemy's infantry under General Mendoza, thrown forward to oppose; the columns were halted and deployed into line, under fire from the enemy's infantry and discharges of grape from his battery. As soon as the deployment was completed the advance was resumed, continued in face of this infantry and artillery fire, and drove

the enemy back into and out of his works. The regiments of Riley's brigade entered the batteries nearly simultaneously; Captain Casey, who commanded the leading division of the left column, Second Infantry, and who was among the first to enter them, captured two pieces of artillery, and pushing forward with Captain Wessells and Lieutenant Lyon in pursuit, a number of white flags were raised, and 200 men surrendered.

Captain Drum, Fourth Artillery, was the first of his regiment to enter the batteries and place his hand upon two guns, which proved to be the two lost at Buena Vista. The color bearers of the Fourth Artillery and Second Infantry, Sergeants Goodwin and Daily, were both killed within less than one hundred yards of the enemy's works, each bearing his colors to the front with the courage of true soldiers. Lieutenant Benjamin, Fourth Artillery, seized the colors of his regiment, and bore them forward into the batteries under a heavy fire. Captain Wessells of the Second Infantry took the colors of his regiment from the hands of the dead sergeant, and although wounded, pushed to the front into the hostile batteries and planted them upon the crest of the works.

The Seventh Infantry, on the left of the line, after deployment, moved with the other two regiments* exposed alike to artillery and infantry fire; its colors, borne bravely by Sergeant Bradley, were planted upon the works before those, as claimed, of the Second Infantry and Fourth Artillery; the three regiments rushed together into the works, capturing the cannon, pursuing the enemy on the road beyond, and delivering a terrible and destructive fire on his rear. Captain Paul, Lieutenants Gantt, and E. K. Smith, all of the Seventh Infantry, with their companies, pursued the enemy some distance and captured a number of prisoners.

The loss in Riley's brigade in the assault was eighty-three killed and wounded; among the former was Captain Hanson, Seventh Infantry, whose death was lamented by all who knew

* Second Lieut. W. H. Tyler, who was detached from his company when the regiment took its place in line to move into position preparatory to the attack, gallantly brought his detachment in action with the Third Infantry.

him; the regimental, brigade, and division commanders referred to him in their reports in the most befitting and complimentary terms, and of him the general-in-chief says: "He was not more distinguished for gallantry than for modesty, morals, and piety." Of the wounded were Captain Ross, Seventh Infantry, severely; Lieutenant Collins, Fourth Artillery; Captain Wessells, Second Infantry; Lieutenants Lovell and Tilden, of the same regiment, slightly.

Two companies of the Eleventh Infantry (of Cadwalader's brigade), under Major Hunter, were thrown to the right of the attacking column to oppose a cavalry force under General Blanco, and the remainder of that regiment was ordered to follow and support Riley's brigade. The adjutant of the regiment, Lieut. D. S. Lee, was wounded in the charge. The Voltigeur regiment, ordered to follow Riley's brigade and support his attack, after crossing the ravine intervening between his troops and the enemy's, was directed to move so as to come up on the right of Riley's brigade, join in the attack, and prevent the enemy's escape on that side; and in reaching that position it was subjected to artillery fire, but by the time it had gained it the enemy had been driven from their works, and the Eleventh and Fifteenth of this brigade, being in rear, made every exertion to get up, but were too late to participate in the main battle.

The First brigade (Smith's) followed Cadwalader's; its march took it obliquely past the enemy's left and some 800 yards from it, being but partially screened; as it was now daylight, its approach was discovered, and as the brigade filed past, a large cavalry^c force drew up on the left of their line. As the Third Infantry arrived opposite this point, the leading brigade became engaged, the cavalry changed position, and the Third Infantry and First Artillery were ordered to face to the right and attack the enemy's left flank. The order was obeyed with spirit and the whole battle was successful, the enemy being thoroughly routed.

The New York and South Carolina regiments, under Shields, remained at San Geronimo, and at daylight a hostile force opened fire upon the village from a battery in Valencia's camp, which the Mexican commander supposed to be still occupied by the force seen in it at nightfall of the

19th. A like fire was directed across the *pedrigal*, the enemy being unconscious, apparently, of his rear being reached and of the attack about to be made from that direction. This last mentioned fire was upon the troops ordered to display upon the *pedrigal* to attract the enemy's attention and divert it from the concentration and formation then going on in his rear.

Valencia's artillery fire continued in the direction of San Geronimo and across the *pedrigal* until Riley had formed, and, rising up from the ravine, advanced upon his rear and opened fire, moving forward rapidly at the same time. The enemy was soon routed and driven from his position, with the loss of every gun, camp equipage, and all public supplies, leaving many dead and over 1,000 prisoners.

General Shields threw the Palmetto regiment over a deep ravine, down to and across the main highway leading to the Mexican capital, and the New York regiment further to the left; the former poured in upon the confused masses as they hurried down the road, a rapid and well directed fire, and the New York regiment became engaged, also firing with effect. Many prisoners were captured at this point; among them Gen. D. Nicholas Mendoza. In the meantime a large cavalry force moved along the road from the city as if to attack, and dispositions were made to meet it, but it faced about and retired.

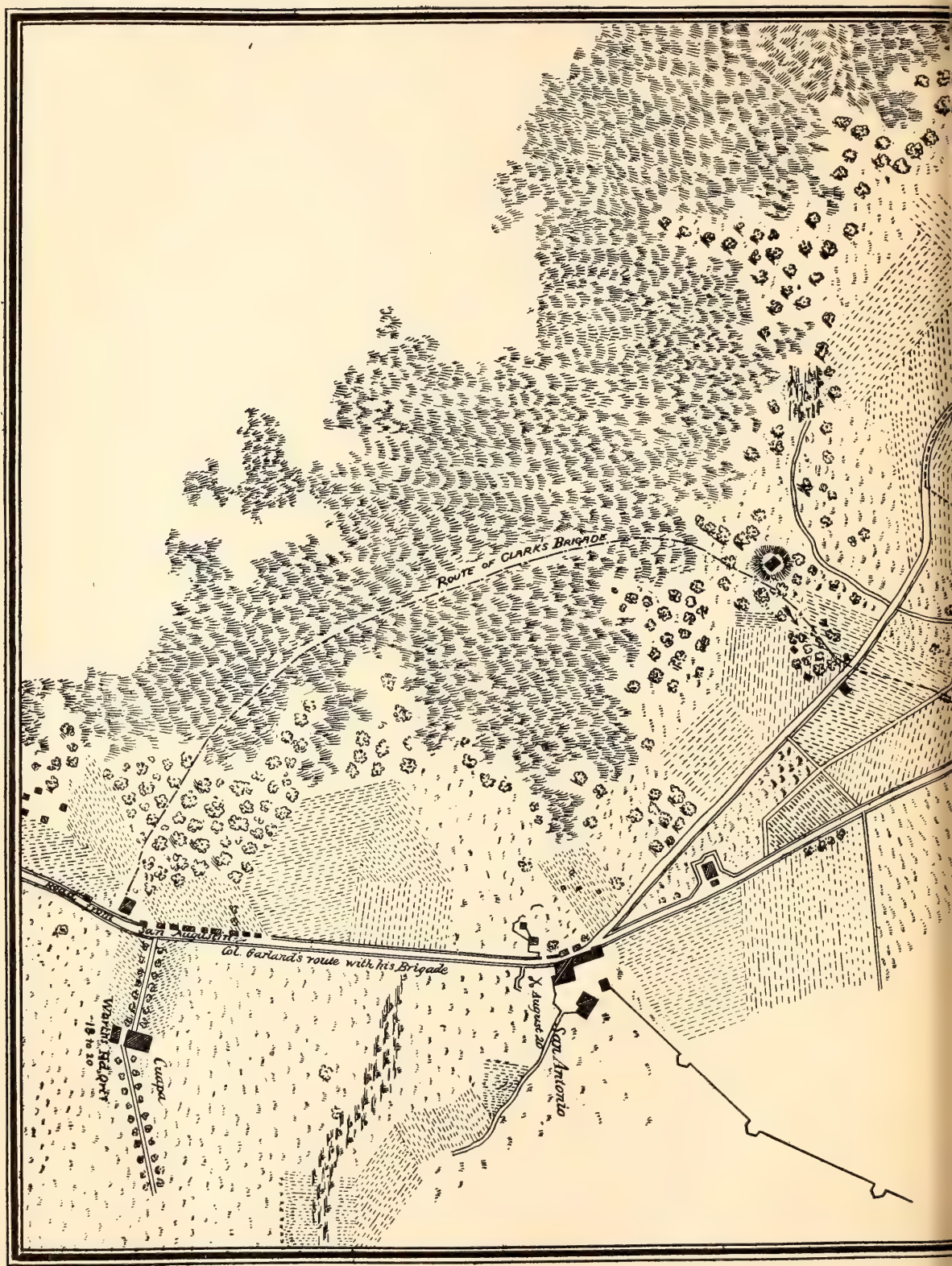
CHAPTER XVII.

BATTLE OF CHURUBUSCO. — CONVENT OF SAN PABLO. —
THE TETE DE PONT. — PORTALES. — NUMBERS ENGAGED
AND THE CASUALTIES AT CONTRERAS AND CHURUBUSCO. —
ARMISTICE.

Leaving details to guard prisoners and captured property, pursuit of the panic-stricken enemy was ordered, Smith's brigade leading, with the Mounted Rifles and Engineer Company at its head. Near a large building between the battlefield and San Angel, the Rifles and Mexicans exchanged a few shots, and as the head of Smith's brigade approached, the former were thrown forward and entered it upon the heels of the retreating lancers, with but little firing, the town being quickly abandoned.

Major-General Pillow reached the head of the column as the troops approached San Angel, and assumed command. At Coyoacan General Scott joined, having previously ordered his columns to halt there, and as he rode along, passing the different regiments and brigades, was cheered enthusiastically by the soldiers.

Churubusco was over a mile in front of Coyoacan (map XII), two miles southeast was San Antonio, the former on the road from San Angel, the latter on that from San Augustin, each leading by Churubusco to the city, and a good wagon road connected Coyoacan and San Antonio. Immediately upon arrival at Coyoacan General Scott despatched Captain Lee, with Capt. Phil Kearny's company of First Dragoons, supported by one company of the Mounted Rifles under Lieut. Alfred Gibbs, mounted on horses captured from Valencia, to



CHURUBUSCO



- WORTH'S DIVISION
- Twigg's Co.
- Dillon's " "
- Shields' BRIGADE
- A. B. DUNCAN'S BATTERY
- C. RENO'S " "
- MEXICAN FORCES.
- TEPE-DE-PUYE, 5 GUNS
- PEREZ'S BATTALION
- San Antonio's Bat
- Cadwallader's Brigade



reconnoiter, while Pillow followed with Cadwalader, under orders to attack San Antonio in rear, in concert with General Worth, who was to assail it in front.

Lieut. I. I. Stevens, ordered about the same time to advance on the direct road and reconnoitre, was supported by the engineer company, under Lieut. G. W. Smith. This reconnoissance covered the Convent of San Pablo in the village of Churubusco, but a thorough and satisfactory examination and report had not been made when one of 'Twiggs' brigades, Smith's, less the Rifle regiment, and Taylor's battery moved forward to the attack, and Riley's brigade, of the same division, followed and joined in battle.

When Valencia's rout was known Worth returned with Garland's brigade to his position in front of San Antonio with orders "to attack that place in front with his whole force as soon as approached in rear by Pillow's and 'Twiggs' divisions, moving from Contreras through San Angel and Coyoacan." On returning to his position, Worth directed Clarke's brigade, composed of the Fifth, Sixth, and Eighth Regiments of Infantry, and the Light Battalion of Brevt. Col. C. F. Smith, conducted by Capt. James L. Mason, engineers, and Lieut. E. L. F. Hardcastle, topographical engineers, to move, 11 a. m., over the *pedrigal* (map XII) to the left of the road, turn the right flank of the fortified position at San Antonio, and strike the road in rear, cutting the enemy's line of communication. Garland's brigade, composed of the Second and Third Artillery, the Fourth Infantry and Duncan's battery, was held ready to attack in front when Clarke's brigade became engaged.

The latter, after a laborious and tedious march, was subjected near the road to Coyoacan to a fire of Mexican skirmishers, which, however, caused no detention in the march, as the enemy in the meantime retired from San Antonio and towards Churubusco and the brigade, continuing its march, struck the enemy in flank. There was lively firing for a few minutes, but the Mexicans broke and fled in several directions, some towards Mexicalcingo, some to Churubusco, others back towards San Antonio. A number of killed and wounded were left on the road and one general, a few men and several officers were captured.

When Clarke's brigade encountered the rear of those returning from San Antonio and became engaged, Garland's marched on the causeway against the front of the Mexican works, preceded by a company of the Third Artillery, under Lieut. R. W. Johnston, thrown forward to draw the fire of the hostile batteries, and having passed through San Antonio followed closely the road in pursuit of Bravo's retreating command. On entering the works, in which were several pieces of artillery, they were found to be abandoned.

Captain Lee, ordered to reconnoitre San Antonio, proceeding along the road from Coyoacan, fell in with Clarke's brigade, moving by a flank across his road and learned that the Mexicans attacked by them had withdrawn from San Antonio. The Rifle Regiment was countermarched, and with Captain Lee and Kearny's company had begun to retrace their steps to Coyoacan, when firing, heard in front of Coyoacan, proved to be the beginning of the attack by Smith's brigade on the Convent of San Pablo.

General Pillow, with Cadwalader's brigade, did not return to Coyoacan, but, seeing General Worth's troops in pursuit of the Mexicans on the causeway, bore off to the left and united his brigade with Worth's, and then these two generals, hearing firing to the left, attacked the *tete-de-pont* in their front.

Riley's brigade had also been ordered forward, and the battle being now joined by Twiggs, Worth, and Pillow, General Scott ordered General Pierce's brigade, conducted by Captain Lee, to move by the road leading north from Coyoacan, cross the Churubusco river by a bridge on that road, then turn to the right and seize the causeway in rear of the *tete-de-pont*. In a few minutes General Shields was ordered to the same point with his two regiments, and was directed to take command of all the troops on that part of the field.

Captain Lee returned to Coyoacan, and, reporting to General Scott that Shields, engaged in rear of the Mexican lines, was hard pressed and in danger of being out-flanked, if not overwhelmed, by superior numbers, Major Sumner was ordered to move with the Mounted Rifles, under Major Loring, and Captain Sibley's company, Second Dragoons, conducted by Captain Lee, to support Shields. Meanwhile the attack was persistently pressed at all points along the whole front,

and now very seriously in danger of having their retreat cut off by increasing forces in their rear, the Mexican lines gave way and fell back, pursued by the victorious Americans.

Having briefly sketched the main movements in the battle of Churubusco, we will now give a more detailed account of the operations and incidents of the attack, followed by extracts from Mexican history and our own official reports, first referring briefly to the Mexican commander, and giving the disposition of his forces to meet the pressing emergency resulting from the defeat, capture, or dispersion of Valencia's forces.

During the night of the 19th Santa Anna ordered Rangel's brigade to move at once from the citadel in the city to San Angel, thus bringing that body of troops in position, from which it could march to Valencia's assistance at Padierna early next morning or, in the event of his defeat, aid in covering his retreat. Within a few minutes after the first gun was heard in Valencia's direction the troops displayed on the ridge of Toro the previous afternoon moved out of San Angel back towards Padierna, and the Bravos and Independencias were ordered up from Churubusco.

The forces from San Angel had marched but a short distance when rapid and heavy discharges of artillery were heard, followed by volleys of musketry, indicating plainly that a battle was raging, and the march was quickened by Santa Anna, but the heavy artillery and musketry fire continued only a few minutes. The battle of Padierna had been fought, and in a little while their cavalry was seen coming down the road from that ill-fated field in full flight, followed by a confused and disorganized body of infantry, who reported the Americans in hot pursuit. The evidence was convincing that Valencia had been overwhelmingly defeated.

Santa Anna at once determined to withdraw all his troops from the exterior lines and concentrate them at the garitas for the defense of the capital. General Bravo at San Antonio and General Gaona at Mexicalcingo were ordered to fall back at once to the Candelaria Garita, General Lombardini to countermarch the brigade of General Rangel and proceed through the Niño Perdido Gate to the citadel, the light brigade of General Perez to retire by way of Coyoacan and Churubusco to the Candelaria Garita.

Having seen the infantry countermarch, Santa Anna and Staff followed, having with them the regiments of Huzares, the light battalion of Vera Cruz, and the remainder of the cavalry of the "Division of the North" under Generals Jau-regui and Torrejon. He remained in rear to ascertain if the Americans were pursuing, and halted at Coyoacan until the last soldier had passed. Continuing on, he passed the Convent at Churubusco, and seeing Generals Rincon and Anaya occupying it with the Independencia and Bravo Battalions of the National Guards, ordered the former to hold it at all hazards.

In the meantime Pillow's and Twiggs' forces, as before stated, were pursuing the *debris* of Valencia's command towards Churubusco, and Worth had turned San Antonio, struck near Zotepingo, between San Antonio and Churubusco, the rear of Bravo's retreating columns, captured General Perdigon and much war material, Colonel Zerecero, second in command, narrowly escaping.

The musketry at Zotepingo quickened the march of the advance, many wagons were abandoned on the road, two being stalled near Rio Churubusco bridge; and to still more embarrass the Mexican commander, his troops retreating by way of Coyoacan, encountered at this bridge the battalions of Nacionales de Largos, and Acapulco falling back from San Antonio, and the pickets that had been out on the right of the works at San Antonio. Santa Anna, present at the time, ordered five guns to be placed in the *tete-de-pont* of the Churubusco bridge, and to guard them, the San Patricio companies and the battalion of Tlapa. Seeing Worth advancing on the causeway, he ordered the brigade of Perez to countermarch, and posted at the *tete-de-pont* the First Light to the left of the Third, Fourth, and Eleventh, in the order named, all on the north bank of the Rio Churubusco, the bed of the stream itself serving as a ditch.

The battle of Churubusco began with the attack by Twiggs before the engineers had finished their reconnoissance, and Captain Mason, the engineer with General Worth, states in his report: "The division (Worth's) now concentrated, fell upon the Churubusco fort, which had not been reconnoitered, and of which our information was very partial."

The following explanation of these hurried attacks, and the order in which they were made, is given after a careful reading of the official reports, which indicate, as will be seen, that the battle of Churubusco began with the attack upon the Convent of San Pablo.

On reaching Coyoacan an engineer officer sent out to the southeast to reconnoiter San Antonio, was followed by a brigade of Pillow's division, while Twiggs with one of his brigades moved forward on the road to Churubusco and halted near the fork of two roads, one bearing almost due east, the other in the direction they were marching. The engineer company under Lieut. G. W. Smith, followed and passed to the front, and Smith being ordered by General Twiggs to have a battery, reported to be in front, reconnoitered, Lieut. McClellan moved forward on one road and examined the battery, while Lieutenant Stevens followed the other road. Returning, they reported a battery masked by intervening corn-fields and bushes in front of a convent, the steeples of which could be distinctly seen several hundred yards in front of the column, and the roof of which was crowded with Mexican infantry. They were ordered to make a close reconnoissance, accompanied by the engineer company as escort.

Returning to the front, the enemy was seen to the right, left, and in front. A Mexican lancer was captured by Lieutenant McClellan within 300 yards of the convent, and Lieutenant Stevens directed Lieutenant Smith to take him back to General Twiggs and to request two more companies to be sent as escort. Lieutenant Stevens rejoined General Twiggs, and Lieutenant Smith returned to his company.

The three engineers—Smith, Stevens, and McClellan—and Lieutenant Brooks, of Twiggs' Staff, believing the Rifles to be engaged with greatly superior forces, and hearing no artillery firing, recommended that the First Artillery be advanced to their support. The firing heard to the right was not, however, the Rifles engaged, but Clarke's brigade or that part of it which attacked the retreating Mexicans in flank on the San Antonio causeway. Worth, pressing upon the rear of the retreating forces, and hearing the firing to the left near the convent, joined without loss of time and without reconnoissance, in the attack, directing his first efforts against the *tete-de-*

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pont. About 12 m. the First Artillery, under Maj. Justin Dimick, became engaged in front of the Convent of San Pablo, masked by a field of full-grown corn. As it moved forward in line, artillery from the field works about the building opened with round shot and grape, and being within range of musketry, the infantry from the parapet between the guns, from the roof and windows of the building as well as from a wall in part surrounding it, blazed away. The advance continued through the corn field, and at a lane beyond the regiment halted; in front of its right, within 100 yards, was a regular bastion work, in the curtain of which were four heavy guns in embrasure; the left was within seventy yards of the works, exposed to the fire of two guns in barbette, the whole regiment being at the same time under infantry fire. The men were ordered to seek such protection as they could find, and under partial cover directed their fire upon the cannoneers of the guns when exposed as well as upon the infantry.

The Third Infantry and Taylor's battery were ordered forward, and the latter, placed in position to the right of the Churubusco road, in an open field within 400 yards of the convent, became engaged immediately. In reply to this fire came round shot, shell, grape, canister, and musket balls. The Third Infantry advanced on the left of the battery, and, seizing an irregular line of adobe buildings running obliquely to the road and within sixty yards of the convent, opened fire under this cover. The courage displayed by the officers and men of Taylor's battery was the admiration of all spectators, and official reports refer to them loading and firing "as though on drill."

Riley's brigade followed Smith's and moved to the left of the road. The Second Infantry, Captain Morris, attacked the right of the Mexicans on the west side of the convent, the Seventh Infantry being ordered to its support. The Second Infantry advanced through a corn-field, and as it passed out of this into an open space in front of the convent a volley of musketry killed Lieut. Thomas Easley, a company commander, and killed or wounded twelve men with him. A second company commander, Capt. E. K. Smith, received two wounds, and fourteen men immediately with him were shot down.



THE BATTLE OF CHURUBUSCO.

August 20TH 1847.

Worth's division having been re-united, and Pillow with Cadwalader's brigade of his division joining near the same time, the attack upon the *tete-de-pont* was ordered. Garland's brigade, having Col. C. F. Smith's Light Battalion on the right, was directed to the right of the road, in line of columns obliquely to it, which order in its advance and deployment was designed to strike the enemy's line at right angles.

Clarke's brigade, except the Sixth Infantry, was also ordered to move to the right of the road, but by the flank, while the Sixth was to charge down the causeway upon the *tete-de-pont* and take it.

The Eleventh and Fourteenth Infantry, Cadwalader's brigade, Lieutenant-Colonel Graham and Col. William Trousdale, were to advance on the left of the road. The Voltigeur regiment, same brigade, under Lieut.-Col. Joseph E. Johnston, to remain near the causeway as a guard to Duncan's battery.

The Sixth Infantry charged down the causeway as ordered, Lieut. Lewis A. Armistead at the head of the leading platoon, and coming upon wagons abandoned by Mexicans and blocking the road, Capt. William Hoffman, commanding, discovered that a part only of the regiment was following him, and from the severe fire in front and from the left was being annihilated. Believing nothing could be accomplished under the circumstances by a further advance he ordered the troops to leave the road, cross the ditch into the corn-field on the right and then move forward against the enemy's infantry to the left (Mexican) of the *tete-de-pont*. The order was obeyed and the men advanced with spirit, but it was apparent that they were not strong enough to assail the enemy in the position occupied, and Lieut. S. B. Buckner being sent to the commander of the regiment, requesting to be recalled or reinforced, the order was revoked.

On falling back to a bridge in rear, portions of several companies were collected and were being reformed when Captain Hoffman was ordered by General Worth to form the battalion in column and charge the *tete-de-pont* a second time. The artillery fire, round shot and grape, together with musketry, however, proved too severe, and the men being under fire for the first time, despite all efforts made by officers,

crossed again into the field on the right, where order was restored. Being rejoined by Capt. W. H. T. Walker and Lieutenant Armistead with a few men who had not fallen back after the first charge, the colors of the regiment advanced a third time, but against the enemy's left with a force strengthened by Capt. Horace Brooks, Lieuts. John Sedgwick and Charles B. Daniels, of the Second Artillery, aided by the simultaneous advance of the Third Artillery, Lieut.-Col. F. S. Belton, Second Artillery, Maj. P. H. Galt, and the Fourth Infantry, Maj. Francis Lee, in the order named, from the left.

The Fifth and Eighth Regiments of Infantry were halted on the causeway by order of General Worth, to support Duncan's battery, and after leaving with the battery two companies, Captains Screven and Gates, of the Eighth, were ordered to advance. The two regiments moved to the right and near the road, when the first mentioned troops became engaged, and as the latter also came under fire, Colonel Clarke, commanding the brigade, was wounded, leaving Colonel McIntosh, of the Fifth Infantry, in command. The forward movement being over ditches filled with water, and through fields of full-grown corn, regiments and companies became intermingled and much scattered; a slight reforming was made near the *tete-de-pont*, when with a dash it was carried. The men entered it through the embrasures, or over the parapet, crossed the Rio Churubusco, and occupied the causeway in rear leading to the city.

Bvt.-Maj. George Wright, Captains Bomford and Larkin Smith, First Lieut. and Adj. James Longstreet, Second Lieuts. James G. S. Snelling and George E. Pickett, of the Eighth Infantry, were all distinguished at this point. Bomford and Longstreet entered the *tete-de-pont* at the same time, the latter bearing the colors of his regiment. As soon as the bridge head was entered Capt. Larkin Smith turned one of the captured guns upon the convent, and the fire was kept up by Bomford, Longstreet, and Snelling. A portion of the Eighth (four companies) under Bvt.-Maj. Wm. R. Montgomery, became separated from this part of the regiment, and pursued the enemy towards the capital. Among the first in the *tete-de-pont* were a few of the Third Artillery, who en-

tered over the left face. Lieut. Shields of that regiment directed the fire of one of the captured guns upon the convent, an 8-pounder supplied with ammunition, in charge of Lieut. Ayers, Third Artillery, and pursued the retreating Mexicans along the highway.

The Fourth Infantry, the last to become engaged, advanced on the extreme right of the line like the other regiments under a heavy artillery and infantry fire, over corn fields obstructed by draining and irrigating ditches, by maguey, hedges, etc., rendering order impossible. Maj. R. C. Buchanan and Lieut. and Adj. Henry Prince were among the first to cross the breastworks. Lieut. Arnold, part of whose regiment, Second Artillery, pressed on in the pursuit and kept up with the infantry, was severely wounded near the *tete-de-pont*. Lieut.-Col. Martin Scott, commanding the Fifth Infantry after Colonel McIntosh assumed command of the brigade, greatly distinguished himself. In his report he credits Brevet-Major Wright, Eighth Infantry, with having preceded him in the *tete-de-pont*, and among their mutual acquaintances this was considered the highest compliment Scott could pay or Wright receive.

Captain Merrill and Lieutenant Rosecrants, both of the Fifth Infantry, were separated from the regiment in the advance and passed further to the right, where they became hotly engaged. A part of the regiment was in the assault of the *tete-de-pont*, while another crossed the Rio Churubusco to the right and reached the road in rear, all commands being broken up and intermingled, but each and every part fighting well. Every regimental commander in Worth's and Pillow's divisions refers to ditches, hedges, cornfields, all the former being full of water, and to the impossibility of moving in compact order.

Bvt.-Lieut.-Col. Charles F. Smith, Second Artillery, recognized as one of the best and most efficient officers in the army, had four companies under his command, and in his report says: "From the mode of advance and the nature of the ground the men became so much scattered that after passing an open field in the rear of some *jacales* (shanties) on the road, I found myself with not exceeding twenty men of my command, and knew not where the others were.

Soon after this by signal I succeeded in getting together probably one-half of them, and at the same time was joined by several officers and perhaps 100 men of the Fifth, Sixth, and Eighth Regiments of Infantry, with which force I moved towards the *tete-de-pont* and afterwards in pursuit of the enemy."

The Voltigeur regiment remained in reserve until Duncan's battery was ordered into action, then moved forward to its support. The other two regiments, Eleventh and Fourteenth Infantry, of this brigade (Cadwalader's) in line on the left of the causeway, moved forward through cornfields, and even filled many ditches with cornstalks to render them passable, but only succeeded in arriving at the *tete-de-pont* as it was being carried, joined in the pursuit under General Pillow's directions, and continued with the advance until ordered to halt within two miles of the city.

The *tete-de-pont* being carried, there remained the Convent of San Pablo to the right of the Mexican line. This building with its thick walls, too heavy to be penetrated by field-pieces, covered with a well-constructed bastion, having flooded ditches and guns in embrasure, proved to be a far more serious undertaking than had been anticipated. Nevertheless the First Artillery, which began the attack, the Third Infantry, that followed, and Riley's men never ceased firing after gaining their advanced position until the contest ended. Lieut. Satterlee Hoffman, commanding company, and Capt. Erastus A. Capron, both of the First Artillery, and Capt. Martin J. Burke and his first sergeant, of the Third Artillery, were killed; in the Third Infantry Capt. Lewis Craig and Lieut. and Adj. Don Carlos Buell wounded, the latter severely, in front of the works surrounding the convent; in the Second Infantry Lieut. Thomas Easley was killed, Capt. J. W. Anderson mortally, and Capt. J. R. Smith and Lieut. Wm. M. Gardner severely wounded. The approach to the convent on the side attacked by Twiggs' division was such that the men were under close musketry fire as they emerged from the wet corn fields with ranks dislocated and broken into more or less scattered groups.

The *tete-de-pont* captured and the infantry and artillery fire at the convent abating, the Third Infantry, with the First

Artillery on its right and the Second Infantry on its left, made a simultaneous advance, though much intermingled, and entered it. The first officer to enter the works was Capt. James Madison Smith, of the Third Infantry, who displayed the flag of his regiment from the convent walls. He was followed by First Lieut. and Adj. John M. Brannan and Second Lieut. Truman Seymour, of the First Artillery, and Second Lieut. J. D. Wilkins, Third Infantry.

Col. Bennet Riley, commanding brigade, reports having repulsed sallies from the convent, in which the enemy contended with obstinacy, but was finally driven from the inclosing wall, and the colors of the Second Infantry planted in the road in rear of the convent, at the same moment that cheering from the front announced its capture. Capt. Thompson Morris, commanding the Second Infantry, states (referring to the sorties made by the Mexicans) that a column of several hundred passed out of the front gate of the convent and, under cover of the standing corn, advanced towards the left of his regiment, but was driven back; that a second effort was made and checked, and that subsequent sallies met the same fate.

In Taylor's battery, under fire of guns in embrasure and of infantry under cover, Lieuts. J. G. Martin and E. C. Boynton and twenty cannoneers were wounded, who, with fifteen mangled horses lying around, bore evidence of the severe struggle. No gun, however, had been dismounted, though Captain Taylor and Lieut. Wm. H. French continued the action several hours and drove the infantry from the convent roof.

Brig.-Gen. Franklin Pierce*, with a battalion of the Twelfth Infantry, under Capt. Allen Wood, and the Fifteenth Infantry, led by Colonel Morgan, ordered to turn the Mexican right and cut their communications, was followed by Brigadier-General Shields, Quitman's division, with the New York and South Carolina regiments, Cols. Ward B. Burnett and Pierce M. Butler. Shields was directed to assume command of the two brigades, with the same orders given to Pierce. The Ninth Infantry (Colonel Ransom), Pierce's

*President of United States from March 4, 1853, to March 4, 1857.

brigade, and the mountain howitzer battery, under Lieut. Reno, followed Shields' regiments, which moved on the road for a mile, then crossed several ditches (the ground being low and wet), next inclined to the right, passing over some marshy ground and through fields of full-grown corn, beyond which long lines of the enemy were formed on the turnpike leading from San Augustin, via Churubusco, to the city. On the turnpike was the Hacienda Portales, about 1,200 yards in rear of the Rio Churubusco, along which the battle was then raging. To the left was a church; directly in front of it a little hamlet known as Ladvillera, and along each side of the road was a deep ditch of water.

General Shields attacked the Mexicans by regiments; first with the battalion of the Twelfth Infantry under Bvt.-Maj. Allen Wood, who advanced upon Portales, a hamlet surrounded by a stone wall, and when in the act of taking possession of it, received a heavy fire of musketry. As Colonel Morgan's regiment approached it came under a brisk fire, and was ordered to form in line parallel to the road and to the right of the hacienda, but before the order was executed the gallant colonel fell with a wound that disabled him, and Lieutenant-Colonel Howard, who succeeded him, ordered the regiment to occupy the thrashing floor near the building. A portion of the battalion was under cover; the other, not so fortunate, continued to fight until the arrival of expected troops.

As Shields' two regiments approached the field, the line, owing to the difficulties of the march, had become much extended; time was consumed by the New York regiment in forming, and when it advanced, the enemy was seen endeavoring to turn its flank, the regiment being at the time under a distant fire; but it marched directly to the front, and when within 100 yards of the hostile line Colonel Burnett received a severe wound through the leg, and was compelled to leave the field, Lieut.-Col. Charles Baxter succeeding to the command.

Owing to a number of horsemen and the mountain howitzer battery entering the column, there was an interval of 300 yards between these two regiments, and the Ninth Infantry of Pierce's brigade was about the same distance in rear of the



GEORGE W. MORGAN,

MT. VERNON, OHIO.

1892.

As the above officer is the ONLY ONE living of the portraits in this history, it has been thought proper to represent him as he is NOW.

Palmetto regiment. When the latter, ordered into action on the left of the New York, moved forward only two of its companies had formed, but as it advanced other companies came up into line. The New York retiring to cover of the hacienda on its right, the South Carolina regiment became exposed to fire in front and from the houses of Ladvillera on its left. The great eagerness to reach the road, and thus cut off the retreat of the main Mexican force fighting at Churubusco, precipitated the attack by regiments, and a new and more united formation being evidently indispensable, the South Carolina moved by the right flank and rear, until it joined the left of the New York regiment.

General Shields and Staff having marked out a line on which the regiments were to reform, the companies of the left wing of the Palmetto formed on this line in good order, those of the right wing, becoming mixed up with men of other regiments, were in some confusion, but this was remedied when the advance was ordered. A part of the New York regiment formed on the right of the Palmettos, when the order "to charge" was given, Major Gladden leading the latter, and not halting until the road was reached and occupied. The Ninth Infantry and mountain howitzer battery joined in battle; the latter in position on the right of the Hacienda, threw spherical case shot and canister into the Mexican ranks formed on the road, the Ninth Infantry on the left and the Twelfth and Fifteenth on the right of the volunteers.

The above mentioned regiments, the South Carolina, New York, Twelfth and Fifteenth Infantry on the right and the Ninth Infantry on the left joined in the pursuit on the turnpike towards the city, then in full view and less than three miles distant. The *tete-de-pont* and convent had been carried, and the enemy was in flight from the points along the main highway before Shields' command gained the road.

Worth's division, Shields' and Pierce's brigades of Quitman's, Pillow's division, and the Eleventh Infantry, Lieutenant-Colonel Graham, of Cadwalader's brigade, followed the retreating enemy, as he fell back in tolerable order until Lieutenant Ayers, Third Artillery, with one gun captured at the *tete-de-pont*, joined the column, and turning it upon the fleeing Mexicans caused them to rush on in great disorder. The

pursuit was arrested by General Worth being ignorant, as he stated, "first of the magnitude of the defenses at the garita, secondly of the ulterior views of the General-in-Chief;" and a halt was ordered after consulting with Major General Pillow and Brigadier General Shields, within two miles of the city. Colonel Harney, Second Dragoons, coming up at this instant with two squadrons of cavalry, passed rapidly to the front, charged the enemy's rear, using the sabre freely, and in the excitement of the chase, the leading squadron, composed of Phil. Kearny's company of the First, and Capt. Andrew T. McReynolds' company, Third Dragoons, failing to hear the recall when sounded, continued on to the immediate vicinity of the San Antonio Garita where Captain Kearny, in the advance, lost an arm from a discharge of grape and canister. Lieut. L. Graham and Captain McReynolds were wounded, Lieut. Richard S. Ewell had two horses killed under him, and Maj. F. D. Mills, of the Fifteenth Infantry, a volunteer, fell mortally wounded.

Santa Anna, being with several of his general officers at the Gate at this critical moment, ordered a discharge of grape from the guns of the Garita battery, and the Mexican infantry, encouraged by his presence, opened a brisk fire, under which the American cavalry retired.

From Mexican history we learn "that five guns, the First Light Infantry, the battalion of Tlapa, and the San Patricio companies were placed in the *tete-de-pont*. Colonel Gayoso, commanding the First Light, was seriously wounded, and when the Americans were discovered moving round the Mexican right threatening communications with the capital, Santa Anna despatched the Fourth Light and part of the Eleventh of the Line, from the banks of the Rio Churubusco on the left of the *tete-de-pont*, to the Portales, a few men to be posted on the roof, the remainder under cover around the building. General Quijano returned from the city with the Huzares, the Vera Cruz cavalry, and what remained of the cavalry of the North, and General Bravo, who commanded at San Antonio, was driven from the causeway on his retreat towards Churubusco, and retired in direction of Mexicalcingo, from which place he hastened to the *tete-de-pont*. General Perez represented to him "that they were without ammunition, in consequence of which his soldiers disbanded in every direction, a

part going towards the Peñon." * * * The Americans "approached the bridge without more resistance and cannonaded the fugitives with the very artillery they had abandoned in desperation, having no draught horses."

The defenders of the convent regarded their position as critical from the time Worth's division began the attack upon the *tete-de-pont*, which was the only way of escape in the event of defeat; and those of the bridge head were similarly alarmed when the Americans turned the convent on their right and directed their march upon the causeway in rear.

When ammunition began to fail in the convent, which was not long after the battle began, General Rincon sent a staff officer to Santa Anna, informing him of this fact and asking to be reinforced, and was told "that all had been given that could be, and he must defend himself to the last extremity." Santa Anna did, nevertheless, send the San Patricio company and some pickets of Tlapa and Largos and one wagon of ammunition; the cartridges for the artillery, however, were too large, and of the infantry ammunition only the San Patricio soldiers could use it, the other muskets being of a different and smaller calibre.

Both Rincon and Anaya are credited in Mexican history with exhibiting great courage, sharing all dangers with their men; the latter had ordered a piece to be loaded with grape and was aiming it himself when, by some carelessness, a quantity of ammunition near by exploded, disabling four soldiers and Captain O'Leary, in charge of the battery, and injuring him, though he remained with his command. A young officer of the Bravos, Don Eligio Vollamer, was throughout the battle conspicuous for reckless daring. Colonel Mendez requested and obtained for himself and son the "post of extreme danger," but amid the storm of bullets remained unscathed. Lieut. D. Juan Maria Resilla and D. Juan Aguilar y Lopez were also highly distinguished.

Mexicans report that "The battle raged for three and a half hours* before the Americans gained any decided ad-

* An American timed the fight, he being in reserve at San Augustin, nearly five miles from Churubusco, and made it two and three-quarters hours. He had become quite despondent, thinking it should not have lasted half that time.

vantage. The Mexicans, firm and resolute, had so far maintained their position bravely, but unfortunately the ammunition became scarce, and naturally the firing slackened. Generals Rincon and Anaya, seeing no possibility of prolonging the contest, ordered the whole force to retire within the convent. A few men determined to make a last desperate effort, and led by Peñuñuri charged with the bayonet without success, their brave leader falling severely wounded. D. Luis Martinez de Castro, captain of Sharp-Shooters, in an effort to cut his way out was mortally wounded and died in the convent, kindly cared for by the Americans."

"The first to present himself upon the parapet was the valiant Capt. James M. Smith, of the Third Infantry, who gave an exemple of valor to many following him; and, no less magnanimous than daring, scarcely had he ascertained that now, on our part, no resistance was made than he showed a white flag." *

General Scott, it will be remembered, organized while lying at Puebla a company of Mexicans who were regularly mustered into the United States service under Dominguez as captain. Mexican history thus refers to them: "Patriotism and society were horrified in meeting among the conquerors, who made their triumphant entry into Churubusco, a little squadron of bandits who, under the name of *Contra Guerrillas*, led by the famous Dominguez as captain, and as auxiliaries of the American Army, made war on their own countrymen more sanguinary than the enemy himself. General Anaya, now a prisoner, impelled by a feeling of execration and horror, apostrophized the insolent chief, calling him traitor. * * * A general shout announced the arrival of Twiggs, who, saluting courteously and like a soldier the Mexican generals and officers, harangued his own people, commending their valor and recommending the prisoners to kindly consideration. He held in his hand a flag which had twenty shots through it, and gave it to one of his men. * * * A scene of grief, desolation, and death prevailed in the convent, so calm and tranquil at other times."

In the battle of Churubusco among the many prisoners captured was the San Patricio battalion. They were tried by a

* Mexican history.

general court-martial and sentenced to death, all but sixteen being executed; some were pardoned on account of youth when they deserted, two were pardoned because their sons or brothers had remained true to the flag of their country, and O'Riley having deserted before declaration of war, was not condemned to death, but was branded with the letter "D" on his cheek.*

Of these deserters, Mexican history says: "Their deportment deserves the greatest eulogies, for throughout all the battles they maintained the fire with extraordinary courage. A great number of them fell in the action, while those who survived, more unfortunate than their companions, suffered soon after a cruel death, or horrible torments, improper in a civilized age, and from a people who aspire to the title of illustrious and humane."

Pupils of Vauban and Cormontaigne recognized in the *tête-à-pont* a work constructed in accordance with the rules they prescribed and the principles they taught. The exterior side of the south front was seventy-five yards; in the curtain of this front were three embrasures, the fire from which swept the causeway towards San Antonio, and this was blocked for several hundred yards by a number of large, heavily loaded wagons, abandoned under the hot pursuit by Worth. On the east front the exterior side was 100 yards; the curtain had embrasures for four guns; to the right and left of the causeway were salients arranged for guns in barbette. The relief was fifteen feet; depth of water in the ditch, four feet.

The Convent of San Pablo, in solidity and strength all that could be desired, was fortified on the east and south front, having a parapet made of adobe, eight and a half feet thick and twenty steps in front of the gate of the convent; the ditch was broad and filled with water. For want of time the north and east sides had not been fortified; the curtain (only

* The companies of Dominquez, deserters from the Mexican army and regularly enlisted in the United States service, and of San Patrio, deserters from the American army on the Rio Grande, mostly of European nativity, and enrolled in the Mexican service with O'Riley as captain, first met in battle in the Convent of Churubusco, and the scorn with which they regarded and the ferocity with which they attacked each other, was a forcible illustration of the odium attached to treachery, even among traitors. Both companies fought bravely and neither seeking nor asking quarter, many were killed.

one) on the south front had embrasures for four guns, and in the salients to the right and left were guns in barbette. On the *azotea* and in the works below infantry were posted, and also occupied a banquette against the inside wall of the corral.*

The loss in General Shields' command was serious in the higher grades of officers. Brigadier-General Pierce when ordered to turn the Mexican right was sick. General Scott referred to him in his report as "just able to keep the saddle." Colonel Burnett, of the New York regiment, fell painfully wounded early in the battle; Colonel Morgan, of the Fifteenth Infantry, was also disabled by a serious wound after being in battle a short time; Colonel Butler, of the South Carolina regiment, had his horse killed, then advanced on foot, a few minutes subsequently was wounded in the leg, and turned over his regiment to Lieutenant-Colonel Dickenson, but resumed command, reformed his regiment under a heavy fire on the line indicated by the brigade commander, and was gallantly leading his men in the thickest of the fray when he fell dead shot through the head.† Lieutenant-Colonel Dickenson was mortally wounded about the same time, and Adj. James Canteley shot through the jaw. These great losses, three regimental commanders being disabled, naturally had a depressing effect, but General Shields‡ and his Staff exerted themselves to encourage the men, reform the ranks and lead them against the enemy; in no part of the field, and at no time during the memorable day, was more gallantry displayed or more dangers confronted than at Portales by Shields and Staff. When Lieutenant-Colonel Dickenson fell he was bearing aloft the Palmetto flag; Lieutenants Abney and Sumter were wounded early, but continued with their companies until the last shots were fired. Capt. J. D. Blanding, regimental commissary, joined a company and shared its dangers until wounded. Captain Hammond, quartermaster, aided the several regimental commanders by

*A walled enclosure for horses or cattle.

†Colonel Butler made a personal application to General Shields for a prominent position on the battle-field, for, said he, "South Carolina wants a place in the picture near the flashing of the guns."

‡ Subsequently United States Senator from Illinois, Minnesota, and Missouri.



PIERCE M. BUTLER,

COLONEL PALMETTO REGIMENT, S. C. VOLS.

KILLED AUG. 20 1847, AT THE BATTLE OF CHURUBUSCO, MEX.

bearing orders to subordinates. Lieutenant Shubrick, of the United States Navy, a volunteer aid to General Shields, having lost his horse, joined company "F" from his native city and fought as a private soldier with musket. Private Earle, of the quartermaster department, and not required to be in battle, joined his company and fought throughout the battle.

In the New York regiment Lieut.-Col. Charles Baxter displayed great coolness and courage, and had two horses shot under him. The sergeant-major, L. O'Reilly, fell in front of the colors of his regiment while advancing upon the enemy.

Color-Sergeant Romaine, having the national colors, after being disabled in his right arm, carried them with his left hand until shot dead. Corporal Lake, of the color-guard, then seized them and, falling immediately, Orderly Sergeant Doremus, of company "A," took charge of them until the contest closed.

Captains Holden and Denver, of the Twelfth Infantry battalion, and Lieutenants Steen, Perrin, and Simkins (the latter dangerously wounded) are referred to in reports as having acted with coolness and daring, and other officers of the Twelfth were also complimented.

Of the Ninth Infantry, Maj. Thomas H. Seymour* was commended for great activity, skill, and valor by Col. T. B. Ransom, who also complimented the adjutant, Lieut. C. J. Sprague and Captains Bodfish, Kimball, Thompson, and Wood, the latter commanding the battalion of the Twelfth Infantry, and Lieuts. W. A. Newman and A. T. Palmer, both of whom were wounded. Lieutenant-Colonel Howard, of the Fifteenth Infantry, who succeeded to the command of his regiment when Colonel Morgan was forced to retire by reason of a severe wound, was much distinguished, and his regiment fought well.

When in the forenoon of the 19th, Twiggs' division moved forward through San Augustin to take the lead of Pillow and cover him while engaged in making the road over the pedrigal, the cavalry corps of Alverez followed and halted in full view of the village, where Quitman remained to guard the trains, sick, reserved ordnance, etc., of the army. About 12 m. the

* Later Governor of Connecticut and Minister to Russia.

rear of Twiggs' command filed out of San Augustin, and near 2 p. m. artillery was heard in the direction of Padierna, and from the reports of cannon and the bursting of shells, was known to be Mexican artillery of heavier calibre than any of our own, moved forward with the troops. The artillery had been playing over an hour, and at times quite briskly, when a number of Mexican citizens of the town were seen on the roof of the hotel, the highest building in the place, looking anxiously towards Padierna.

General Quitman and other officers also mounted the roof of the hotel. The Mexican batteries, the flash of the guns, and occasionally the smoke of bursting shells could be seen, but the American artillery (Magruder's and Callender's batteries on lower ground) and the infantry, screened more or less by depressions in the lava beds or by weeds and bushes, could not be distinguished.

Before 3 p. m. General Scott leaving San Augustin rode out to the field and all eyes were turned towards Padierna to see, if possible, what effect his presence would produce. Ere long Quitman was ordered to send him two regiments and did so at once. The New York and South Carolina volunteer regiments under Brigadier-General Shields, were detailed, and soon on the march. Field glasses were used by officers on the hotel roof, and searching sweeps made in all directions near the field. Much excitement was created when a body of Mexican troops were seen approaching the field from the city, making the impression of great strength in numbers, some estimating them at 10,000. After General Shields left San Augustin, the Second Pennsylvania, Colonel Wm. B. Roberts, the battalion of the United States Marines, Lieut.-Col. Sam. E. Watson, and most of the cavalry remained to hold the depot.

All knew that a corps of 10,000 men in the heart of the enemy's country, in the immediate vicinity of the hostile capital, when compact and united, was not a large force, but it was now divided, one division (Worth's) confronting a strong force of the enemy intrenched at San Antonio, Pillow and Twiggs engaging a force believed to be larger than our whole army, and close upon Quitman's rear on the route over which the army had marched was the enemy's cavalry. The

feeling with the little reserve at San Augustin, late in the afternoon of August 19, 1847, was of intense and serious interest, and all believed one reverse would cause a failure of the campaign, and compromise even the safety of the army.

The large Mexican reinforcements approached Padierna, halted upon a high ridge and a few shots fired by a battery were regarded as indicating that this body of troops would not take an active part in the engagement. Our speculations were very unsatisfactory, for we could not see our own troops, nor had we heard much musketry, but we could see the batteries of Valencia, and the reinforcements arriving from the capital—nothing more.

Near sundown clouds gathered, it began to rain, and after dark General Scott returned to San Augustin. The rain increased in severity, the night was unusually dark and uncomfortably cold, and such reports as came from the front at that early hour were discouraging and embraced only operations in the *pedrigal*. The brigade that had reached the village beyond the *mal pais* had maintained its position apparently without difficulty ; this much was certain, for it could be seen from headquarters on Zacatepetl, but what the enemy would do during the night none could tell ; his communications were cut, less than two brigades of American infantry were between Valencia and the force displayed on the Hill of Toro before sunset, and other troops of the enemy were known to be not far in rear.

The commanding-general was calm, and, full of confidence, inspired all who came into his presence with like feelings. Anxious for detailed information from beyond the *pedrigal*, he knew of the difficulties and delays attending the crossing of it in the day, naturally greater at night, especially when the moon and stars were hidden by dark threatening clouds, as was then the case.

The difficulties presented by the ground increased and aggravated by night and a cold rain, cannot be properly estimated without a detailed and personal knowledge, and called for a display of great fortitude and endurance by troops never fully appreciated by their compatriots.

General Twiggs and Pillow arrived at headquarters about 9 p. m., their overcoats and the long white beard of the for-

mer dripping with water ; they gave no information not already known to the commanding-general, and referred briefly to their efforts to cross the *pedrigal* and to the discomforts of the night. After the report made by Captain Lee, who had returned from the far side of the *pedrigal* with a message from Brigadier-General Smith to General Scott, it was known that a battle would be fought at an early hour the following morning ; and although the reserve was not exposed to the wet and cold bivouac like their comrades confronting Valencia, it was to many nevertheless a sleepless night, all being intensely interested in the contest so soon to be waged.

The battle of Padierna (Contreras) was fought and won a little after sunrise of the 20th of August, 1847, before the reinforcements from Quitman and Worth, ordered during the night, reached the field, and they had barely arrived when they were ordered to return to their former positions. When Quitman's troops reached San Augustin an order was received directing most of the cavalry to the front, leaving for the garrison the Second Pennsylvania, the battalion of United States Marines, three companies of Dragoons, one of Rifles, and Steptoe's battery.

The roof of the hotel was again occupied as on the 19th, and all eyes were turned north towards the Mexican capital, a few of the officers having field glasses. About 12 m. artillery and musketry were heard, and to those who had been to the front as far as Worth's division, it was known to be beyond San Antonio, and between it and the city, but no one knew the exact point, and it is doubtful if any one of the little group had ever heard of such a place as Churubusco.

The firing was rapid, in volume exceeding any previously heard in battle, and to increase the excitement with the reserve, there was a collision between a portion of Alvarez's and our own cavalry, under Captain W. J. Hardee, resulting in the former's repulse, though the main body of his force remained in full view. The volume of musketry, its long duration, and apparently stationary position gave rise to much anxiety, as the fight had continued then over two hours ; a thin smoke could be seen over the tree tops in direction of the battle field, six miles distant, but no tidings came from the front. It is the experience of many that the reserve

with a battle—audible, but not visible—is not a desirable position to be in, especially if, as at San Augustin August 20th, the opinion prevailed that a defeat in front rendered your own destruction imminent, if not inevitable. Near 4 p. m. the quantity of musketry diminished; the artillery became indistinct and finally terminated. At dusk the little garrison learned that the enemy, after a stubborn fight, had been defeated, with the loss of many prisoners and all of his artillery. The report that our own loss had been serious caused much anxiety.

The numbers engaged and casualties on the American side are easily determined, but it is different with the Mexicans. General Scott's report shows that 4,500 of his army were engaged on the 19th and 20th of August at Contreras. The wounded officers on the 19th were Capt. J. W. Anderson, Second Infantry, and Lieut. J. P. Johnston, First Artillery, mortally; Lieut. F. D. Callender, of the ordnance, severely, and Lieuts. C. S. Lovell, Second Infantry, and Charles H. Humber, Seventh Infantry, slightly. On the 20th: Capt. Charles Hanson, Seventh Infantry, killed, and Captain Ross, same regiment, severely wounded; Lieut. Francis Collins, Fourth Artillery; Capt. Henry W. Wessells and Lieut. B. F. Tilden, Second Infantry, and Lieut. D. S. Lee, adjutant of the Eleventh Infantry, slightly wounded. The loss at Contreras cannot be given accurately, for the reason that the official reports do not in most cases give them separately from those sustained at Churubusco, but it is known that the loss on the 19th and 20th at Contreras was small, probably less than 100 killed and wounded.

Valencia's command fought at Contreras, and when it arrived in the Valley of Mexico from San Luis Potosi was composed of three brigades, commanded respectively by Generals Mejia, Parrodi, and Salas, and numbered four or five thousand. At San Angel, on the 18th, arms were distributed to some national guards—numbers not stated. With Valencia were two generals (Nicholas and Gonzales Mendoza) whose names, however, do not appear among those mentioned with him previous to the battle of Contreras, and whether they joined him with troops or not is not stated.

The casualties in Valencia's division on the 19th are not known. General Frontera was killed on the 19th in a charge upon Riley's brigade; General Parrodi wounded while among the guns on the hill. There were casualties when driven from the *pedrigal* and from Padierna on the 19th and in collisions with Riley—numbers, however, not known.

In the assault of the 20th, which lasted seventeen minutes, there were killed 700; wounded not reported; captured, 813, four of whom were generals, one an ex-President; twenty-two cannon of various calibre, in good order and with a large supply of ammunition, many small arms, including muskets, escopets, and 700 pack mules.

General Pillow's division present at Churubusco numbered 1,800; General Twiggs', 2,400; and General Worth's, 2,600, total, 7,040. From this number the Fourth Artillery, of Riley's brigade, Twiggs' division, and one company of the Fourth Infantry, Garland's brigade, Worth's division, should be deducted, the former detailed to guard prisoners and captured property at Contreras, the latter the trains near Cuapa, leaving a little over 6,500 infantry and artillery of the regular army—Pillow's, known as new regulars. Shields' two regiments, after the sick and details left at San Augustin and Contreras are deducted, numbered 626. The entire infantry and artillery force engaged was a little over 7,300, and the loss for the 19th and 20th at Contreras and for the latter day at Churubusco was an aggregate of 1,053.

In the Convent of San Pablo were the Independencia and Bravo battalions, 650 each; total, 1,300, to which must be added the cannoneers for six guns; in the *tete-de-pont* cannoneers for five guns, the San Patricio companies and the battalion of Tlapa, numbers not given. Along the Rio Churubusco, left of the bridge, north side, was the brigade of Perez—2,500, one regiment of which, the First Light, Colonel Gayoso, was at the bridge. General Bravo, driven from the causeway on his retreat from San Antonio by Worth, retired by Mexicalcingo and joined Perez at the *tete-de-pont*, with what force is not known. The number in the long lines of Mexican troops seen on the causeway, many of whom took part in the engagement known as Portales, is not stated.

General Scott estimated the number of Mexicans engaged on the 20th, including Contreras, Churubusco, on the road between San Antonio and Churubusco, the Portales, and on the road between this and the city, at 32,000, which is probably an over estimate. He does not include the affair at San Augustine, in which several hundred of the Mexican cavalry were engaged. Prisoners captured on the 19th and 20th were reported by the inspector-general, Colonel Hitchcock, as 2,637. He does not state the number captured at different points of collision. Mexican authorities do not give casualties at Churubusco, but they were known to have been heavy. At San Antonio and Churubusco fifteen cannon and many muskets were captured. The serious loss in Scott's army was at Churubusco.

General Scott in his official report, after having described the battle of Contreras, the pursuit of the enemy *via* San Angel and towards Churubusco, the turning of San Antonio, the capture of the *tete-de-pont* and Convent of San Pablo, the contest near the Hacienda de los Portales, and charge upon the flying enemy up to the Garita of San Antonio, says: "So terminated the series of events, which I have but feebly presented. My thanks were freely poured out on the different fields to the abilities and services of generals and other officers, to the zeal and prowess of all, the rank and file included. But a reward infinitely higher, the applause of a grateful country and Government will, I cannot doubt, be accorded in due time to such merit of every sort displayed by this glorious army, which has now overcome all difficulties, distance, climate, ground, fortifications and numbers.

"It has in a single day in many battles as often defeated 32,000 men, made about 3,000 prisoners, including eight generals, two of them ex-Presidents,* and 205 other officers killed and wounded, 4,000 of all ranks, besides entire corps dispersed and dissolved; captured thirty-seven pieces of ord-

*The exact number of prisoners was, according to the inspector-general's report, 2,637; of this number Generals Garay and Anaya were released unconditionally, being members of Congress; Generals Blanco and Garcia, being wounded and requesting it, were paroled "to enable them to receive the attention of their friends and families." In like manner Colonel Rodriguez and Ferro were also paroled, and permission given to remove into the city about forty-five wounded soldiers, to be designated by the Mexican surgeon-general.

nance, more than trebling our siege train and field batteries, with a large number of small arms, a full supply of ammunition of every kind. These great results have overwhelmed the enemy. Our loss amounts to 1,053; 139, including sixteen officers, were killed; 876, with sixty officers, were wounded. The greater number of dead and disabled men were of the highest worth. Those under treatment, thanks to our able medical corps, are generally doing well.

"After so many victories we might with but little additional loss have occupied the capital the same evening, but Mr. Trist, commissioner, as well as myself, had been admonished by the best friends of peace—intelligent neutrals and some American residents—against precipitation, lest by wantonly driving away the Government and others dishonored we might scatter the elements of peace, excite a spirit of desperation, and thus indefinitely postpone the hope of accommodation.

"Deeply impressed with the danger, and remembering our mission to conquer a peace, the army very cheerfully sacrificed to patriotism, to the great wish and want of our country, the *cclat* that would have followed an entrance, sword in hand, into a great capital.

"Willing to leave something to this republic of no immediate value to us on which to rest her pride and recover temper, I halted our victorious corps at the gates of the city, at least for a time, and have them now cantoned in the neighboring village, where they are well sheltered and supplied with all necessities."

That an armistice was predetermined by General Scott before marching from Puebla, upon the happening of certain contingencies, the following extract from a letter written by Lieutenant-Colonel Hitchcock (on General Scott's Staff), inspector-general, and published in the autumn of 1847, will clearly prove:

"A few words on the subject of the armistice may not be amiss. It is very generally believed that before the army left Puebla intercourse of some kind, looking towards a peace, had been partially established between the Americans and Mexicans, but it was said the Mexican authorities were restrained by public opinion, which was unable to conceive it

possible that the immense preparations in Mexico could fail to secure the city; but as General Scott's object in the whole of his operations in this country has been to bring about an honorable peace, he intimated before leaving Puebla precisely what he would do before he would, by force of arms, enter the capital.

“The Mexican army being so large and its appointments so complete, while the fortifications, which astonish all who see them, were constructed with scientific skill—all these facts made it necessary for General Scott to move from Puebla and strike a severe blow near the capital as the only means of convincing the Mexicans that, notwithstanding all their preparations, they could not resist the American army, small as it was. There was some hope that, by thus opening the eyes of the Mexican people in the capital, negotiations might be entered upon and a peace secured, to accomplish which important object General Scott was willing to forego all *eclat* of a forcible entrance into the capital. We know that all this was distinctly within the contemplation of General Scott before he put foot in the stirrup to leave the city of Puebla. His foresight and deliberate plan in this respect is one of the most remarkable incidents, all things considered, that has ever occurred in the history of wars. Let his position be considered; his distance from home; the extent of his march to Puebla; the distance yet to be overcome; the smallness of his force; the character of the city to be assailed; the great capital of a country, defended by an army fully three times his numbers and known to be so; that capital, surrounded by lakes or swamps and only to be approached by narrow causeways, with deep ditches on either side and swept by artillery in front and flank. In view of all this, General Scott said, before he left Puebla, in so many words, that he would march to the neighborhood of the capital and either defeat the Mexican army in the open field, if they would give him battle, or he would take a strong position from the enemy, and then, if he could restrain the enthusiasm of his army, he would pause without the city and summon it to surrender, in order to give the authorities within the city an opportunity and a motive—the safety of the capital—for making peace. He did precisely what he designed; he

marched from Puebla in four columns, with the interval of a day's march between each two columns, and arrived himself, being with the leading column at Ayotla, before Peñon, on the 11th of August."

After a brief summary of operations in the Valley, including those of August 20th, he says: "The American army, about 4 p. m., was in entire possession of all the outer defenses of the city on the San Antonio causeway, and could have entered the city that evening without serious difficulty. But the general had accomplished exactly what he had designed before he left Puebla. He therefore halted the troops and, after giving necessary instructions, returned by the San Antonio road to San Augustin, having been the whole day in the saddle directing the important operations briefly recited.

"In the evening he was visited by some Englishmen from the city, for what purpose is not precisely known, but the next morning the General started on the San Antonio road, turned to the left, and was met at Coyoacan, near Churubusco, by a deputation from the Mexican Government, under a flag,* proposing some terms which, whatever they were, were instantly rejected; and the General sent by the deputation† a paper he had prepared, offering to grant an armistice on certain conditions, the first being that the Mexican Government should appoint commissioners to receive and consider the propositions of the American Government, to be presented by an American commissioner, then at the headquarters of the army."

The following is the communication addressed by General Scott to the Mexican Government:

HEADQUARTERS OF THE ARMY,
UNITED STATES OF AMERICA,
COYOACAN, August 21, 1847.

To His Excellency the President and General-in-Chief of the Republic of Mexico.

SIR: Too much blood has already been shed in this unnatural war between the two great republics of this continent. It is time the dif-

* The white flag met by General Scott at Coyoacan the forenoon of the 21st was accompanied by Senores Basadre, Mora y Villamil, and Aranjós, sent by Pacheco, Minister of Foreign Relations, instructed to ask for an armistice of thirty hours to collect the wounded and bury the dead. Santa Anna was displeased at this, and remarked that it compromised him; this being repeated to Pacheco, he resigned.

† His letter of August 21st, inserted below.

ferences between them should be amicably and honorably settled, and it is known to Your Excellency that a commissioner on the part of the United States, clothed with full powers to that end, is with this army. To enable the two republics to enter on negotiations, I am willing to sign on reasonable terms a short armistice. I shall await with impatience until to-morrow morning for a direct answer to this communication, but shall in the meantime seize and occupy such positions outside of the capital as I may deem necessary to the shelter and comfort of this army.

I have the honor to remain with high consideration, etc.,

Your Excellency's most obedient servant,

WINFIELD SCOTT.

The Mexican authorities replied promptly as follows :

WAR AND NAVY DEPARTMENT,
SECTION OF OPERATIONS.

SIR : The undersigned, Secretary of War and the Navy of the Government of the United States of Mexico, has received orders from the Most Excellent President, General-in Chief, to answer the communication of Your Excellency, in which you propose to him to enter into an armistice, with a view to prevent the further effusion of blood between the two great republics of this continent and to hear the propositions which may be made to that end by the commissioner of the Most Excellent President of the United States of America, who is at present at the headquarters of your army.

It is certainly lamentable that inconsiderate regard to the rights of the Mexican republic has led to the shedding of blood by the two first republics of this American continent, and with great exactness Your Excellency has characterized this war as unnatural—not alone for its motives, but likewise on account of its being produced by two nations whose interests and relations are identified with each other. The proposition of an armistice to terminate this scandal has been accepted with pleasure by His Excellency the President, General-in-Chief, because it will open the way through the propositions of the commissioner of the President of the United States of America for the decorous termination of this war.

In consequence, His Excellency the President, General-in-Chief, has ordered me to announce to Your Excellency that he admits your proposition to make an armistice, to effect which he has nominated the Brigadier-Generals Mora y Villamil and Benito Quijano, who will meet at the hour and place you may appoint.

His Excellency the President, General in-Chief, has instructed me to communicate to Your Excellency his willingness that the army of the United States shall take commodious and furnished quarters, hoping that they will be found without the range of shot from the Mexican fortifications.

I have the honor to be with high consideration and respect, Your Excellency's most obedient servant,

ALCORTA.

To His Excellency WINFIELD SCOTT,

General-in-Chief of the Army of the United States.

The commissioners appointed by General Scott were Major-General Quitman, Brigadier-General Franklin Pierce, and Brevet-Brigadier-General Smith; the convention was concluded on the 23d and ratified on the 24th.

By the terms of the convention hostilities were to cease instantly and absolutely between the two armies within thirty leagues of the Mexican capital. No military work or new fortifications were to be made, enlarged or strengthened within these limits. Any reinforcements or munitions of war, other than subsistence now approaching either army, shall be stopped at a distance of twenty-eight leagues from the capital.

The American army was not to obstruct the passage from the country into the City of Mexico of the ordinary supplies of food necessary for the inhabitants or the Mexican army within the city, nor were the Mexican authorities, civil or military, to do any act to obstruct the passage of supplies from the city or the country needed by the American army. The armistice was to continue as long as the commissioners of the two Governments may be engaged in negotiations, or until the commander of either army shall give formal notice to the other of its cessation and for forty-eight hours after such notice.

On the 21st General Worth's division, that had bivouacked at Ladvillera the night of the 20th, marched to Tacubaya, whither General Scott had preceded it and established his headquarters in the Bishop's Palace. Quitman's troops remained at San Augustin, and Shields' brigade returned there. Twiggs' division was quartered at San Angel and Pillow's at Mixcoac.

When the little army under General Taylor marched from Corpus Christi in March, 1846, towards the Rio Grande the vexed questions at issue between the United States and Mexico were transferred from the peaceful domain of diplomacy to the bloody arbitrament of arms. Battles had been fought,

and, though the Americans were always victorious, the Mexicans had contended in some instances stubbornly, and suffered defeat without loss of honor, as was the case at Monterey, Buena Vista, and Churubusco. Within cannon range of the capital, at the head of an army flushed with triumph, his opponents believed to be incapable of further resistance, General Scott halted his forces. Bloody swords were returned to their scabbards, a truce was sounded, and to diplomacy with hopes of success was again assigned the duty of assuaging the bitter feeling engendered by strife and of terminating the war.

CHAPTER XVIII.

MAJOR LALLY'S MARCH FROM VERA CRUZ TO JALAPA.—GUERRILLAS ATTACK TRAINS IN THE TIERRA CALIENTE, PASO OVEJAS, NATIONAL BRIDGE, AND CERRO GORDO.—STONING OF AMERICAN TEAMSTERS IN THE CITY OF MEXICO.—MEETING OF PEACE COMMISSIONERS.—PROJET SUBMITTED BY MR. TRIST.—COUNTER PROJET ON THE PART OF MEXICAN COMMISSIONERS.—A MEETING OF GENERAL OFFICERS AT SCOTT'S HEADQUARTERS, SEPTEMBER 6.—ARMISTICE DISSOLVED.

The armistice having brought about a temporary suspension of active operations, we will refer briefly to the annoyances and dangers attending the route between Vera Cruz and Jalapa, due to the natural features of the country and to the numerous armed guerrilla bands infesting the high and byways. Before General Scott marched from Puebla he knew that considerable reinforcements from Vera Cruz would soon join his command, but though much needed he did not await their arrival, apprehending some detention and being anxious to begin without further delay the forward movement into the Valley of Mexico.

On August 6 Major Lally, Ninth Infantry, marched from Vera Cruz with a force estimated to be a little over one thousand men, composed of companies "H" and "K" of the Fourth "C" and "D" of the Fifth, "G," "I," and "K" of the Twelfth, "K" of the Eleventh, and "G" of the Fifteenth Infantry; "D" and "K" of the Voltigeurs; Captain Loyall's company Georgia Mounted Volunteers; Captain Be-

sangon's company Louisiana Mounted Volunteers, and two 6-pounders under 2d Lieut. H. B. Sears, Second Artillery. Thirteen men of Captain Fairchild's company of Louisiana Mounted Volunteers joined it on the march, with a train of sixty-four wagons.

A report current among the Mexicans that a large amount of specie was being transported into the interior for the payment of the American troops stimulated the guerrillas of the *tierra caliente* to vigorous action. The Governor of the State of Vera Cruz, General Don Juan Soto, organized and took command of a force supposed to be between one and two thousand strong, among them being portions of the Vera Cruz paroled prisoners.

The fourth day out from Vera Cruz Lally, much annoyed throughout the morning by a distant fire of escopets, was attacked at the Pass of Ovejas on the head, center, and rear of his column. The guerrillas, in position on a ridge in front and to the right, on which were the ruins of an old stone building, opened fire and at the same time attacked the center and rear. Lieutenant Sears with his two 6-pounders fired, using solid shot against the stone building, and grape among those of the enemy exposed to view near it. The companies of Capt. Wm. J. Clark and Lieut. Charles R. Jones, both of the Twelfth Infantry, remained at the head of the train, while the left wing, under Capt. F. M. Winans, Fifteenth Infantry, was ordered forward to drive the enemy from the ridge and house on the right and front; the men were raw recruits, unskilled in the use of the musket, and much of their firing was at random. Capt. Benjamin Alvord, of the Fourth Infantry, acting as Assistant Adjutant-General, with Major Lally, distinguished himself greatly in rallying and leading them forward; Lieut. John W. Leigh, of the Voltigeurs, acted with conspicuous gallantry, led his men against the stone building, and with Alvord drove the guerrillas off. The attack on the head of the train was repulsed by Captain Winans, Fifteenth; that on the rear by Captain Hutter, of the Sixth, while 2d Lieut. Clinton W. Lear, Fifth Infantry, drove back that directed upon the center. Early in the attack in front, Capt. J. N. Caldwell, of the Voltigeurs, and Capt. Arthur C. Cummings, Eleventh Infantry, fell at the head of their companies, severely wounded; nine men were wounded, one mortally. The fight continued one and a half hours; loss sustained by the enemy not known.

Approaching the *Puente Nacional*, August 12, Major Lally's command found it held by the enemy in considerable force ; a strong barricade had been constructed on the bridge, and upon the heights beyond the guerrillas were intrenched in houses right and left of the road, and the banks of the Rio Antigua were such as to prevent its being crossed, except by the bridge.

At 1.30 p. m., Lieut. Wm. D. Wilkins, Fifteenth Infantry, with his company formed in one rank, advanced upon the bridge towards the barricade near, followed by the two six-pounders; in rear were the companies of Captain Clark, Twelfth, and Lieutenant Alonzo Loring, Eleventh Infantry. When near the barricade, they were exposed to a heavy infantry fire from it and from the houses and heights beyond. A few rounds of canister were fired, and the six-pounders withdrawn, one but a short distance under Lieut. D. A. Russell, Fourth Infantry, the other, under Lieutenant Sears, to a commanding position near the head of the train in rear. These two guns opened fire upon the guerrillas on the heights beyond the bridge, alternating with solid and grape shot, and in the meantime Lieutenants Wilkins and Michael P. Doyle, Fifteenth Infantry, and Lieutenant Loring with a small party rushed forward and removed the barricade, and a second party of infantry, preceded by a mounted detachment, advanced and drove the guerrillas back.

Lieut. James M. Winder, Voltigeurs, was mortally wounded while aiding in withdrawing the artillery ; one of his men was killed, and seven wounded. In Lieutenant Wilkins' company twelve men were wounded, two mortally ; 2d Lieut. Chas. M. Creanor, Twelfth Infantry, acting quartermaster, and Captain Clark, of the same regiment, were seriously wounded; also Lieut. Geo. Adams, of the Marine Corps, temporarily attached to Company H, Fourth Infantry, and aiding at the time Lieut. Stanford W. Waters in withdrawing one of the guns from the bridge. Mr. Geo. D. Twiggs, expecting a commission, and *en route* to join his uncle, General Twiggs, on whose Staff he was to serve as aid, was killed while acting as Major Lally's aid, deeply lamented by all who knew him. The loss in this affair was one officer killed, four wounded, twelve men killed and forty-three wounded, seven mortally; aggregate, sixty.

Major Lally sent back to Vera Cruz on the 12th inst. for reinforcements, and remained at the bridge until the 14th, when receiving no reply, he resumed the march and halted near dark in the Plan del Rio.

The train guarded by one company of infantry, and the sick increased by the severe and oppressively hot march of the day before, were left at Plan del Rio. It being reported that the guerrillas in considerable force were holding the Cerro Gordo pass and neighboring heights, Lally, early on the 15th, advanced his infantry force, organized in two battalions, one under Captain Hutter, Sixth, the other under Lieutenant Ridgely, of the Fourth Infantry. As they approached the battle-field of Cerro Gordo they discovered that the several batteries left of the main highway, held by Santa Anna in April, were now occupied by the guerrillas; that beyond where the road followed by Twiggs and Worth bore off abruptly to the right, the heights and chapparal swarmed with them; and that where the battery of heavy guns had been placed in the road a strong barricade now stood.

The first shots fired came from the chapparal and heights beyond the point where the Twiggs path left the main road. The two 6-pounders fired grape and canister for some minutes into the chapparal along the slopes of the ridges; then Capt. C. C. Hornsby's and Lieutenant Jones' company, Twelfth and Lieutenant Wilkins' Fifteenth Infantry were thrown forward, followed by Lieutenant Leigh's Voltigeur company. The dense woods impeded the movement, but the guerrillas were driven off. To operate on the left of the road and to drive the bands from Santa Anna's old line three companies, two of the Fourth and one of the Fifth Infantry, the former commanded by Lieut. Henderson Ridgely and Sergeant H. L. Carter, the latter by 2d Lieut. Clinton W. Lear, of the Fifteenth Infantry, all under Ridgely, were ordered to advance. This battalion was guided by Lieutenant Klotz, Second Pennsylvania Infantry, who had been in the attack made by General Pillow. The different batteries on this side of the road were filled with guerrillas, and as Ridgely approached battery No. 2 discharges of canister came from two 9-pounders, but passed over the heads of his men, inflicting no casualties. Having made a close reconnaissance, he ordered his men to charge No. 2; they moved forward, without a halt crossed the line, and the enemy retired, leaving the two 9-pounders, not mounted, and nine thousand musket cartridges. This battery was taken about 4 p. m., with the loss of one man killed and eight wounded; enemy's loss not known. Ridgely's musketry being heard, Captain Hutter

was ordered to his support, but the line had been carried when he arrived. The companies were disposed along the line and bivouacked for the night. After dark Lieutenant Leigh of the Voltigeurs moved up the road and removed the barricade, and the next morning the troops advanced and occupied the Cerro Telégrafo. Lally's entire loss was two men killed and eleven wounded.

On the 15th Assistant Surgeon George E. Cooper, escorted by thirteen Louisiana Mounted Volunteers, joined and informed Major Lally that reinforcements had been ordered forward from Vera Cruz, and the latter at once directed Captain Besançon, Briscoe's Louisiana battalion, Mounted Volunteers, to return with fifty men to the National Bridge to meet these troops. Besançon proceeded as far as the bridge, found it again held by the guerrillas in force, and naturally inferred that the reinforcements, unable to force the passage, had returned to Vera Cruz. On his return Major Lally resumed the march for Jalapa. The train and sick had rested three nights at the Plan del Rio, two miles from Jalapa. At Las Animas he was again assailed late on the 9th by guerrillas posted behind a stone fence. The cavalry retired from the front; the artillery came into battery and fired several rounds of canister; the infantry then charged and dispersed their assailants, the detention lasting only an hour. Lally lost two killed and six wounded, he being one of the latter, and other ranking officers being sick, Captain Alvord of the Fourth Infantry assumed command. In addition to the actions described the command was fired upon at various points along the road, suffering a loss of five killed and four wounded. It halted in the suburbs of the town and bivouacked. Lieut. D. A. Russell, who was sent with a communication to the Alcalde, being fired upon in the streets, returned. At daylight on the 20th, Lally being assured by citizens that the town was friendly, occupied it without opposition; the sick left there by order of General Scott had not been molested.

Thus a train of sixty-four wagons, with an escort of over one thousand men, had been forced by the guerrillas to spend thirteen days on the road between Vera Cruz and Jalapa, a trip ordinarily requiring but five; one hundred and five men had been put *hors de combat*, while over two hundred had been made sick by exposure to the sun of the *tierra caliente*. With Major Lally were Mr. H. B. Johnson, of Pittsburg, and Baron Von

Grom, a Prussian, who as scouts rendered valuable service ; the first, reconnoitering the guerrillas at Cerro Gordo, approached too near and was killed ; the latter, well recommended from his own country, was kindly received on his arrival in the city of Mexico, and while in that capital was announced in orders as aide-de-camp to General Scott.

The armistice granted by General Scott was intended to facilitate the conclusion of peace, and many believed (in which opinion he concurred) that the Mexican Government would infinitely prefer an amicable settlement of differences to the occupation of the capital by a conquering army.

August 25, the Mexican Minister of Foreign Affairs received a note from Mr. Nicholas P. Trist, informing him that he had been appointed commissioner by the President of the United States, with powers to negotiate with a commissioner or commissioners on the part of the Mexican Government, and to conclude a durable peace, etc., and requesting that a day and place of meeting be designated. On the 26th he was advised that persons would be appointed "to hear propositions looking to peace," and that he would be met by them at 4 p. m. the 27th, at the town of Azapotzalco, intermediate to the two armies, and he replied that he would repair to that point at the hour designated.

On the 27th, at a *junta* of ministers, Santa Anna appointed as commissioners Señor Gen. D. José Joaquin de Herrera, Señor Don Antonio Fernandez Monjardin, and Señor Don Antonio Garay; the first named asked to be excused, but his request was denied; the other two also asked to be relieved, and their request was granted. The commission was finally composed of General Herrera, Señor Couto, Gen. Mora y Villamil, Señor Atrislain, and Secretary Miguel Arroyo.

All diplomatic history shows that the task assigned the Mexican commissioners, representing as they did the weaker and defeated party, was both ungracious and difficult. General Herrera, head of the commission, had been driven from the presidency by Paredes, because he was disposed to acknowledge the independence of Texas. Chief of a party known at the time to be favorable to peace, respected for his integrity and his many virtues, his appointment imparted to the negotiations about to be attempted on the part of Mexico a certain respectability; but he was admitted by Mexican authorities to be not well versed in international rights or law.

Couto was a good lawyer and accomplished scholar, had figured prominently in the political arena and in deliberative assemblies, though he had never ruled in the tribune or been chief of any parliamentary clique. Deemed suitable for the duties of the commission, and acknowledged to be a learned man, well versed in civil and constitutional law, it was nevertheless admitted that he was absolutely deficient in diplomatic tact, most essential on that occasion. It was said of him that he fulfilled his duty, and that the notes and documents drawn by him bore indisputable evidence of learning and patriotism. It has since become known that he was for peace.

Señor Mora y Villamil, who was of military antecedents and of much political prominence, was an active partisan of Santa Anna; for this reason was selected as one of the commissioners to negotiate the armistice, and did not deny he was for peace at any price. Skilled as an engineer, able to discuss limits and boundaries, he had, however, no experience in diplomacy and was not fit to handle questions affecting so vitally the interest of Mexico.

Señor Atristain, the last of the commissioners, was implicated as an agent of an English house in grave affairs with the Government, and according to public report had been placed by that influence on this commission, the issue of which was an affair almost of life or death to the republic. Injustice may have been done him, but he was conspicuous on a former occasion advocating and voting for in Congress an arrangement of the foreign debt, from which this house derived great benefits; hence, whatever his talents and diplomatic skill, he would be regarded as a mere agent of this foreign house, interested probably in obtaining a peace that would secure to it the collection of large sums of money at little cost and opening up new and remunerative business. Such was the estimate held by Mexicans of the commissioners appointed by Santa Anna to negotiate peace with the United States under circumstances most unfavorable to Mexico.

On the 27th, and before the peace commissioners had held their first meeting, a disagreeable as well as most disgraceful affair for Mexico and an exceedingly irritating one to the American Army, occurred in the city of Mexico—one that might have provoked a renewal of hostilities without the notice stipulated in the armistice.

More than one hundred wagons of the American Army that had gone into the city, by virtue of the seventh article of the truce, to obtain certain supplies and money from foreign houses,* were surrounded by a mob, among which were many infuriated women, and volleys of stones were thrown at the teamsters, inflicting painful wounds and bruises. The Government called out troops to disperse the rioters, but this only increased their fury. Neither appeals nor threats of force had any effect, and it was not until General Herrera appeared on the streets and harangued them, telling them that on the field of battle they should be valiant and fight, but never assault unarmed men, that quiet was restored. The wagons left the city without obtaining what they came for, but returned and received their loads. An apology was offered for this infraction of the armistice and accepted.

In the afternoon of the same day, August 27, 1847, the commissioners met and exchanged evidence of their respective powers; those of Mr. Trist were full and ample in all respects, while those of the Mexicans were confined to receiving propositions from the United States commission if drawn up, or to make memoranda of them if made verbally. Mr. Trist at once called their attention to this limitation, and in reply it was stated that when the time for treating arrived they would present their full powers. This proving satisfactory to Mr. Trist, he presented the *projet* of a treaty, given afterwards to the President of the Republic. In this first interview it was agreed that their subsequent meetings should be at Señor Alfaro's house, on the road between the city and Tacubaya.

In the *projet* submitted by Mr. Trist, the most important feature was that relating to the line separating Mexico from the United States, which—and the treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo did not vary it materially—was to begin “three leagues from land in front of the mouth of the Rio Grande, thence along the middle of that river to where it touches the southern limit of New Mexico, thence along the southern limit of the same to the southwest angle of the same, thence northward along its westward line to where the same is cut by the first branch of the Gila, and downward by the middle of said branch and of

* The chief quartermaster and commissary of the Army, it was reported, had but \$75,000 between them when the Army advanced from Puebla.

said river Gila, until it empties into the Colorado, and on through the middle of the Gulf of California to the Pacific Ocean."

In consideration of the vast extension of the limits of the United States they were to abandon forever all reclamation against Mexico on account of the costs of the war, to agree to pay to Mexico, etc., to assume and pay certain debts due by Mexico to citizens of the United States. Mexico also was to concede forever to the citizens of the United States the right of transport across the Isthmus of Tehauntepec, free from all tolls and charges, etc. When these terms became known to the Mexican Government, a profound sensation was observed. New instructions were given to their commissioners, and the demand insisted on that the American commissioner should declare the motives of the war, the ends proposed, whether the pretensions of the United States were not founded solely on force, whether Texas came into possession of the United States by annexation or by purchase, the Mexican Government not being willing to recognize any other title than that from negotiations; that it could not recognize greater limits than the province of Texas, etc. In fine, all asked by Mr. Trist was refused.

Full instructions were given to the Mexican commissioners, August the 13th, which they should neither exceed nor disregard without previous authority from the Government. These conditions rendered the position of the Mexican commissioners exceedingly embarrassing, limiting their power, no matter how great their skill or favorable their chances. They requested to be relieved of their onerous duties, and had a long conference with the President, resulting in a resolution of the council of ministers "amplifying the instructions in this sense," viz.: "That you approximate to them as much as possible, agreeing to some modifications, which the circumstances of the country may exact as well as to things of minor importance which may arise during the discussion." * * * "In a word, the supreme government has chosen you as the nation has frequently done, aware of your distinction and patriotism, and has confided to your hands the honor and interests of the country."

September 1, at the third meeting, the Mexican commissioners exhibited plenary powers; the result of this and the following conference was the belief that Mr. Trist was disposed

to abandon his pretensions to Lower and a part of Upper California, enabling them (the Mexicans), to communicate by land with Sonora, and offered, if there remained no other obstacle to adjusting a peace, to consult his Government as to the territory between the Brazos and Nueces, such a step only necessitating a delay of forty days.

With respect to New Mexico Mr. Trist stated that its retention was a *sine qua non* of peace. After much discussion the Mexican commissioners returned to the capital and reported to the Government the state of the negotiations. Numerous *juntas* were convened, many various opinions and suggestions were expressed and discussed, maps were spread before them, the loss of territory was pointed out; some rejected with indignation the terms proposed, others spoke of the resources on which the Government could still rely for the prosecution of the war and of the positive injury it would bring.

Señor Couto designated with calmness the dividing line proposed by Mr. Trist, who proposed to prolong the armistice for forty-five days so that he might consult with his Government. The idea of extending the armistice was characterized by the Minister of Foreign Relations as a snare to collect more troops during this interval, those already with General Scott being insufficient, and he declared it necessary to rebuke the pride of the Americans, whom with a decided and patriotic effort they could easily overcome and win a brilliant place in history, and he advised them to spurn the terms offered.

Others weighed more calmly the means at their disposal to prosecute the war, and disagreed with the minister as to the prolongation of the armistice which would give time for their own forces to recover *morale*, etc. Finally, mindful of the gravity of the situation a junta of learned and influential persons was proposed, and the names of Alaman, Gomez, Pedraza, and Rodriguez, of Puebla, suggested; this scheme was supported by General Herrera, and agreed to, but defeated by Santa Anna.* September 5 the Mexican commissioners were informed that the

* During the armistice a report was circulated that Santa Anna had intimated to General Scott that if the United States Government would guarantee the payment to him of a million of dollars he would induce the Mexican commissioners to accept Mr. Trist's proposed treaty, and that when General Scott informed him he had no authority to promise the said amount he (Santa Anna) declared the negotiations at an end.

government would not consent to a prolongation of the armistice, and would not agree to the cession of New Mexico.

The note to the commissioners concludes thus: "In New Mexico and in the few leagues which intervene between the right of the Nueces and the left of the Rio Grande, is peace or war. If the commissioner of the United States will not leave to the Mexican Government more to choose than this cession and death, in vain his Government rules it; henceforth he can be assured what will be the answer. If, likewise, the United States have made their election and prefer violence or our humiliation, it shall be they who will answer to God and to the world."

The Mexican commissioners accordingly submitted a counter *projet* of a treaty, only a few features of which will be referred to; the third article required all forts, places, possessions taken or occupied during the war to be restored; arms, artillery, munitions in castles or forts fallen into the power of the United States to be restored; also, artillery taken outside of castles, forts, etc., now in the possession of the United States troops to be restored to Mexico.

In the matter of boundary, article fourth prescribed the dividing line as follows: Commencing in the Gulf of Mexico, three leagues from land, opposite the southern* mouth of the bay of Corpus Christi, shall run in a straight line from within the said bay to the mouth of the Nueces river, thence through the middle of that river in all its course to its source, from this point in a straight line until it meets the present frontier of New Mexico on the east-southeast side until it touches the thirty-seventh degree, which will serve as a limit to both republics, from the point in which it touches the said frontier of the west of New Mexico to the Pacific Ocean.

The Government of Mexico promises to found no new settlements or establish colonies between the Nueces and Rio Grande.

5th article. As a just compensation for this extension of their old limits which the United States acquired by this treaty, they shall pay over to Mexico the sum of, etc., etc., etc.

This counter-*projet* was delivered to Mr. Trist on September 6 with a note from the Mexican commissioners which is inserted as it is believed to be important and interesting:

* This means the Pass of Corpus Christi, 16 miles south of Aransas Pass.

To his Excellency, Señor D. Nicholas P. Trist, Commissioner, with full powers of the Government of the United States, near the Government of Mexico:

HOUSE OF ALFARO, AT CHAPULTEPEC, *Sept. 6, 1847.*

The undersigned, commissioners of the Mexican Republic, to form with you an agreement of peace, placing in your hand the counter *projet* which they formed in accordance with the last instructions of their Government, deem it opportune to accompany it with the observations which this note contains, which will serve to show more clearly the pacific disposition of Mexico in the contest which unfortunately divides both countries.

Article 4 of the *projet* which you were pleased to deliver to us on the evening of the 27th ultimo, and which was discussed at our previous conferences, imports the cession of part of Mexico: 1st. The State of Texas. 2d. Of the territory without the limits of the said State, which extends to the left bank of the Bravo and to the southern boundary of New Mexico. 3d. All New Mexico. 4th. Of the two Californias.

The war which now exists has been caused solely on account of the territory of the State of Texas, to which the Republic of North America presents as a title the act of the same State by which it annexed itself to the North American Confederacy, after having proclaimed its independence of Mexico. The Mexican Republic agreeing (as we have manifested to you that it does) on account of the owing indemnity to the pretensions of the Government at Washington to the Territory of Texas the cause of the war has disappeared, and it should cease, since all the reasons for continuing it have ceased to exist. In regard to the other territories comprehended in the fourth article of your *projet*, until now the Republic of North America has urged no claim, nor did we believe it possible that any could be alleged. It then could not acquire them by right of conquest, or by that which would result from sale or cession, to which it would now force Mexico. But as we are persuaded that the Republic at Washington would not only absolutely repel but would hold in odium the first of these titles, and as, on the other hand, it would be a new thing that war should be made upon a people for the simple reason that it refuses to sell a territory which its neighbor wishes to purchase, we hope, from the justice of the Government and people of North America, that the great modification which we have to propose of the cession of territory (without the State of Texas), which is claimed in the said article 4, will not be considered a motive for continuing a war which the worthy General of the North American forces has justly characterized as *uncommon—desnaturalizada*.

In our conferences we have declared to you that Mexico can not cede the belt of land comprehended between the left bank of the Bravo and the right of the Nueces. The reason of this is not only the full certainty that the stated territory never has belonged to the State of Texas, nor that it is of great value considered in itself. It is that this zone with the Bravo at its back forms the natural frontier of Mexico as much in a military as

in a commercial point of view ; and of no people should it be claimed, nor should any people consent to abandon such a frontier. But, in order to remove all cause of dissension for the future the Government of Mexico binds itself not to found new settlements or establish colonies in the space between the two rivers ; in this manner preserving it in the depopulated state in which it now exists, presenting equal security to both Republics. The preservation of this territory is, according to our instructions, a condition *sine qua non* of peace. Sentiments of honor and delicacy (which your noble character will cause you to estimate properly), more than a calculation of interest, prevent our Government from consenting to the dismemberment of New Mexico. On this point we believe it to be superfluous to add anything to what we have already stated to you in our conferences.

The cession of Lower California, little profitable to North America, offers great embarrassments, considering the position of that peninsula opposite our coasts of Sonora, from which it is separated by the Gulf of Cortez.

You have given to our observations on this subject their true value, and we have learned with satisfaction that you have been convinced by them.

Besides the preservation of Lower California, it would be necessary for Mexico to retain a portion of the Upper ; otherwise that peninsula would remain without land communication with the remainder of the Republic, which would always be a great embarrassment, especially for a non-maritime power such as Mexico. The cession of the part of Upper California offered by our Government (for the compensation) will not bring to the United States merely fertile lands and intact mineral wealth, but presents the advantage of an uninterrupted communication with its territory of Oregon. The wisdom of the Government of Washington and the energy of the American people will know how to draw abundant fruits from the acquisition which we now offer them.

In article 8 of your *projet* the concession of a free passage by the Isthmus of Tehautepec to the Southern Sea is claimed in favor of the North Americans. We have verbally stated to you that some years have elapsed since the Government gave a privilege of this kind to a particular individual, who afterwards transferred it, with the authority of the same Government, to English subjects, of whose rights Mexico can not dispose. You will not complain, therefore, that in this point we can not accede to the desire of your Government.

We have entered into this ingenuous explanation of the motives of the republic for not ceding all the territory beyond the boundaries of Texas which is required of it, because we desire that the Government and North American people should be convinced that our partial negative does not proceed from sentiments of aversion generated by the events of this war, or by what it has caused Mexico to suffer, but only from considerations dictated by reason and justice, and which would equally influence at any time with the most friendly people, and in the midst of relations of the strictest amity. The other alterations which you will find in our counter-*projet* are of less importance, and we believe that to them you will find

no important objection. The contents of article 12 have been already spoken of in your country ; we flatter ourselves that your Government will not refuse to contract an obligation so conformable to honor and to the harmony in which two neighboring people should live.

Peace between the two countries will be most solemnly established if a foreign power (England), which has in the present contest so nobly interposed its good offices, would now consent to guarantee the faithful observance of the treaty which may be entered into. The Government of Mexico understands that it would be convenient to solicit this guarantee.

Our Government has commanded us to recommend to you that your decision upon the counter *projet* which we have the honor to submit to you should be communicated within three days.

The salutary work of peace can not, in our opinion, come to a happy termination if each one of the contending parties should not resolve to abandon some of its original pretensions. This has in all cases happened and all nations have not hesitated in such cases to make great sacrifices to extinguish the desolating flame of war. Mexico and the United States have special reasons for acting in this manner. Not without sorrow ought we to confess that we are giving to humanity the scandalous example of two christian people of two republics in the view of all the monarchies, who, for a dispute concerning boundaries, mutually do themselves all the injury that is possible, when we have more land than is sufficient to populate and cultivate in the beautiful hemisphere in which Providence has cast our lot. We venture to recommend these considerations to your Excellency before you may take any definitive resolution on our propositions. We do ourselves the honor to offer to you our attention and respect.

JOSÉ JOAQUIN DE HERRERA.
BERNARDO COUTO.
IGNACIO MORAY VILLAMIL.
MIGUEL ATRISTAIN.

The above note was delivered without discussion to Mr. Trist, who agreed to answer it on the following day (seventh), but did not do so as the diplomatic conferences terminated with it.

In obedience to General Scott's summons a number of general officers met at his headquarters in Tacubaya on September 6. Worth and two brigadier generals were absent, and when Quitman, the last to arrive, had dismounted, all were invited into a room, in which the General-in-Chief, several of his Staff, two or three engineers and an ordnance officer were assembled. In the center of the room, which was not large, was a small table, at which General Scott was seated, with his conferees grouped around. When all were seated he said : " I am most fortunate to command an Army of great intelligence ; among its officers

are many that are ever watchful of the public interests, and of the skill, courage, and patriotism of all I have abundant evidence. Within a few days after the armistice had been granted it was reported to me that the enemy were violating its terms ; this information was volunteered, given by those watchful subordinates, who may have believed that the commander of the Army, preoccupied with other cares, was not as alert in this direction as themselves. These reports of bad faith on the part of the enemy were repeated several times. I had not thought so badly of General Santa Anna as to believe he would willingly violate any of the terms of our armistice. It is of public notoriety that our teamsters, with their wagons in the city by virtue of the armistice, were maltreated in broad daylight in the Grand Plaza ; but this was the act of a mob, and an explanation and an apology were made and accepted by me. But there has been other violation of the armistice, and I have positive information of the fact ; the enemy began to work on fortifications near the Alameda the night of September 3 ; of this I am positive. I have therefore called you to headquarters to advise upon the propriety of dissolving the armistice, or—after a pause—to inform you that I have dissolved it and to read to you my letter to General Santa Anna notifying him of the fact.”

Looking over the table before him and on the floor beneath, he exclaimed : “I have torn it up.” Whilst talking he had torn it into very small pieces, seen lying on the table and floor. He then asked his secretary, Lieutenant Lay, to have paper brought and wrote and dispatched the following letter to President Santa Anna :

HEADQUARTERS OF THE ARMY OF THE U. S. OF AMERICA,

TACUBAYA, *September 6, 1847.*

To His Excellency the President and General-in-Chief of the Mexican Republic.

SIR : The seventh article, as also the twelfth, that stipulates *that trade shall remain unmolested*—of the armistice or military convention, which I had the honor to ratify and to exchange with your Excellency the 24th ultimo—have been repeatedly violated, beginning soon after date, on the part of Mexico ; and I now have good reasons to believe that within the last forty-eight hours, if not earlier, the third article of that convention has been equally violated by the same party. These direct breaches of faith give to this Army the most perfect right to resume hostilities against Mexico without any notice whatever ; but to allow time for possible explanation, apology, or reparation, I now give formal notice that unless full

satisfaction on these allegations should be received by me by 12 o'clock meridian to-morrow I shall consider the said armistice at an end from and after that hour.*

I have the honor to be your Excellency's most obedient servant,
WINFIELD SCOTT.

Having read the above letter to them he remarked that he had required the terms of the armistice to be honorably observed, and had not even permitted his engineers to reconnoitre in their immediate vicinity. He then directed them to hold their commands ready for action, and stated that reconnoissance would be made and a battle fought probably in the next forty-eight hours. General Santa Anna replied promptly to Scott's communication, and the following extracts from it are given :

"The civil and military authorities of Mexico have not obstructed the passage of provisions for the American Army, and if at any times their transmission has been retarded it has been owing to the imprudence of the American agents, who, without having a previous understanding with the proper authorities, gave occasion for popular outbreaks which it has cost the Mexican Government much trouble to repress. In return for this conduct your Excellency has prevented the owners or managers of the grain mills in the vicinity of the city from furnishing any flour to the city. * * * It is false that any new works or fortifications have been undertaken, because one or two repairs have only served to place them in the same condition they were in on the day the armistice was entered into."

He then accused General Scott of constructing batteries and violating all rules of civilized warfare during the occupation of Mexican towns, which accusations were notoriously untrue, as thousands of Mexican citizens could attest. Santa Anna closed his communication by saying that the true cause of General Scott's purpose to renew hostilities was that he, Santa Anna, had refused or was unwilling to sign a treaty which would deprive Mexico of a considerable portion of her territory, and that the integrity of territory was defended by all nations to the last extremity, which assertion was doubtless true.

* General Scott had received informal petitions from the city, through neutrals, to allow time for the departure of the unarmed inhabitants; he allowed until 12 m. the next day for that purpose, but in his note to Santa Anna it was stated that this time was to allow him to explain, apologize, or make reparation.

The Democratic portion of the American party press denounced in unmeasured terms the armistice and the peace negotiations that followed it, characterizing each as a ruse of the Mexican President to gain time in which to reorganize his demoralized army, and to still further fortify his capital, already regarded as well-nigh impregnable. Both General Scott in granting the armistice and Commissioner Trist in entering into negotiations looking to the termination of the war were ridiculed and represented to have been duped by Santa Anna, and the armistice, which they stated had been agreed to without authority and contrary to the wishes of the Government, was bitterly opposed. Such was the purport of editorials in the *Union*, the Administration organ, notwithstanding it had been repeatedly informed that the armies of the United States were in Mexico "to conquer peace," and that General Scott, with his communications severed, near two thousand miles from Washington, and with a peace commissioner at his headquarters sent there by the President and his Cabinet to bring the war to an end, would advocate no measure adverse to his own safety and the honor of the country. That the armistice was entered into in good faith by Santa Anna and from his earnest desire to secure a speedy peace there is abundant evidence. Immediately upon the suspension of hostilities he issued his "Manifesto to the Nation," in which he asserted and demonstrated the international obligation to listen to peace proposals, and expressed the hope that they might be utilized to the public advantage. "A perpetual war," he stated, "is an absurdity, because war is a calamity, and the instincts of self-preservation, stronger and more powerful in nations than in individuals, recommend that no means whatever be omitted leading to an advantageous arrangement, and to adopt this course the Constitution gives me competent authority. Consecrated to interests so noble and highly privileged, it is my duty to maintain at all costs the respect and reverence to the supreme authority with which I am invested. * * * I will be yet more explicit. Sedition and attempts at subverting the Government shall be exemplarily punished." This strong language was in bold defiance of the decree passed by the Mexican Congress April 20, 1847, after receipt of the news of Santa Anna's defeat at Cerro Gordo, which declared "that the Executive has no power and shall have none to conclude a treaty or

even an armistice with the United States, and any Mexican functionary who shall entertain either proposition shall be denounced as a traitor." The *Puro* party in Mexico also opposed the armistice, "alleging it to be a trick of the American commander to gain time in which to increase by reinforcements his depleted ranks, unable with his present force to accomplish his purpose—the capture of the nation's capital." Had the armistice been a trick to gain time a man well known to be favorable to peace would hardly have been appointed commissioner.

Mr. Trist, referring to President Santa Anna at this critical juncture, says: "I must not omit to say, in justice to Santa Anna, that I am perfectly convinced that no man was ever more sincere in anything than he was in his wish to make peace, or more firmly resolved than he was to go all practicable lengths to effect the object. But the thing was an impossibility upon the basis on which alone we would have it. * * * He could not have been more single-minded, nor striven with more energy and efficiency against the numberless difficulties of all sorts which surrounded him. Having, after several days hesitation, made up his mind that he could not agree to our proposed boundary, he then gave to the whole affair the complexion best calculated to protect himself against the denunciations which he knew would be poured forth from all quarters."

* * * "Besides appointing commissioners, known in select political circles of the capital to be for peace, it was well understood that so late as the night of September 4th, Santa Anna was still undecided whether he would not give to these very commissioners, whose opinions had thus been declared in full cabinet a *carte blanche* to negotiate with me such a treaty as they might deem proper. * * * Santa Anna's state of hesitancy ended in the determination to give the *carte blanche*, and a letter to that effect was drafted by the Secretary of State after 3 p. m. Sunday, September 5th. This was the condition of affairs when Santa Anna was again made to waver by the interference of a person already mentioned in former despatches as one who had been chiefly instrumental in alarming him at the treaty." * * *

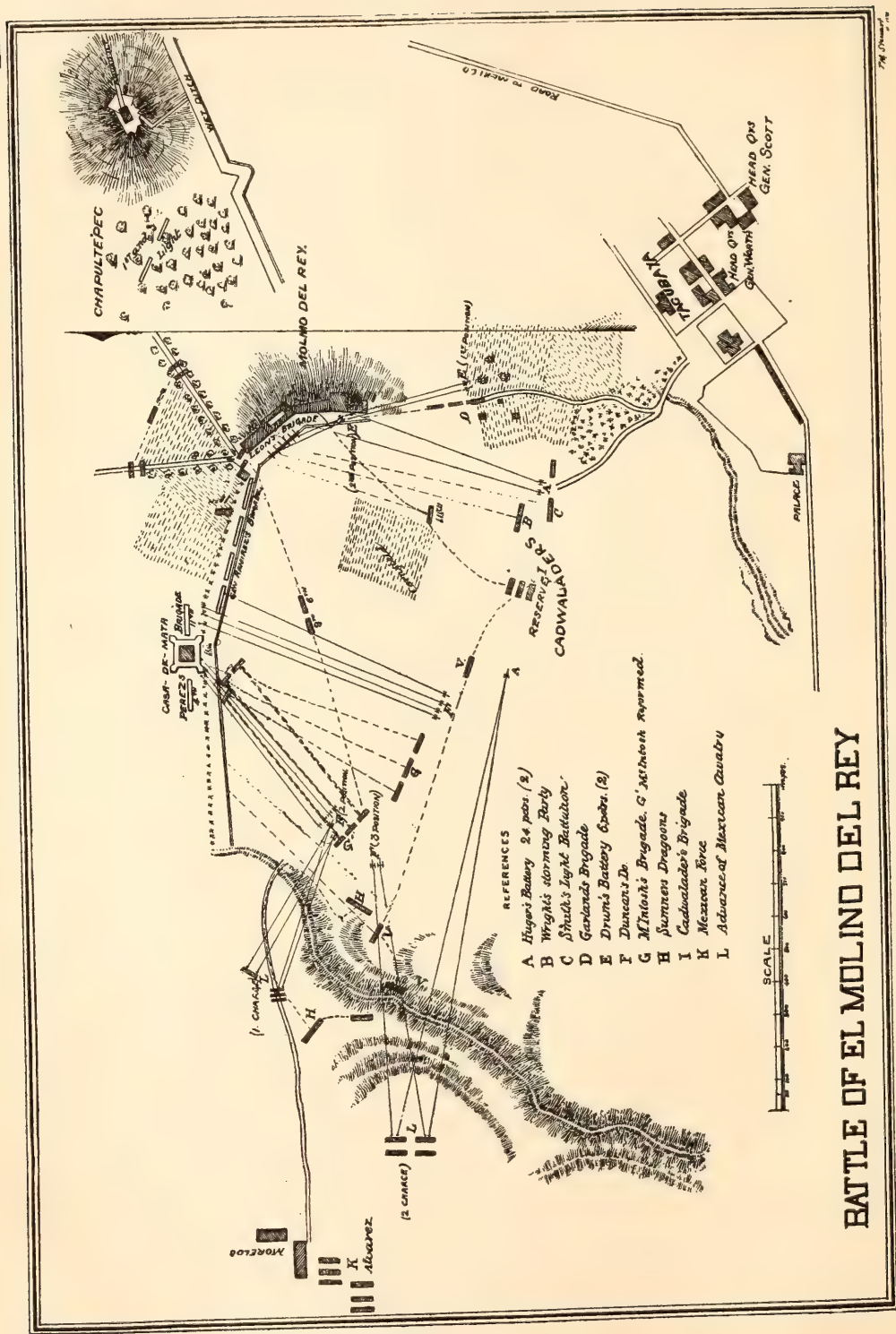
"At the last meeting at the house of Señor Alfaro, the Mexican commissioners appeared two hours after the appointed time and when they came it was in great haste, bringing only the rough draft of the counter *projet*, and communications accompanying it, which papers had just been prepared. The question

whether a *projet* was to prevail had remained in suspense until that moment."

"Thus near had we come to the attainment of our object; thus nearly had the restoration of peace to our country come to pass, as the consequence of that armistice and negotiation, in which through the atmosphere of Washington, nothing could be seen save a trick of Santa Anna to gain time, and on the part of General Scott and myself most egregious."*

That Santa Anna was anxious to terminate the war, and appointed men similarly disposed to treat with Mr. Trist, we have good Mexican authority. Don Vicente Romero, a distinguished *ultra puro* and Minister of Justice in Santa Anna's cabinet at the time of the negotiations, in an attack upon the administration of Peña y Peña, made in a letter read in the Mexican Congress, says: "And in fine, Gen. Mora y Villamil, appointed to the post of Minister of War, has been the *avowed apostle of peace* and so decided in this character that in a meeting of the cabinet, of which I was a member, he said (he being at the time one of the commissioners appointed to receive proposals from the enemy of the north) he had been for many years in favor of peace which ought to be made by adopting Mr. Trist's propositions," in which let it be known "the other commissioners, Couto and Atristain, concurred."

* Commissioner Trist's despatch from city of Mexico, December 6, 1847.



CHAPTER XIX.

MOLINOS DEL REY.—CAPTURE OF THE CASA MATA.—LOSSES.

Indignant at what he considered an attempt by the United States Government to rob and humiliate Mexico by the proposed treaty, Santa Anna assembled a *Junta* in the palace, at which it was determined to continue the defense, and not restricting it to the city, to order a large force out beyond the suburbs to strengthen the position already occupied, a short distance west of and under cover of the guns of Chapultepec. At this designated point there was a huge pile of buildings, over 600 feet in length, in a north and south direction, known as Molinos-del-Rey (map XIII), the Mills of the King, the greater portion of which had formerly been used for the manufacture of powder and the casting of cannon, and the northern end, San Salvador, separated from the other buildings by a stone aqueduct, as a flour mill. The whole structure was of porous red sandstone, heavy, thick walls extended three or four feet above the roofs, and the various yards between the detached buildings were closed by thick, strong doors, barred by heavy wooden beams and guarded by stone or earthen barricades.

About 500 yards west was a four-sided, regular bastioned fort, with a wide, deep ditch, having scarp and counter-scarp walls, inside of which was the Casa Mata, a large building designed for storing powder, and which formed the right of the Mexican fortified line, the left being at Molinos del Rey, in front of which was a deep ditch extending beyond and south of the Casa Mata. South and in front of this position the ground ascended in a gentle slope towards Tacubaya, and

a short distance west was a deep, hazardous barranca*. The well-fortified Castle of Chapultepec, on a height in rear, commanded these buildings and the ground beyond towards Tacubaya.

General Leon's brigade, composed of National Guards, having four battalions, the Liberty, Union, Queretaro, and Mina, had for some time occupied the Molinos del Rey, and on the morning of the 7th was reinforced by General Rangel's brigade. The brigade of General Perez, composed of two battalions, the Fourth and Eleventh of the Line, occupied the Casa Mata, and on the intermediate ground, along the dry ditch, near the centre of the two positions just named, General Ramirez's brigade, formed of the Second Light, Fijo de Mexico, the First and Second of the Line, and six pieces of artillery, was placed. The reserves (the First and Third Light) were posted in rear of Molinos del Rey, in the woods between them and the Castle of Chapultepec.

Santa Anna's cavalry, 4,000 strong, under General Alvarez, were at the hacienda of Morales, two miles west from Chapultepec, in position to guard the right of his line.

American engineer officers were active in pushing reconnoissances ; on the 7th Captain Lee was directed to watch a movement of the enemy, reported to be on the San Augustin road, but he discovered no Mexicans outside the San Antonio Garita, and returning by way of Piedad found all quiet on that part of the line. In the forenoon Captain Mason, the engineer with Worth's division, made a close reconnoissance of Molinos-del-Rey and its approaches, and reported a large Mexican infantry force drawn up in line, its flanks resting on large stone buildings, and its centre supported by a six-gun battery. During the afternoon Captain Mason, accompanied by Brevet-Lieutenant-Colonel Duncan, artillery, and Lieutenant Hardcastle, topographical engineers, made a second reconnoissance, the object being to discover positions favorable for artillery.

Lieutenant Beauregard was directed to reconnoitre on the right, in the night of the 7th, and in the morning of the 8th, to examine and report the works the enemy might have on

*Ravine.

the Niño Perdido and San Antonio roads, also at the Garitas, through which those roads entered the city. Shortly after midnight, whilst moving with a strong escort along the Niño Perdido road towards the city, his party was hailed and fired upon by hostile pickets ; and the alarm thus given, and the disappearance of the guide (a Mexican) prevented a further prosecution of the reconnoissance at that time.

In the afternoon of the 7th General Scott issued orders for bringing the corps of the army nearer together, Quitman to leave San Augustin on the 8th and move forward to Coyocan ; one brigade of Twiggs' division (Riley's, under Colonel Plympton) to move at 6 p. m. on the Niño Perdido road, to threaten the city in that direction, Pillow to advance to the Hacienda of San Borja with one brigade, and take command of the advanced posts occupied at the time by a part of his own and Twiggs' division, his (Pillow's) second brigade (Cadwalader's) to join Worth, and Mixcoac to be the general depot.

General Scott had received a credible report that there was a cannon foundry in the Molinos-del-Rey, that a large quantity of powder was stored in the Casa Mata, and that many church bells had been sent out to the foundry to be cast into guns. With the display of the Mexican troops at the Mills, and the increase of force there on the 7th he was impressed with the great importance of the Molinos-del-Rey to the enemy, and determined to attack and destroy them.

General Worth was accordingly ordered with his own division, reinforced with three squadrons of dragoons and one company of Mounted Rifles, in all 220 men, under Maj. E. V. Sumner, Second dragoons, three pieces of field artillery, under Captain Drum, Fourth Artillery, two battering guns, 24-pounders, under Captain Huger, of the ordnance, and Cadwalader's brigade, of Pillow's division, 784 strong, consisting of the Voltiguer regiment and the Eleventh and Fourteenth Infantry, to attack and carry the enemy's lines, destroy the machinery and material in the foundry and munitions in the Casa Mata. Having accomplished these objects, Worth was to withdraw and return the various commands to their former positions. The troops for the attack were to be placed in position under cover of the night of the 7th and the assault made early in the morning.

General Worth ordered the following (Map XIII) disposition of his forces for the attack: Colonel Garland's brigade to take position on the right, having with it two pieces of Drum's battery, to look to Molinos-del-Rey, guard the right of the attacking forces against reinforcements from Chapultepec and be within supporting distance of the assaulting party; the battering guns, under Captain Huger, to be placed on the ridge to Garland's left and rear, five or six hundred yards from Molinos-del Rey; a storming party of 500 picked men and officers, under Brevt-Maj. George Wright, Eighth Infantry, to be posted to the left of the battering guns, to assault and carry the battery in the centre of the Mexican lines; Clarke's brigade, under Colonel McIntosh, with Duncan's battery, to take position opposite the enemy's right to look to Worth's left flank, to sustain the assaulting column, if necessary, or attack, as circumstances might require; Cadwalader's brigade to be held in reserve between the battering guns and McIntosh's right, in easy support of either, and the cavalry, under Major Sumner, to be on the extreme left and to be governed also by circumstances.

Late in the afternoon of the 7th Santa Anna ordered his cavalry to take post within musket shot of the Casa Mata and to operate with vigor against the enemy's left flank. He in person placed the troops in position, with the confidence of assured victory, and gave minute and specified orders to Alvarez, even to marking the point where he would diminish front, in order to cross the ravine to reach the left flank of the American forces. The best of feelings prevailed between the National Guards and the regulars, and both believed they were in excellent position. Santa Anna with his Staff rode along the line, visiting different points, and was cheered by his soldiers.

After dark on the 7th the six pieces of artillery were moved from the Mexican centre and posted along a line of maguey in front of the Mills, where they remained during the night without even a guard. Rangel's brigade was withdrawn from the Mills; one portion of it halted at Alfaro's house on the causeway, between Chapultepec and the Garita-de-Belen, and the other entered the city. The Third Light was taken from the reserve and posted in Chapultepec. The Mexican

forces, still remaining in line, believed their positions had been greatly weakened, Santa Anna returned to the city and passed the night in the National Palace.

Worth's troops were moving at 3 o'clock in the morning of the 8th towards their designated positions, all of which were occupied before daylight, at which time the attack was to begin with a discharge by the two 24-pounders, under Huger, upon the Molinos-del-Rey. Only a few rounds had been fired—ten rounds per gun—when the assaulting column, under Major Wright, advanced, and as it approached the hostile line was greeted with round and grape shot from the Mexican battery, changed in the night from the center of the line to the left in front of the Mills. The double quick-step was ordered; the men, coming immediately under a cross-fire of musketry, within close range, rushed forward undismayed, took the battery and turned it upon the enemy, who fell back in confusion, but, being reinforced, rallied in rear, and concentrated a close and destructive fire upon Wright's men from the aqueduct, house tops, and stone walls, under which fire ten of the twelve officers in the storming party were shot down within five minutes, the loss among the enlisted men being nearly in the same proportion. Shaken by this unlooked for shock, the remnant of the storming party was driven back, but, Duncan's battery opening fire, checked the Mexican pursuit; the Light Battalion* was thrown forward, followed by one regiment and four companies of Cadwalader's brigade, and at the same time Garland's brigade, accompanied by Drum's guns, moved forward into close action, attacked, drove back the Mexican forces outside, and forced their way into the buildings, where the contest was close, deadly, and prolonged, the Mexicans contesting obstinately every building and every court yard.

When the attack was made by the storming party of 500 men, under Major Wright, Duncan's battery opened fire on the enemy's line to the right (American) of the Casa Mata, upon which Clarke's brigade, under Colonel McIntosh, was ordered to move, and one section of the battery, under Lieu-

* This was known as Col. C. F. Smith's battalion, but on this occasion he was sick, and it was commanded by Capt. E. K. Smith, Fifth Infantry.

tenant Hunt, to play on the Mexican infantry between the Casa Mata and the Molinos-del-Rey.

When McIntosh came within musketry range of the enemy his men were exposed to close fire from the line in front of and from the works surrounding the Casa Mata, and also from the roof of the buildings within the work. Delivering their fire, they charged and drove the Mexican infantry from the advanced line into the stronger defenses in rear and stood for a time within thirty yards of the works, firing and picking off such of the enemy as were exposed. The brigade commander, Colonel McIntosh, fell, disabled by three wounds, one of which proved mortal. Lieut.-Col. Martin Scott, commanding the Fifth Infantry, was shot dead and Major Waite, commanding the Eighth Infantry, was severely wounded. Two of the three regimental commanders and the brigade commander being disabled, and one-third of the command killed or wounded, the troops retired slowly to the left of Duncan's battery.

When McIntosh moved forward to assault the Casa Mata, the enemy's cavalry, under General Alvarez, in large force, being observed advancing at a gallop towards Worth's left flank, the sections of Duncan's battery, under Lieutenants Hays and Hunt, moved rapidly to the threatened point and opened a rapid destructive fire. The Voltigeur regiment, detached by General Cadwalader's order, moved promptly, occupied the margin of the ravine a little beyond Duncan's guns, and as it moved to the left Major Sumner advanced and crossed the ravine with his cavalry, consisting of six companies of the Second Dragoons, one of the First, a part of one of the Third, and Captain Ruff's company of Mounted Rifles, in all 270 men. He formed his command within pistol shot of the Casa Mata, and an occasional shot from Duncan's battery kept Alvarez in check.

While exposed to the guns in Chapultepec before advancing and to the infantry fire near Casa Mata at the only point* of the ravine where it could be crossed, Sumner had six men

* The point where Sumner crossed was the one indicated to Alvarez by Santa Anna the evening before (the 7th) at which to pass and assail the left flank of the Americans. "He did not destroy, as he should have done, this feeble force (Sumner) which offered them battle."—*Mexican History*.

killed, five officers and thirty-three men wounded. He remained beyond the ravine until the battle closed, changing his position from time to time, in order to confront the Mexican cavalry as they shifted their ground.

From the description of the Molinos-del-Rey it will be seen that Garland's brigade, assisted by the Eleventh Infantry, four companies of the Fourteenth Infantry of Cadwalader's brigade, and two field pieces of Drum's battery had a serious and difficult work assigned them. The reports of the* three regimental commanders of this brigade refer to the discharges of grape and canister assailing them as they approached the Mills and of musketry from the roofs, thinning their ranks fearfully. They refer also to breaking through barricaded gates and doorways, while exposed to a close fire, to finding themselves in the midst of an armed enemy on the inside, of climbing to roofs, and making their way through iron-barred windows. The Mexicans when driven from one portion would retire to another, contesting every inch of ground, roof, floor, and walls. Inside the buildings Capt. E. K. Smith's Light Battalion and parts of the Eleventh and Fourteenth Infantry joined portions of Garland's brigade.

When the order was given for Garland to attack, Captain Drum advanced rapidly his pieces into action, 200 yards from the enemy. Whilst unlimbering a discharge of grape disabled several of his horses, which were cut from the traces, and the guns then moved by hand until the action closed. He fired one round of solid shot, ran the guns forward under a heavy fire to within 100 yards of the enemy's works, opened with canister, enflading the line of maguey, in which were the Mexican guns, also against the mills, and with such effect that the charge made by the Light Battalion on the enemy's battery was successful, though its commander, Capt. E. K. Smith, Fifth Infantry, fell mortally wounded.

After a stubborn fight on roofs, in court-yards, and from room to room the main building was taken, together with a

*Captain Mackenzie, Second Artillery; Capt. Martin Burke, Third Artillery, and Maj. Francis Lee, Fourth Infantry; Lieut.-Col. F. S. Belton, Third Artillery, had been detached, and joined his regiment on the field, and relieved Captain Burke, then in command.—*Ex. Doc. No. 1.*

number of prisoners. A mixed command (portions of the Fourth Infantry) under Major Lee, advanced against the flour mill, north of the aqueduct, which, after a sharp fight, was also occupied and a few prisoners captured.

The brigade (Clarke's) under Colonel McIntosh, which attacked the Casa Mata, having reformed near and on the left of Duncan's battery, the Sixth and Eighth regiments of infantry, were ordered (map XIII) by General Worth over to the right, and reached the intersection of the roads, at the north end of the Molinos del Rey, as the flour mill was being taken. The enemy was then driven a short distance towards Chapultepec, but rallied under General Peña y Barragan, on the road in considerable force, and, having secured an 18-pounder, again advanced. Captain Drum was ordered by Lieutenant-Colonel Belton, Third Artillery, who had a few minutes before joined his regiment, to move forward, and aided by Lieut. J. J. Peck, Second Artillery, with one of the enemy's captured 6-pounders, after a rapid and effective fire, cleared the road, the enemy abandoning the 18-pounder, imperfectly spiked.

The Sixth and Eighth Infantry, supported by the Fourth, formed at the junction of the two roads, and as the enemy again advanced opened an artillery and infantry fire, and repulsed and followed him in the direction of Chapultepec. Lieutenant-Colonel Graham, Eleventh Infantry, whose regiment had participated actively in capturing Molinos del Rey, received two wounds, either of which was mortal, and fell at the head of his command while leading a charge against the northern angle of the buildings. A portion of his regiment, under Lieuts. Thomas F. McCoy and Benjamin F. Harley, was active in pursuit of the Mexicans after the attack on the Casa Mata.

The battle of Molinos-del-Rey continued for two hours, and was well contested by the Mexican forces at the Molinos and at the Casa Mata. Those who did not fall on the field, or who escaped capture, sought shelter under the guns of Chapultepec, leaving Worth in possession of the entire line, on which they had the day before been posted, in full expectation of victory.



MOLINO DEL REY.

SEPTEMBER 8TH 1847.

During the engagement at the Mills a portion of Pierce's brigade, Pillow's division, and of Riley's brigade, 'Twiggs' division, were ordered to Tacubaya, so as to be in position to support Worth if necessary, and as the latter brigade approached the town, it was met by orders from General Scott, to form line in rear of the Mills. The Second Infantry, Capt. T. Morris, temporarily under General Pierce's orders, was divided; five companies of it being thrown forward, became engaged in an active skirmish in the woods beyond the Mills, and the remaining companies sought cover under the walls of the building.

General Worth in his official report of this battle says: "My command, reinforced as before stated, only reached 3,100 men of all arms. The contest continued two hours, and its severity is painfully attested by our heavy loss of officers, non-commissioned officers, and privates, including in the first two classes some of the brightest ornaments of the service."

The loss in the command was 787; 116 were killed, 9 of whom were officers, and 671 were wounded, 49 being officers. The storming party was divided into five companies, each of 100 men; the details from the Second and Third Artillery united formed one company, commanded by Lieut. M. L. Shackelford, with Lieut. C. B. Daniels, both mortally wounded; the First Infantry, under Capt. W. H. T. Walker, Sixth Infantry, with Lieut. G. O. Haller, Fourth Infantry, one company, the former severely wounded; the Fifth Infantry, under Capt. M. E. Merrill, with Lieut. J. F. Farry, Third Artillery, one company, both killed; the Sixth Infantry under Capt. A. Cady, with Second Lieut. M. Maloney, of the Fourth Infantry, one company, the former wounded; the Eighth Infantry under Capt. J. V. Bomford, with Lieut. J. G. S. Snelling, one company, the latter severely wounded. With the storming party were Captain Mason and Lieutenant Foster, engineer corps, both of whom were severely wounded, and including engineer officers there were fourteen officers with the storming party, twelve of whom were killed or wounded.

It is not possible to give the Mexican numbers engaged, even their own history being silent on this point. We learn from it, however, that the brigade of Perez held the Casa Mata; that Ramirez's brigade occupied the line be-

tween the Casa Mata and Molinos del Rey ; that Leon's brigade held the Mills, being stationed on the roofs and in the aqueduct ; that the Third Light, posted in Chapultepec, was early in the action ; that six pieces of artillery were posted in front of the Mills, and that Alvarez, with 2,000 cavalry, was on the right. The guns from Chapultepec responded to the 24-pounders early in the morning, and swept with their fire the field throughout the battle.

General Worth estimated the Mexican forces at Molinos del Rey at 14,000, commanded by General Santa Anna in person, though this number is probably an over-estimate. Rangel's brigade had been ordered from the field after dark of the 7th. The firing began at daylight, and Santa Anna, aroused by the sound of artillery, repaired at once to the Garita of the Candelaria, where he believed the assault would be made. At this point he heard heavy firing in the direction of Chapultepec and Molinos del Rey, and hastened with the First Light regiment to the scene of action, but the rout of his army, already consummated before he arrived, could not be retrieved had he even made the attempt ; but if he did so, the fact has never been recorded. On the causeway of Auzures he met Colonel Echagaray, Third Light, who, failing to resist the American advance, abandoned the guns of the battery in front of the Mills and withdrew to Chapultepec.

Mexican history, referring to the attack made by the storming party, states that at the time their line was broken the Third Light, Col. D. Miguel Echagaray, appeared in the Mills and attacked the Americans with spirit, drove them out, and followed them some distance ; that Duncan's guns, playing upon the right of their lines, prevented reinforcements from reaching him, and being threatened with superior forces, he retired with the loss of a few men, some being killed by the fire of their own infantry from the roofs of the buildings in rear. The same history refers, in complimentary terms, to the unfaltering courage and reckless daring which he displayed during the entire engagement.

Col. D. Lucas Balderas, of the National Guards, Mina Battalion, was wounded early in the battle through the foot, but remained with his men and resisting the Americans in their third formidable effort to take the Mills, fell dead at the head of his command, pierced by a musket ball.

General Leon, who commanded the four battalions of the National Guard, stationed in the Molinos del Rey, was extolled for the courage and tenacity with which he held his position until, like his colonel, he fell, killed by a musket ball. They also extol Colombres, an engineer officer, and Cols. D. Matias Peña and Cano. Captain Mendez, Third Light, who aided Lieutenant Martinez's artillery, defended with one gun the artillerymen until he fell under a discharge of canister from Drum's guns, in battery near the southern end of the Mills. They compliment the Mina battalion, led by the brave Captains Alaman, Diaz and others. Colonel Tenorio fought gallantly until seriously wounded, and was then taken prisoner. Suazo, a lieutenant of the Minas, when almost dead, saved the colors of the battalion by wrapping them around his body, and, dying, gave them saturated with his life's blood to a comrade. They justly blamed General Alvarez, who commanded 4,000 cavalry, for not attacking the American left, and they assert that positive orders were sent to him and to Colonel Ramiro, Captain Schiafino, and Lieut. D. Juan Jose Baz, to charge. The general excused his disobedience of this order by saying that some of his chiefs did not wish to obey and that others doubted the practicability of the ground and the ravine for crossing. Santa Anna had, as has been stated, indicated the afternoon of the 7th where to cross, and Major Sumner crossed at that place under a heavy musketry fire the morning of the 8th.

In the Mexican history we find the following: "The force in reserve did not appear on the field of battle and the numerous cavalry, cold spectators of the conflict, threatened, but made no movement upon the enemy. Gen. D. Simeon Ramirez, who commanded in the centre, and should have aided either the right or left of the line, he not being attacked, appeared for a moment at the Molinos, but abandoned the field and was seen no more in this important battle, which should have been decided in favor of the republic. D. Carlos Brito, another chief, whose position and command in the battle were important, retired to Guadalupe and there remained, his motive for this being unknown to us.

"At the Casa Mata the distinguished Col. D. Gregorio Gelaty died discharging his duties valiantly. The reserve not coming

up and the cavalry inert, in spite of the general clamor of the spectators afar off urging them to charge, the troops of the centre dispersed, the left wing of the line absolutely forced, attacked in front and flanks, the Casa Mata fell into the enemy's hands and General Perez, who had defended it as long as possible, effected his retreat by lanes in rear and reached the Veronica causeway."

General Scott's report shows that the battle of Molinos-del-Rey was fought under a misconception. When he ordered Worth to attack he believed there was a large quantity of powder deposited in the Casa Mata, and at a foundry in the Molinos, at which the Mexicans were supposed to be casting cannon. General Worth's report also shows that the battle was not fought as first contemplated by himself and as prescribed in his own orders of the night of the 7th.

The attack, "to force the enemy's centre," was to be made by a command of 500 picked men and officers, under Brevt.-Maj. George Wright, Eighth Infantry. The First Brigade, under Colonel Garland, was posted on the right to watch Molinos-del-Rey, as well as any support they might receive from Chapultepec, and to be in sustaining distance of the assaulting force. The Second Brigade, Clarke's, under Colonel McIntosh, was on the left to sustain the assaulting column, if necessary, or discomfort the enemy, as circumstances might require.

All reports show that the attack was not made upon the centre, but upon the enemy's left—Molinos-del-Rey—and at almost the same time upon the right—the Casa Mata. The details of the battle as given prove it to have been a contest lasting two hours, in which much courage was displayed by the American soldiers, and in which the defense of the two flanks by the Mexican infantry was very creditable.

There has been seldom witnessed a more brilliant display of courage than was shown by Major Sumner and his small command of 270 men when, in the presence of the two armies, they dashed by the Casa Mata within musket range, crossed at the ravine, and displayed in front of General Alvarez with his 4,000 lancers. The courage of Drum, his officers and men, who, unlimbered within grape range, fired one round of solid shot, then ran the pieces forward by hand under a close



WILLIAM J. WORTH,

BRIGADIER GENERAL, U. S. A.

BORN IN AND APPOINTED FROM NEW YORK.

fire of canister and musketry, and gained a position from which they enfiladed the enemy's guns and their support within 200 yards, thus facilitating the successful assault of Smith's battalion, is not often equalled. The loss of twelve out of fourteen officers, with Major Wright's assaulting column of 500, with a nearly corresponding loss of enlisted men, and all within five minutes, is evidence both of the danger they were required to confront and of the fidelity and courage with which they met it. Garland's brigade on the right and Clarke's, under Colonel McIntosh, on the left accomplished all that could have been expected, and the efficiency and judgment with which Duncan's guns were managed added to the distinguished character and increased the brilliant reputation already won by that officer and his subalterns. Huger and his lieutenants, with their heavy guns, were complimented in General Worth's report, in which General Scott concurred.

The battle of the Molinos-del-Rey was a brilliant but costly victory to the American army. Over 800 prisoners were captured. The Casa Mata was blown up and with it such captured ammunition as was useless. Lieut. Wm. Armstrong, Second Artillery, while in the discharge of his duty, was killed by the explosion of the magazine. A large number of small arms, with gun and musket ammunition, was secured, three guns captured and brought off, and a fourth spiked. The dead having been buried and the wounded removed, the troops returned to the quarters previously occupied.

The loss in Worth's division caused great sadness in the army, many members of which had friends among the killed and wounded, and, apart from personal grief, all felt that so many officers and soldiers of merit and promise could illy be spared at any time, least of all when the Mexican capital was still defiant. The heavy loss was felt by no one more deeply and sincerely than by the highly gifted and spirited commander, under whose immediate directions the battle was fought.

But while the loss in Worth's division had been heavy, beyond precedent, and sorrow for dead and wounded comrades prevailed, the *morale* of the American army remained unshaken. With the Mexicans, however, there was a de-

pression of spirit and foreboding of evil, which is freely admitted by their writers. One of the best and bravest corps of their National Guards had been almost entirely destroyed. Leon, Balderas, and other excellent officers had been either killed, wounded, or captured. They had lost a field battery, one of their heaviest guns in Chapultepec had burst, and Molinos-del-Rey, although abandoned by the Americans, had been rendered unfit for a second defense. The field, strong of itself, its front commanded by the guns in Chapultepec, had been regarded favorably by the Mexicans, who felt assured of the defeat of the Americans.

Santa Anna, to counteract the probable effect produced in the capital and throughout the republic, on news of this defeat becoming known, issued a proclamation claiming that a victory had been won, and that he in person had led the Mexican soldiers against their ruthless invaders. This, with a similar announcement by the minister of war, was despatched by means of extraordinary couriers in all directions, even to the remotest confines of the republic, and by this means all the authorities of the nation were made to believe—and some do so even to this day—that Santa Anna had triumphed at Molinos del Rey. To celebrate this reported success, the bells of the churches were rung and salvos fired in the soldiers' quarters.

It was necessary to revive the waning spirits of the Mexican army and people and thus insure vigorous and, if possible, united exertions to defeat the enemy and save the fair capital, and to accomplish this purpose he proclaimed that a great victory had been won by his troops, though no one knew better than he how complete had been the Mexican rout. General Scott himself could not have been free from anxieties, for his small army could not well stand many more such costly victories as those of Churubusco and the Molinos del Rey, and with him there was no alternative now—either success or total destruction.

CHAPTER XX.

STORMING OF CHAPULTEPEC.

Quitman, hearing artillery in the direction of Tacubaya, marched early on September 8th from San Augustin to San Antonio, where, seeing the Mexican flag still waving defiantly from the Castle of Chapultepec, he continued on to Coyoacan. In the afternoon Captain Lee and Lieutenants Tower and Beauregard, accompanied by General Pillow, reconnoitered as far as the village of Piedad, and recommended that it be occupied; then examined the Piedad and Niño Perdido roads, the former of which enters the city through the Belen Gate and the latter through a gate of the same name. For two miles before entering the city these roads are parallel and about 1,300 yards apart, and the San Antonio is a like distance east of the Piedad road.

On the 9th Captain Lee and General Scott examined the works at the San Antonio Gate and saw Mexicans busily at work there and along the line connecting it with the Niño Perdido Gate.

Riley, by order of General Pillow, occupied on the 9th a position to the right of Piedad, to have an eye upon the enemy's works on the Niño Perdido and San Antonio roads, and remained there until the afternoon of the 11th, when he was joined by Smith's brigade, composed of the Rifle regiment, the First Artillery, the Third and Seventh Infantry, and Taylor's and Steptoe's batteries.

The main street of Piedad lies in an east and west direction; its western continuation is the road to Tacubaya, its eastern crosses the Niño Perdido causeway about a mile

from the city, and at this intersection is an enclosure and building, known as the "Hermitage," where the enemy had a picket on the 8th, but which retired on the approach of the American infantry, who occupied it as the advanced post, and from it General Scott and Captain Lee made their reconnoissance on the 9th.

From the "Hermitage," in an air line to the Garita of San Antonio, was about 1,300 yards. Between this cross-road and the city gates the level ground was intersected by irrigating ditches; one of these, and much the largest, nearly parallel with the cross-road, and intersecting the Perdido and San Antonio causeways, had high banks, was thirty feet wide, and spanned on the Perdido causeway by a bridge which had been destroyed by the Mexicans, and was not, with much water and a sticky bottom, easy crossing for infantry. Along either side of the causeway were ditches of considerable width and depth, and these were some of the difficulties intervening between the point of observation ("Hermitage") and the enemy's lines of defense, on which they were so busily occupied during the 9th. The fortified line extending from the San Antonio to the Niño Perdido Garita was over a mile in length, and consisted of a parapet with ditch; midway between these points was a lunette, between which and the Garitas was a redan, and east of the San Antonio Garita were two batteries sweeping the wet surface between it and the Garita (Candelaria) farther to the east. Guns on the line between the Perdido and San Antonio Gates could sweep with their fire the surface between the two roads running into the city, as well as the Perdido road itself, on which there was a battery, and guns at the Perdido Gate could have a flank fire upon troops approaching the city over this road. During the night of the 9th the small force at the "Hermitage" was strengthened by additional infantry and artillery, and a bridge was built over the ditch, capable of passing the heaviest guns. On the 10th Colonel Harney was ordered to repair to Mixcoac with a battalion of the Second Dragoons, take command of the troops there, and make such dispositions as would enable him to protect the hospitals, ordnance, and commissary stores there collected, against the large forces of the enemy known to be outside the city, and Capt. R. E. Lee was sent to advise with him as

to the mode and means best adapted to its defense. On assuming command Harney found the village occupied by Lieutenant-Colonel Bonham with four weak companies of his (Twelfth) regiment, one company of Mounted Rifles, one of the Third, and one of the Seventh Infantry, in all less than 300 effective men, which, added to those brought by himself, made a force of near 500, with which a large number of prisoners was to be guarded, and the hospitals, subsistence, and ordnance stores to be protected. He had recourse to every possible means to increase the strength of the place, artillery men were made of such soldiers and teamsters as had any knowledge of that practice, and all camp followers not already in Government employ were enrolled. The energy he displayed and the wise precautions he adopted probably prevented the enemy from making a movement against the general depot of the army.

Lieutenants Beauregard, Stevens, and Tower were ordered also on the 10th to the right, to examine in detail the state of the defensive works at the San Antonio Garita, and were especially charged with ascertaining the practicability of turning them by the right, (1) by passing between them and the Garita of the Paseo de las Vegas, equi-distant from the city, the two gates being connected by a road practicable for artillery; (2), by obtaining possession of the De las Vegas Garita by a direct movement or indirectly by a movement to the canal at Mexicalcingo, or some point intermediate to it and the Garita. Lieutenants Beauregard and Stevens, approaching together the San Antonio Garita, could readily perceive that the work had been greatly enlarged, that heavy forces were engaged on the Las Vegas works, and on the works on the road connecting them with the San Antonio Garita. The works were then armed with eleven guns, but were capable of receiving many more.

No satisfactory information was elicited in regard to obtaining possession of the De las Vegas Garita by a direct movement, or by one by way of the canal, there being a heavy force of the enemy at and between the two gates, and also at Istacualco* on the canal about two miles in advance

*White House ; it is an Aztec village, the inhabitants being about the same in appearance and occupation as at the time of the conquest by Cortez.

of the Garita de las Vegas. Their guide, whom they were inclined to believe, informed them that artillery could not possibly share in these movements, and that the ground in portions of the intervening space being wet and marshy, it was doubtful if infantry and cavalry could be employed on it.

On the 11th, a. m., Captain Lee and Lieutenant Tower examined the defenses at the San Antonio Garita from the Niño Perdido road, and advanced to a point on the causeway, which proved an admirable position for a battery, as from it there would be an enfilade fire upon the works at the San Antonio Garita, and on those along the road from it to the Garita de las Vegas. A report of this reconnoissance was made to General Scott at the Church in Piedad, whither he had gone to meet his general officers, and also to state the result of his own observations upon the enemy's lines.

The meeting of general officers, above referred to, was held at General Pillows's headquarters, and there were in attendance, besides the general commanding, Major-Generals Pillow and Quitman, the latter of the volunteer service; Brevet Major-General Twiggs, of the regular army; Brigadier-Generals Pierce and Cadwalader, volunteers, and Colonel Bennet Riley of the regular army. Brevet Major-General Worth and Brevet Brigadier-General P. F. Smith, of the regular army, were absent, the former engaged in selecting sites for batteries against Chapultepec, and the latter was at San Angel. Engineer officers present were Captain R. E. Lee, Lieutenants Beauregard, I. I. Stevens, and Z. B. Tower.

The officers present were informed by General Scott that his plan of attack was to be determined at that meeting; that he had concluded to operate either against the San Antonio Garita and adjacent works, or to attack Chapultepec and the western Garitas, Belen and San Cosme; that if operations were directed against Chapultepec, Twiggs' division would be kept near Piedad to make a demonstration in that direction. He then gave such information as he possessed touching the various routes and approaches to the city, including the Garitas with their defensive works, and referring to the heavy casualties sustained by the army in engagements in the Valley, emphasized the necessity of giving a decided blow at that point, where their judgment would lead them to believe the chances

of success the greatest and losses least. He expressed his preference for the attack by way of Chapultepec and the western gates, but wished their opinions unbiased by his own impressions.

General Pillow favored the attack by the southern gate, San Antonio, but Quitman, not having been near * the city, not being well informed, and claiming slight knowledge of the art of war, would express no opinion until he had heard the reports and opinions of the engineers.

Of the engineers, Major Smith, Captain Lee, Lieutenants Tower and Stevens reported their observations, and preferred the San Antonio or southern gate as the point of attack, and their opinion was adopted by Quitman, Shields, Pierce, and Cadwalader. General Twiggs, concurring with General Scott, favored the Chapultepec route.

Col. Bennet Riley, Second Infantry, asked which front would require less time and labor in preparation for the attack, and one of the engineer officers replying "the western," he answered: "I go for attacking the western gate. We will have more fighting and less work."

Lieutenant Beauregard was the only engineer who favored the Chapultepec route. He had examined the San Antonio Gate frequently, commencing on the night of the 7th, had seen the works strengthened by night and by day, knew that the attacking columns would be exposed to full view, and that the ground over which they would have to advance was intersected by many irrigating ditches, some of them deep, and much of the ground under water. He gave reasons why Chapultepec should be assaulted, and General Pierce, after hearing them, changed his opinion. General Scott, having heard the opinions of all, said: "We will attack Chapultepec, then the western gate," and the meeting was over.

On the morning of the 11th he ordered Captain Huger, assisted by Captain Drum, Fourth Artillery, to make a reconnaissance of the Castle of Chapultepec with the view of locating heavy batteries with which it could be cannonaded and bombarded. Huger selected four positions: No. 1, on the road leading from Tacubaya to Chapultepec, to batter the

* He had been at San Augustin and Coyoacan, and General Twiggs at San Angel.

south side of the Castle; No. 2, on the ridge south of Molinos del Rey, fronting the southwest angle of the Castle; No. 3, near the Molinos, 300 yards to the north and east of No. 2, and the 10-inch mortar, or No. 4, at the Molinos under cover of the high wall formed by the aqueduct and opposite the west end of the Castle. These positions for the batteries were approved by the engineers and adopted by General Scott, and Huger in the afternoon received orders to have everything ready to move the guns during the night from Mixcoac and place them in batteries to be constructed by the engineers before morning.

Quitman's division was ordered to move from Coyoacan, so as to join Pillow at or near Piedad before dark, and after dusk these two major generals to move their commands to Tacubaya.

Twiggs, with Riley's brigade, Taylor's and Steptoe's batteries—the latter 12 and 24-pound howitzers—to remain in front of the southern gates to manœuvre, threaten, make false attacks—in other words, to occupy the enemy's attention; Smith's brigade, of Twiggs' division, to remain at supporting distance in rear until the 13th, also to aid Harney at the general depot at Mixcoac.

Steptoe's battery was placed in position the night of the 11th at the Hermitage, when Major Sumner was also ordered to hold his command of six companies, increased by Company F, First Dragoons, in readiness for immediate service, and later to march at daybreak to cover the left of Pillow's line, ordered to make a demonstration on the field of Molinos del Rey during the bombardment of Chapultepec.

Such were the orders issued by the general-in-chief on the 11th and following night. The army was in the best of spirits, both ready and willing to respond to any demand, whether for labor or battle.

The daily reports of the engineer officers showed that Santa Anna had not been idle since the 7th. Large details were seen at work wherever observations were directed. A decree of July 29th required the mayor and aldermen of the city to be prepared upon signal of alarm being given to furnish such requisitions as the military authorities might make, and through their influence a great multitude of peasants was

employed, who hurried forward indefatigably the defensive works at the various gates of the city. Mexican histories praise the Alcalde for the unflinching energy displayed from the cessation of the armistice to the time of the assault and capture of the capital.

Chapultepec,* fortified by nature and art, is an isolated mound, rising 150 feet above the valley; nearly precipitous on the northern, eastern and part of the southern side, it declines gradually to the west to a cypress grove separating it from Molinos-del-Rey. On the top of this mound or rock was a large building, known as the military school, where many cadets were quartered at the time. The grounds were inclosed by a wall. The Molinos-del-Rey building bounded it on the west, and from these Mills south to the main road from Tacubaya to the city the wall was three-fourths of a mile long, twelve or fifteen feet high, though only of ordinary thickness, as it was not intended to be proof against cannon shot. It had no artillery, but on this (south) side were several projections, salients, one a redan, made to cover a cut in the wall eight or nine hundred yards from the Mills. Near its southeastern angle were two batteries, one on either side of and near the Tacubaya road. Sixty or seventy yards in front of these works the road had been obstructed by a deep, wide ditch that could not be crossed by infantry without the aid of the engineers. The fire of these batteries swept the road and marshy ground south of it, and there was a banquette against the aqueduct in rear from which infantry could fire under cover and over the batteries against an advancing enemy. On the inside of the surrounding wall were also wooden banquettes, from which infantry could fire upon a force moving upon the batteries. On the eastern side, which was nearly vertical and of great height, there was only an enclosing wall; on the northern side the aqueduct of San Cosme served as the enclosing wall, its arches being filled with heavy masonry. Running parallel with the aqueduct on its north side was a turnpike on which were two breastworks or barricades, one close to the northeastern angle, the other west of it 700 yards, and these works gave lines of fire upon any force approaching from the Mills or west.

* The hill of the grasshopper.

East of the Molinos-del-Rey, within the enclosure, were open, cultivated fields, bounded on the east by a deep irrigating ditch with embankments running north and south. Close to the aqueduct on the north was a redan for infantry, and the approaches from the Molinos could be swept by the fire from the embankment of the ditch, as well as from the redan. East of the ditch the ground was level, marshy, and covered with a grove of large cypress trees,* venerable from age, whose reminiscences and traditions rendered them sacred to the Mexicans. In this grove Montezuma had his pleasure grounds, bowers, grottos, baths, fish ponds, and aviary. Chapultepec was his country seat, and in its defense the last descendant of his line was killed on the morning of the 13th fighting with the usurpers of his ancestral power against a new invader. Through this grove led two paths, the wider inside of and along the wall on the southern side, the smaller through the centre of the grove to the foot of the hill. The Castle, as called by Americans (at the time the National Military School, formerly the residence of Viceroy Galvez), was like most Mexican buildings strongly and solidly built, and conformed in shape very nearly to the outline of the rock upon which it stood. On the northern and southern fronts, between the parapets and the building, there was some space, and still more between it and the parapet to the west. The walls of the azotea (roofs) were strengthened by sand bags, and from their cover, and from the upper windows, there was a good fire upon the defensive wall below. West of the main building were several detached houses, strengthened with sand-bag parapets on the azoteas.

On the northern side of the Castle, about the centre, were semi-circular projections for guns, whose field of fire was toward Molinos-del-Rey, and north of the aqueduct of San Cosme; on the eastern front was a terrace on the highest point of the rock. At the eastern extremity of the southern wall was a place for a gun, a little space intervening here between it and the terrace, and for thirty or forty yards west from this gun the parapet was straight, but then came a semi-circular projection, with space for several guns. The

* Planted by the kings of Tenochtitlan and Texcoco in the days of their grandeur, power, and glory.

only gate way into the Castle was west of the semi-circle ; beyond this gate (west) the parapet was broken (*cremaillere line*) giving a fire from two guns, upon the southwest approach and upon the *ramp* leading to the Castle. The west front was narrow, with a re-entrant and two salient (*priest cap*) angles, having the only ditch on the hill with a depth of ten and a width of twelve feet.

The western declivity in front of the priest-cap was *mined* about half way up the slope, the *saucissons* were laid over the ground and extended only to the ditch of the works below ; west of the mines a short distance was a small *redan*, whose fire would sweep the path running through the centre of the grove.

The roadway from the base of the mound ran west from the southeastern angle along the southern slope, to a round battery about half way up the hill, and opposite the western end of the fortifications surrounding the Castle ; there the road turns with a sharp angle north, and ascends into the Castle. Near this battery was a sand bag breast-work for infantry, with a fire south and west. There were no exterior works immediately around the north or east side, or the eastern portion of the southern front. Between the base of the mound and the outer walls, the inclosure was covered with a grove of large cypress, and cut up by walls and aqueducts.

Eleven guns were mounted upon the walls of Chapultepec, two 24-pounders in the semi-circle on the northern front, one 8-pounder at the southeastern angle, two 16-pounders and an 8-inch howitzer in the semi-circle on the south front, three pieces of small calibre on the *cremaillere* line, and two 32-pounders in the *priest cap*. Besides these guns there were two small 4-pound howitzers on the *terre-plein* of the south front.

Gen. D. Nicholas Bravo, who distinguished himself in the struggle for independence, and was universally respected, was the commander, with General D. Mariano Monterde, second in command ; chief of engineers, D. Juan Cano ; commandant of artillery, D. Manual Gamboa ; Generals Norriega, Dosamentes, and Perez were sent subsequently to the fortress. Chapultepec was near two miles from the Belen gate, and was regarded by both Mexicans and Americans as the key of the city.

General Scott, having selected the point against which he would direct his efforts, ordered a concentration of forces there, but Santa Anna, ignorant of Scott's intentions, was forced to divide his army to guard the many garitas of the city.

In the afternoon of the 11th he reviewed a portion of his infantry at a point between the Candelaria and San Antonio causeways, in commemoration of the victory obtained by himself over the Spaniards at Tampico; and the Secretary of War, having issued orders which aroused the enthusiasm of the soldiers, their loud vivas were heard by the American pickets. Santa Anna, believing that the Americans were about to attack the Niño Perdido Garita, sallied out in person, at the head of a band of cavalry and some twenty-five guerillas, under Colonel Martinez, made a reconnoissance up to the immediate vicinity of the Hermitage, at which point Magruder's battery was in position, which, opening a fire of shot and shell, forced him to retire.

Hostile armies confronting each other are very sensitive, the slightest move made by the one produces corresponding changes in the other, with perturbations more or less serious and extended, according to the information, skill, or judgment of the opposing commanders.

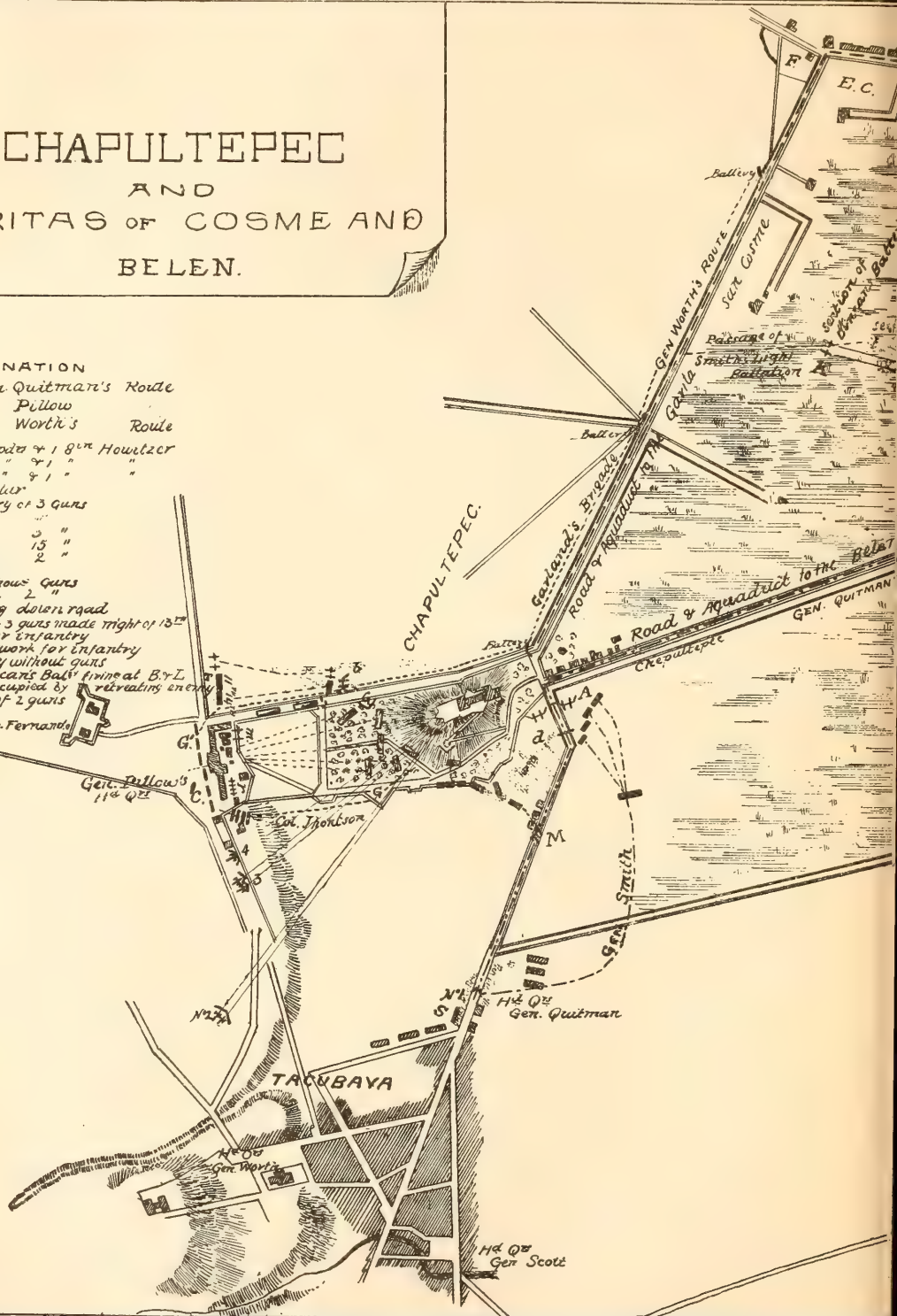
Agreeably to the order issued on the 11th a. m., Quitman moved forward from Coyoacan with his division and reached Piedad before dark; Smith's brigade of 'Twiggs' division, with Taylor's and Steptoe's batteries, came up from San Angel, and about 9 p. m. Pillow, relieved by Riley's brigade, withdrew his division and marched to Tacubaya, while Quitman resumed his march for the same place, where they reported to and received orders from the general-in-chief.

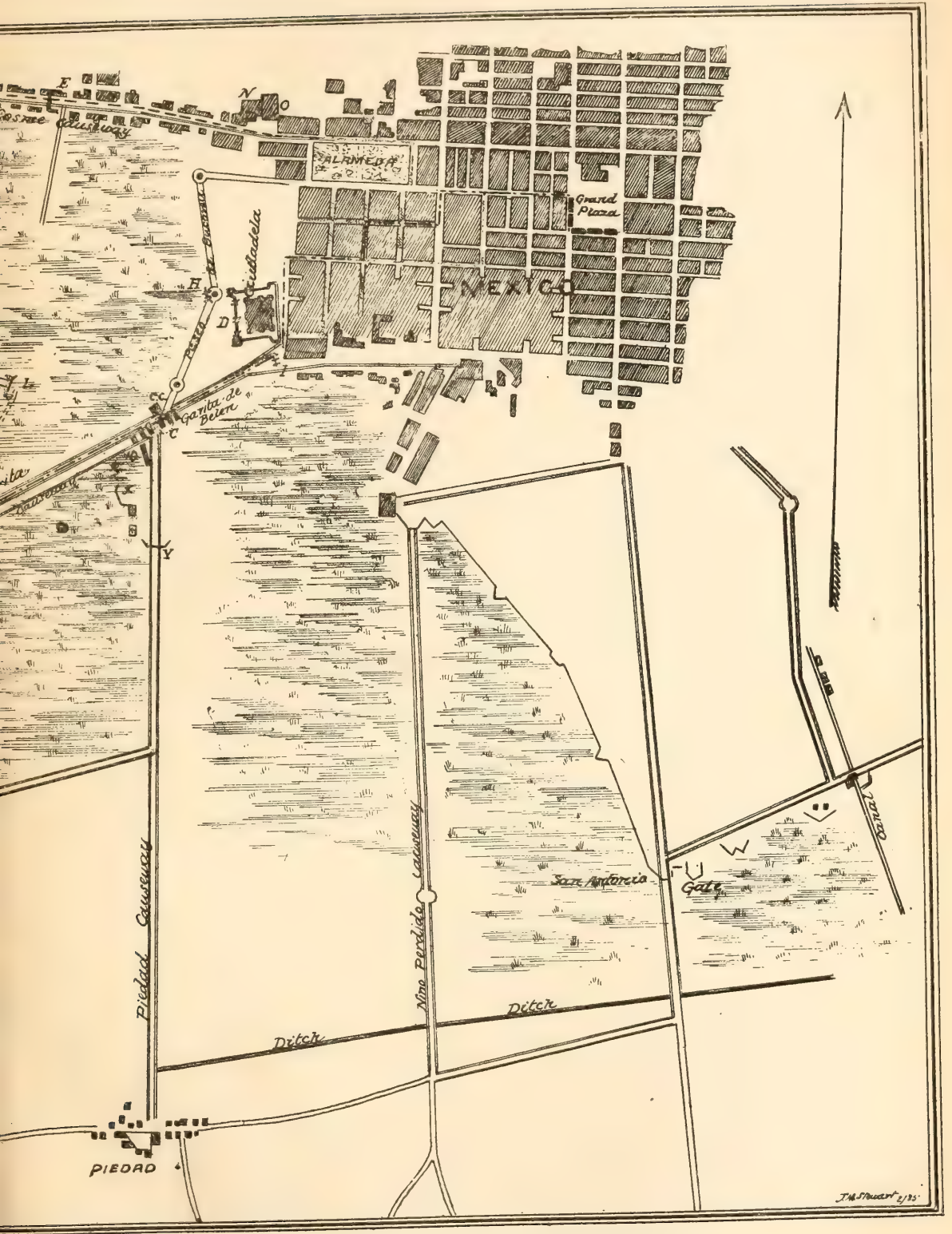
Battery No. 1 (Map 14) was constructed under Lieut. G. W. Smith's supervision and Battery No. 2 under Lieut. G. B. McClellan's, both of the engineer corps. Details were made from Quitman's division to assist the engineer company in the construction of these works, but although directed to report immediately after dark they did not arrive until near 4 o'clock a. m. of the 12th, hence these works, which were to have been finished before daylight, were hardly commenced at that time. The engineers, however, were indefatigable,

CHAPULTEPEC AND GARITAS OF COSME AND BELEN.

EXPLANATION

- Gen. Quitman's Route
- Pillow " Route
- Worth's Route
- 1. Battery of 2 16 pdr & 1 8ⁱⁿ Howitzer
- 2. " " 1 24 " & 1 " "
- 3. " " 1 16 " & 1 " "
- 4. " " 1 Mortar
- A. Enemy's Battery of 3 guns
- B. " " " "
- C. Garita 3 "
- D. Guadalupe 15 "
- E. Cosme Garita 2 "
- F. Deserted fort
- G. Batteries without guns
- H. Battery with 2 "
- I. Two guns " " " "
- J. Two batteries for 3 guns made night of 13th
- K. Breastwork for infantry
- L. Enemy's breastwork for infantry
- M. " " " "
- N. Section of Duclaux's Battery at B & L
- O. Breastwork occupied by
- P. Hunt's section of 2 guns
- Q. Cuartel
- R. Cuartel of San Fernando





and the batteries were completed rapidly. Two 16-pounders and one 8-inch howitzer captured from the enemy were placed in Battery No. 1, on the Tacubaya road, and served by Captain Drum's light company, Fourth Artillery, assisted by Lieuts. Calvin Benjamin and Fitz-John Porter. One 24-pounder and one 8-inch howitzer (United States) were placed in Battery No. 2 and served by a detachment of the ordnance company, under Lieutenant Hagner; one 24-pounder, intended for this battery, being upset on the night march from Mixcoac, could not be brought up for service. The positions of these two batteries being concealed from view by bushes and maguey and Twiggs' division opening fire at daylight, with Steptoe's battery at the Hermitage against the enemy's works on the south side of the city making a diversion, the work proceeded at batteries 1 and 2 without molestation until after sunrise.

When the batteries were sufficiently advanced Drum and Hagner opened upon the Castle a fire which proved to be well directed, nearly every shot striking. Huger brought up one 16-pound siege gun (captured) and one 8-inch howitzer (United States), in charge of Captain Brooks, Second Artillery, but owing to the very brisk fire from Chapultepec these guns could not be placed in the position chosen for them, nor the battery be prepared for their reception and they were taken to the north side of the Molinos-del-Rey, where they commanded the approach of the enemy's forces on that side of the Castle. More than once during the day hostile parties either showed themselves or attempted to advance in that direction, but were forced to retire by a few well-directed shots from these guns.

The steady fire of batteries 1 and 2 caused the enemy's to slacken. The 10-inch mortar, in charge of Lieut. Charles P. Stone of the ordnance, and served by a detachment of the company of that corps, was placed in position and shelled the Castle.

Captain Lee, engineers, availing himself during the day of the diminished fire from Chapultepec, and using the wall of the aqueduct as a parapet, prepared the ground and laid platforms, and the two pieces under Captain Brooks were placed in Battery No. 3, and opened fire. Lieut. S. S. Anderson,

Second Artillery, and Lieut. E. Russell, Fourth Infantry, relieved Captain Brooks' company in the evening. The stock of the 16-pounder broke, leaving Lieutenant Anderson with only the 8-inch howitzer, which, however, continued to fire until dusk.

The firing from Chapultepec diminished when these batteries were in full play, and was apparently silenced. The cannonading by Steptoe's battery, placed in position at the "Hermitage" the night of the 11th, continued, and being well covered suffered but little loss from the Mexican reply. Opposed to Steptoe were six pieces of ordnance of large calibre in position near the San Antonio Garita, four smaller guns in the battery on the causeway under General Mariano Martinez, and two field pieces at the Niño Perdido Garita supported by a corps of the National Guards.

The fire upon Chapultepec produced at first slight impression, but the walls pierced by balls in many directions, the roof seriously damaged by bombs thrown by the 10-inch mortar from the Molinos-del-Rey, and the American projectiles causing great havoc among the men behind the parapets, their engineers were kept busy repairing damages. The more intelligent officers urged that the troops be placed at the foot of the hill, retaining in Chapultepec only the artillery men and requisite engineers, but this not being done, a number of infantry were soon *hors de combat*.

The sound of Steptoe's guns caused Santa Anna to repair to the Candelaria and San Antonio Garitas, which he still expected the Americans to attack, knowing that these places once taken the city was lost to the Mexicans. Chapultepec, however, captured, there yet remained the Garitas of San Cosme and de Belen, and near the latter the Citadel, impervious to any assault.*

Whilst Santa Anna was a spectator to the exchange of shots between Steptoe's and his own batteries, between the San Antonio and Candelaria Gates, the American guns opened upon Chapultepec. He here received and spoke to an adjutant of General Bravo, commanding the Castle, then pro-

*It was a regular four-sided bastion fort, surrounded by a wide and deep ditch filled with water.

ceeded to Vegas by way of Candelaria and posted there his reserve, made up of Lombardini's and Rangel's brigades.

At noon he entered Chapultepec, the firing from the American batteries being then very active, watched for some minutes the effect of the shots; then walked through the woods at the west foot of the mound, taking with him a battalion to reinforce a work against which the American artillery was being directed.

When this battalion was seen, the Americans redoubled their fire, and, one shell bursting, killed the valiant Mendez, commandant of battalion, and killed or wounded thirty soldiers. Santa Anna ordered the troops to withdraw, retired with his Staff to the gate and ordered a work to be thrown up to defend that side of the garden. At 9 p. m. he returned to the National Palace with his reserves.

The American batteries ceased firing at 7 p. m., Steptoe's having begun at 5 a. m. The Mexicans, referring to this fire, state: "For fourteen hours the American batteries, perfectly served, had maintained a projectile in the air, the greater number of their shots taking effect." General Bravo, knowing that he would be attacked, asked to be reinforced, and Santa Anna replied through Generals Rangel and Peña that he would send more troops when the assault was made. During the night Monterde worked to repair ravages caused by the American artillery during the day.

The Governor of the State of Mexico, who had come up from Toluca with 700 men, reached Santa Fe (within a few miles of Tacubaya) on the 11th, and the Mexicans hoped that this small force, in conjunction with the cavalry, might be useful in at least dividing the enemy's attention and making him detach a force to meet it, but this not being done, it remained inactive during the 11th, 12th, and 13th.

During the cannonading of the 12th there were no casualties among the United States officers in charge of batteries, nor were there any of the cannoneers disabled. In the afternoon Captain Drum's company was relieved at No. 1 battery by Lieut. G. P. Andrews, of the Third Artillery, and the firing continued until near dark; the men serving the pieces near the Mills were withdrawn at night, the Mills having been occupied since sunrise by Pillow's division (Cadwalader's bri-

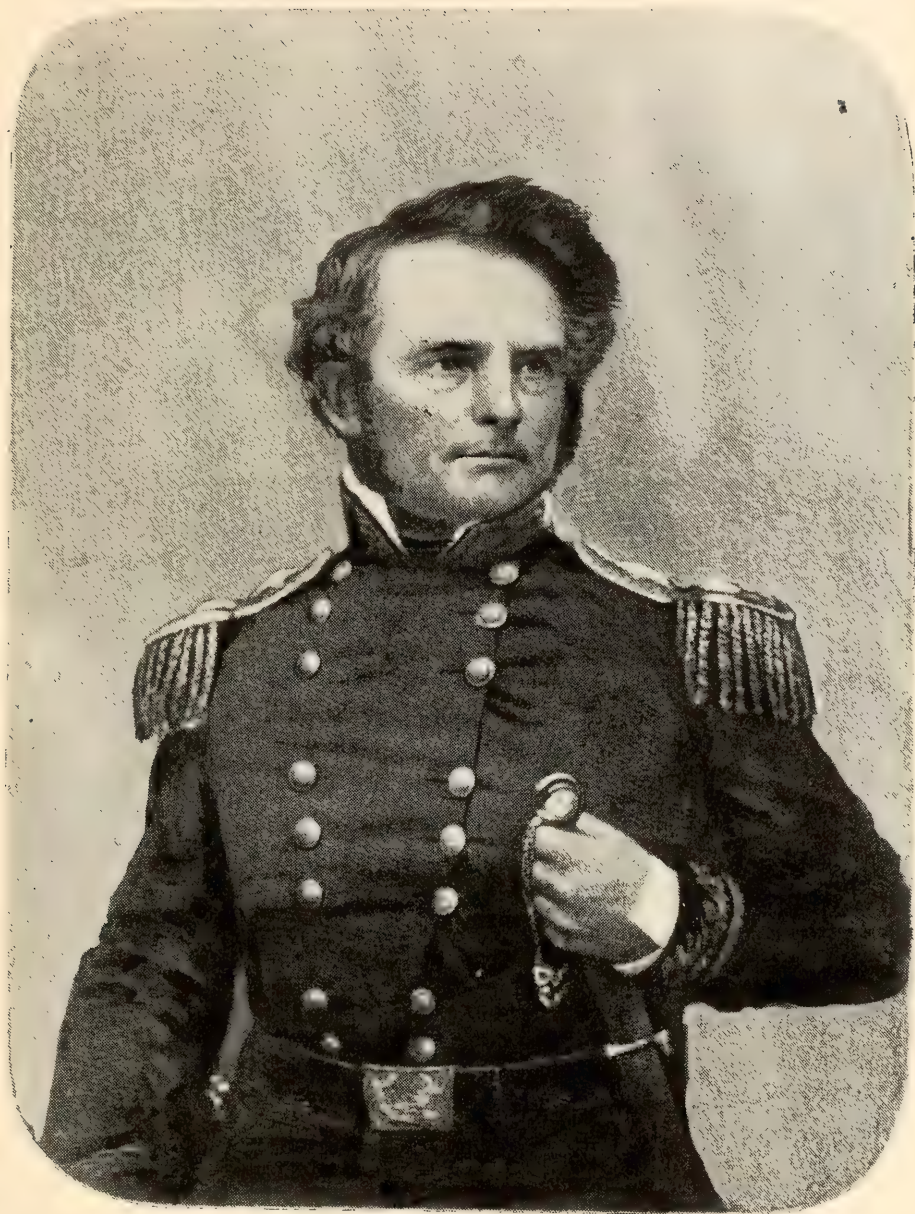
gade), the other brigade (Pierce's) of this division, with Magruder's battery, being held in rear, and at night Pillow's whole force was concentrated at the Mills.

Quitman's division during the 12th remained in rear near Batteries 1 and 2, extending from the Tacubaya road over to the left, near No. 2, at which was a detachment of United States Marines and a company of New York Volunteers, under Lieut. Mayne Reid.* In the afternoon General Quitman in person, attended by one of his aids-de-camp, Lieut. Mansfield Lovell, made a bold reconnoissance of the ground and works near the southeast end of Chapultepec, and discovered the position of two batteries that swept with their fire the road leading from Tacubaya to the gate of the Castle and the ground south of and between the road and surrounding enclosure. Maj. Levi Twiggs, with a detachment of Marines, supported this reconnoissance, and, aided by a few shots from Drum's guns, a lively fire was exchanged with the Mexican infantry, that advanced from the batteries. During this reconnoissance seven of Major Twiggs' men were wounded.

General Scott determined to resume the cannonading and bombardment of Chapultepec early the following morning, then to launch forth two columns of attack, one led by Quitman, against the southern face of the Castle, advancing along the road leading from Tacubaya; the other, under General Pillow, to move from the Molinos-del-Rey towards and then through the low grounds, covered with cypress, between those Mills and the western end of the rocky mound, and ascend the hill on its most accessible side.

To aid the contemplated attack a storming party of ten officers and 260 men was detailed from Worth's division, under the command of Capt. Samuel Mackenzie, Second Artillery, ordered to report early in the morning of the 13th to General Pillow and a like detail from Twiggs' division, consisting of thirteen officers and 250 men, under Capt. Silas Casey, Second Infantry, to report at the same hour to General Quitman, Worth's division (formed in rear of the Molinos-del-Rey) to take such position as would best support

* Subsequently a writer of novels that were much read; took part in the Hungarian Revolution, and afterwards lived in London.



GIDEON J. PILLOW,
MAJOR GENERAL, U. S. VOLUNTEERS.
BORN IN AND APPOINTED FROM TENNESSEE.

General Pillow's operations, and General Smith's brigade, of Twiggs' division, to support Quitman's attack.

General Quitman having been instructed to prevent, if possible, reinforcements being passed into Chapultepec from the city, ordered Captain Paul with a detachment of fifty men to advance along the Tacubaya road to a point from which a movement of troops along the turnpike from the city might be heard if not seen. A brisk fire occurred during the night between the enemy and this advance force, but the latter held its ground. Lieutenant Andrews was ordered to run forward one of his pieces and rake the Tacubaya road with an occasional discharge of canister. It was believed that no reinforcements entered Chapultepec in the night and there was no appearance of any movements in the enemy's lines. Repairs were made during the night in Battery No. 1, under Lieutenant Tower's direction, and a new battery for one gun under the supervision of Lieutenant Hammond, Third Artillery, aid-de-camp to Brigadier-General Shields, was established a short distance in advance of it.

At an early hour on the 13th the batteries opened fire all along the lines, the one on the extreme right (Stephens's) being directed upon those of the enemy near the San Antonio Garita and between it and the Niño Perdido road, and was continued with such spirit and effect that the enemy was compelled to withdraw his guns from the Garita to the protection of the city walls. Drum relieved Andrews, and the guns of No. 1 were directed against the batteries and the troops near the base of the hill. After two rounds the 8-inch howitzer was disabled by its own fire, and one of the enemy's shots broke a wheel of the 16-pounder, killing at the same time one of the cannoneers and wounding a corporal; the wheel was soon replaced.

During this cannonade Generals Pillow and Quitman were busy making preparations for the assault; the former placed two pieces (map XIV) of Magruder's battery inside the Molinos building, to clear a sand-bag work, constructed outside the main wall, surrounding Chapultepec, and to command an opening in the wall. The mountain howitzer under Lieutenant Reno, of the ordnance, was passed through the houses and walls of the Mills, and placed in batteryⁿ, so as to aid in

driving the enemy from an intrenchment, extending nearly across the forest, and commanding the approach to the Castle. Four companies of the Voltigeur regiment under Lieut.-Col. J. E. Johnston were placed in position with instructions, upon the cessation of fire, to advance rapidly on the outside, under cover of the wall, and enter the enclosure at the opening^g; the remaining four companies, under Col. T. P. Andrews, were posted at a narrow gate, in rear of the Mills, with orders to advance and unite with Johnston's command, then to deploy as skirmishers, and, by a simultaneous move upon the enemy's flank and front, drive him from his intrenchments and from the large trees behind which he was sheltered. The Ninth and Fifteenth regiments of infantry were placed in position to move forward, as supports to the storming party, and if necessary to form a part of it.

Colonel Andrews was ordered, as soon as the regiment of Voltigeurs had cleared the intrenchments and woods, to form in rear of Mackenzie's command as a supporting or assaulting force, according to the exigencies of the movement. Mackenzie's command was placed immediately in rear of Colonel Johnston's skirmishers, and ordered to move under cover of the same wall, to enter the breach close after Johnston, and as he would brush away the enemy, to advance steadily, assault and carry the main work of Chapultepec. He placed his scaling ladders in charge of this command, and furnished a strong detail of men to carry them forward to the parapet. He directed Lieutenant Reno to move with the advancing column, and to use his battery whenever he could do so with effect, and placed Colonel Trousdale with the Eleventh and Fourteenth Regiments^r, and one section of Magruder's battery, under command of Lieut. T. J. Jackson,* in the road leading on the left, or north, of Chapultepec to the city, with instructions to advance so as to hold in observation the enemy stationed at the battery^b, and to attack if he attempted to advance or to succor the forces within the walls of Chapultepec. Having completed these dispositions for the assault while a heavy cannonade was going on, General Pillow di-

* Became well known to the country in the war between the States as "Stonewall Jackson."



STORMING OF CHAPULTEPEC.

PILLOW'S ATTACK.

SEPTEMBER 13TH 1847.



rected Brigadier-General Cadwalader to see to their proper execution.

General Quitman gave fewer orders, and attended personally to the movement of his troops. His preparations for the assault, as in the case of General Pillow, were made during the active cannonade that began at daylight. Ladders, pick-axes, and crows were given to a pioneer storming party of forty select men from the volunteer division, under Capt. E. McDonald Reynolds, of the Marine Corps, to accompany the storming party of 120 men, selected from the different regiments of the division, and placed under Major Twiggs' command.

Captain Drum retained Sergeant Davidson and eight cannoneers of Lieutenant Andrews' company to man an 8-pounder, which was to advance with the troops, and to guard in part the right flank against any force that might come from the city. General Smith's brigade, in column near Battery No. 1 of Twiggs' division, was ordered to move on the right of the column of attack, if practicable, cross the aqueduct, and cut off the retreat of the enemy along that route through the Belen Gate into the city. The storming party of regular troops, under Captain Casey, Second Infantry, was placed in the ditch^s left of the road and in rear of Battery No. 1, which protected them from the plunging fire from Chapultepec. The whole division was held in readiness, and, concealed from view of the enemy as much as possible, awaited the preconcerted signal to advance, which was a momentary cessation of fire on the part of the heavy batteries.

About 8 a. m. General Scott, judging from the apparent effect of shot and shell that had been thrown against the Castle and into the surrounding works that the time had arrived, dispatched two aids, one to General Pillow, the other to General Quitman, to inform them that the signal was about to be given, and soon there was a suspension of artillery fire.

Lieut. C. M. Wilcox, ordered by General Quitman to go at once to Captain Casey and give the order to advance, met on the way Lieut. Tower, who hearing that the signal was about to be given retraced his steps. On reaching the storming party the order was given to Captain Casey, who formed his men in a few seconds, and gave the order "forward." They

moved down the road towards Chapultepec at a "double quick;" Lieutenant Tower leading off, and for 600 yards were exposed to a raking fire from the Castle, but were partially concealed from view, and protected from the fire of the batteries near the road by several adobe houses on the left of it, and by rows of maguey growing along the edge of the ditch. Beyond the houses showers of grape came from the guns of the batteries on the left of the road, passing among and over the men, causing a few casualties, and the hostile musketry opened, knocking over a few men, Lieutenant Tower being of the number. Two hundred yards beyond the adobe houses the road made a slight bend to the left; 200 yards beyond this were the two Mexican batteries; and in advance of the bend a short distance was a ditch^d, eight or ten feet deep and nine or twelve feet wide. Here the stormers were brought to a halt, as the ditch could not be passed. Between the road and the wall surrounding Chapultepec the ground was intersected by ditches and covered with water, and on the right of the road there was a ditch, but beyond it the surface was dry, though it might have been unsafe for the stormers, weak in numbers, to have made a sweep around in that direction.

Hurrying back, General Quitman was met at the adobe houses, and near him was Brigadier-General Shields, bleeding freely from a wound in the arm; the difficulties of the storming party were explained, and the troops then approaching were ordered to turn off to the left at right angles to the road and move against the Castle through an opening visible in the surrounding wall.

Lieutenant Wilcox, ordered to return to the storming^d party, met the commander, Captain Casey, coming to the rear, wounded. Lieut. Levi Gantt, of the Seventh Infantry, while in the act of receiving an order from Captain Casey, was shot dead; the order was then given to Lieuts. Fred Steele, of the Second, and Barnard E. Bee, of the Third Infantry. The commander of the volunteer storming party, Major Twiggs, of the Marine Corps, was killed, and succeeded in command by Capt. James Miller, Second Pennsylvania Volunteers.

In crossing the low, wet ground, intersected with ditches, between the road and the wall surrounding Chapultepec,



STORMING OF CHAPULTEPEC.

QUITMAN'S ATTACK.

SEPTEMBER 13TH, 1847.

the regiments were under a severe fire, inflicting many casualties; among the number were Lieut.-Col. Charles Baxter, commanding the New York volunteers, mortally wounded, and Capt. Abram Van O'Linda, of the same regiment, killed. Lieut.-Col. J. W. Geary, commanding Second Pennsylvania, was for a time disabled by contusion from a spent ball.

When Lieutenant Wilcox returned the second time from the storming party General Quitman was still near the small houses by the roadside, the point where his regiments filed to the left to take part in the assault upon Chapultepec. A section of Duncan's battery, under Lieutenant Hunt, met at these houses, had been pushed forward close upon the storming party, and was under a heavy fire; but finding it impossible to use his guns in this advanced position, Hunt fell back to a point some 250 yards in front of Battery No. 1 and unlimbered. The Castle of Chapultepec being within easy range, he opened fire on the enemy in front of the stormers, elevating the pieces as the slope was ascended by the infantry. When Chapultepec was captured he limbered up and advanced until the ditch was reached in front of the Mexican batteries. When this was filled so that the pieces could pass, Quitman's command had begun the move towards Belen, and Lieutenant Hunt, being directed to the other road, joined the remainder of the battery under Colonel Duncan. Lieut H. F. Clark served one of the guns of the section with Lieutenant Hunt. Lieutenant Benjamin, Fourth Artillery, ran a 9-pounder forward from Battery No. 1 and fired several shrapnel into the enemy as they retired up the hill into the Castle, and advanced an 8-inch howitzer from that battery and fired three shells into the Castle.

The mountain howitzers, under Lieutenant Reno, opened with a fire of shells upon the enemy posted behind field-works, north of the woods west of Chapultepec, and threw a few shells into the corn-field and cypress grove. The Voltigeurs then advanced, the right wing, under Colonel Andrews, through the corn-field and meadow in front, next through the woods between the meadow and Castle; the left wing, under Lieut.-Col. J. E. Johnston, moved by the flank beyond Molinos-del-Rey under cover of the south wall, and was subjected to a brisk fire from the *lunette*, covering the opening

by which they were to pass the wall. The men were deployed at a run, each company opening fire as soon as deployed. The enemy was driven from the parapet, followed through the gorge and driven from the woods and into the intrenchments on Pillow's right, which were attacked and carried.

The storming party, under Mackenzie, moved forward, the ground having been cleared by the Voltigeurs, formed in line at the foot of the hill with ladders, crow-bars, etc., close in rear, and advanced in as good order as the broken ground would permit, followed by the Ninth and Fifteenth Infantry; half way up the ascent the stormers, under Mackenzie, came upon the troops that were to clear the way, where the latter under cover afforded by the slope were delivering their fire. Mackenzie experienced some difficulty in getting his command beyond them, the men showing a disposition to take cover and to use their arms, but he, however, urged them and many of the Voltigeurs on. The ditch was at length reached, Lieut. Lewis Armistead, Sixth Infantry, being the first to leap into it under the artillery and musketry fire and hand-grenades of the enemy. Ladders were applied and one of the salients of the main work carried. The mines of the enemy were not sprung, as the assaulting party in ascending the hill passed over them near the ditch. Lieut. Joseph Selden, Eighth Infantry, was the first to mount a ladder and was shot down, severely wounded. Lieut. A. P. Rodgers, Fourth Infantry, had received a mortal wound before reaching this point and fell near the ditch, where Lieut. Joseph P. Smith, Fifth Infantry, was also killed.

General Smith's brigade, Twiggs' division, was formed under instructions from General Quitman, in rear and extending to the right of the division, to cover his right and rear from the enemy near the aqueduct leading from Chapultepec to the city, and to better secure the movement General Smith detached two companies of riflemen, under Capt. John S. Simonson and Lieut. I. N. Palmer, and subsequently a third, under Lieut. R. M. Morris, still further to his right. His brigade extending five or six hundred yards to the right of the road, he advanced a like distance, and changing to the left, his right regiment, the Mounted Rifles, came opposite the



JOHN A. QUITMAN,
MAJOR GENERAL U. S. VOLUNTEERS.
BORN IN NEW YORK.—APPOINTED FROM MISSISSIPPI.

battery on the right of the road and captured the Second Battery with several guns and many prisoners. The enemy was also behind the aqueduct, at and near the gate leading into Chapultepec, in houses and on the *azoteas*, strengthened with sand-bags, but the Castle had been taken before the firing ceased at the foot of the hill near the gate.

Of Quitman's troops, the South Carolina regiment on reaching the wall broke through it. The New York and Pennsylvania regiments, inclining to the left, passed through at the redan, where Johnston had crossed. The South Carolinians having broken through the wall, ascended the hill and joined the foremost, as did the New York regiment, notably the company commanded by Lieut. Mayne Reid, who had been guarding Battery No. 2. When this battery ceased firing he moved forward at a run, joined the advanced troops in the ascent, and fell wounded near the ditch. General Pillow was wounded at the foot of the hill, and Col. T. B. Ransom, of the Ninth Infantry, was killed, shot through the head, while leading his regiment near the storming party.

General Worth had been ordered by the general-in-chief to take position with his division so as to be ready to render assistance to General Pillow if called upon. Having placed it as ordered, he despatched Lieut. Raphael Semmes, of the navy, one of his aids, to inform the general, soon after the attack began, of his position. General Pillow was at the foot of the hill, wounded, and requested the aid to return and beg General Worth to bring up his division, and make haste, or he feared he would be too late.

Clarke's brigade, ordered to advance instantly, moved unchecked, though exposed to artillery fire, and united with the advanced troops. At the crossing of the ditch and scaling of the walls there was much breaking up and intermingling of commands, but after the works were once crossed, and the troops inside in force, they encountered but little resistance.

Lieut. James Longstreet, adjutant of the Eighth Infantry, was disabled by a severe wound while ascending the hill to the Castle; Lieut. Geo. E. Pickett then took charge of the regimental flag of the regiment and had it carried over the works into and to the top of the Castle.

Colonel Trousdale, placed on the road north of Chapultepec in observation, as already stated, and seeing a movement in the enemy's ranks, indicating, as he believed, a purpose to enter and succor the forces in Chapultepec, ordered the section of artillery under Lieut. T. J. Jackson to advance, and followed with the Fourteenth Infantry. The artillery moved further than was intended, came within point blank range of and received a destructive fire from the enemy's batteries, entrenched across the road almost immediately under the guns of Chapultepec, which inflicted much loss among the men, besides killing most of the artillery horses. Colonel Trousdale held his position and drove the enemy from the battery, then advanced, took possession of the guns, and turned them upon the retiring enemy; but having received two severe wounds in the arm, yielded the command to Lieut.-Col. Paul O. Hebert.

Capt. J. B. Magruder, who had operated a section of his battery on the enemy around Chapultepec before the advance of the infantry as long as practicable and after the attack began, when forced to suspend firing, was ordered to join the advanced section of his battery, but on arriving at the position where Jackson should have been found he saw only a detachment of the Eleventh Infantry, then threatened by the approach of a large cavalry force, and was in the act of going with one piece to join Jackson, when he received a message from him asking to be reinforced. This request being made known to General Worth, he ordered Magruder to withdraw Jackson to his original position, and on going forward Magruder was dismounted by a grape shot, and, finding the section so situated as to make it more unsafe to retire, then to let it remain, hastened back to Worth, who ordered Garland's brigade forward, followed by Magruder with his guns. On reaching the enemy's works that had been captured he found them unoccupied, eight of Jackson's horses killed at one spot, one gun disabled for want of horses, and the infantry filling up the ditch to allow artillery and ammunition wagons to pass. Lieutenant Jackson was still in the advance, having caused one piece to be lifted by hand over the ditch, and when joined by Magruder with three guns was firing upon the enemy on the road at the northeast angle of Chapultepec.

Magruder moved up with the three pieces, brought two, then the third into battery, within good range, but found the last files of the enemy entering a work which barred for a time further progress towards the city. The Mexicans appeared to be in considerable strength behind and on the right and left of this work, having infantry and cavalry, but no artillery. There was but a feeble fire of escopets from down the road.

A large force of cavalry and infantry formed on the road in front of this work to charge Magruder's guns, considerably in advance, there being with him some twenty men, under Lieut. D. H. Hill, Fourth Artillery, and possibly double that number under other officers who were separated from their commands. The enemy moved forward threatening Magruder's guns, which opened with a rapid discharge of shells and shrapnel, and arrested and drove him back. It being discovered at this time that the enemy were bringing up some heavy guns, Colonel Garland directed Magruder to retire his guns and replenish his ammunition.

Before the ditch on the side attacked by Pillow had been crossed Lieutenant-Colonel Johnston, with a part of the Voltigeur regiment, had passed around to the right to the main entrance—the gate—to prevent the escape of the garrison, and here encountered a close fire from the east terrace. Lieutenant Reno, with his mountain howitzer, joined him at the gate and was disabled while bravely using his piece.

Lieutenant Brower, of the New York regiment, is credited with the honor of receiving personally the surrender of General Bravo, and escorting his prisoner to General Cadwalader, who states in his report that "The Mexican flag which floated over the fortress, and which had been three times shot down by our artillery, was lowered and handed to me by Maj. Thomas H. Seymour, of the Ninth Infantry. A train leading to the mines, intended to blow up our forces in case we should succeed in the capture of the work, was discovered and destroyed. Private W. A. Gray, of Captain Blair's company of Voltigeurs, first discovered and assisted in destroying it." Bvt. Maj. Wm. R. Montgomery, commanding the Eighth Infantry, states that Lieut. George E. Pickett took charge of the colors of the Eighth Infantry, had them borne

the first, to the top of the palace, lowered the enemy's standard, and replaced it with that of the Eighth Infantry and the national flag, while the battle was yet raging beneath, meaning probably the engagement at the foot of the hill. The apparent conflict in the reports may be reconciled, if it be believed, as was probably the case, that Major Seymour, the ranking officer present at the lowering of the Mexican and running up of the United States flag, gave the order which was executed by Pickett.

When the American batteries opened fire upon Chapultepec a little after daylight on the 13th, General Bravo, in command, reported to Santa Anna, at the palace in the city, that the Castle would certainly be attacked, and asked that reinforcements and extra ammunition be sent without delay; but Santa Anna, not believing Chapultepec would be assaulted, failed to increase the garrison* as requested, and posted Rangel's brigade in the batteries on each side of the Tacubaya road near the southeast angle of Chapultepec, in and about the house near the gate, and against the aqueduct. General Peña's brigade was held in rear of the breastworks near the northeast angle, and at points along the road north of the aqueduct.

There were but 800 men in Chapultepec, and to oppose the advance of Pillow through the cypress grove, was the San Blas battalion, under Lieut.-Col. D. Santiago Xicotencal, which was flanked and pushed back, the brave commander and the greater part of his officers being killed. As the American infantry approached the foot of the hill, they came under fire of the garrison of the Castle, but continued to advance, and had ascended above the mines, when Lieutenant Alaman, attempting to apply the slow match, was shot down.

General Perez was killed at the beginning of the attack; Lieutenant-Colonel Cano, mortally wounded, died during the night; though quite young, he was distinguished for literary ability and scientific learning. General Dosamentes was captured with his commander, General Bravo. General Monterde, superintendent of the school, Generals Norriega and

*There were as many men in Chapultepec as could well use their arms; more would have only increased casualties and swelled the number of prisoners.

Saldana were also captured, and, of the prisoners, about forty were pupils (cadets)* of the school.

All of the American army except Riley's brigade, Steptoe's battery, and the garrison at Mixcoac, were engaged in the operations against Chapultepec and adjacent works. Deducting the sick and the necessary details, would leave about 7,500 men employed by Scott in the assault and capture of this stronghold, which guarded so effectually all approaches to the capital from the west.

Of the strength of the Mexican force that defended Chapultepec there is uncertainty; Mexican history states 800 to have been in Chapultepec, Rangel's and Peña's brigades to have been at the foot of the hill, on the north, northeast, east and south sides. Rangel's and Lombardini's brigades were estimated previously at about twenty-five hundred, but the strength of Peña's brigade is nowhere given. Lombardini's brigade is not referred to as being engaged at Chapultepec, but reference is made to "many who shamefully deserted Chapultepec, who were seen at 6 in the morning of the 13th on the Belen causeway, with Lombardini's brigade and the Hidalgo battalion of National Guards; and these two commands, being in the immediate vicinity at 6 a. m., it is almost certain that they took part in the action.†

If Lombardini was engaged, his and Rangel's brigades, as given in their history, amounted to about twenty-five hundred; allowing Peña's brigade to be half of that, and the 800 in Chapultepec, would make 4,550; the battalion of San Blas, under Xicotencal may or may not have been included in the 800 defenders of Chapultepec, but the Hidalgo battalion could not have been so included. It is very probable

*The conduct of these young heroes deserves some special mention. Laying aside their slates and books for the musket and sabre, they were conspicuous in posts of danger. Their mothers, like the women of Sparta, encouraged and stimulated them. One brave boy, whose mother had said to him that death was preferable to dishonor, stood by his gun when all around had retreated, and this impressed so favorably the victors that they allowed him to pass out unmolested. Adopted by an American officer, he was brought to the United States and educated.

†The garrison in Chapultepec could not have been very strong; those not killed must have been captured, and the entire number of prisoners taken on the 13th and 14th was 823, and some of these were captured before reaching the gate, along the aqueducts and at the garitas.

there were about five thousand Mexican soldiers, infantry and artillery, at Chapultepec; their cavalry present was between four and five thousand, giving an aggregate of at least nine thousand in the engagement.

The Mexicans compliment the San Blas company of sharp shooters (whose captain, Tracónie, was wounded) and the Matamoros battalion of Morelia (whose brigade commander, Major D. Jose Barreiro, was also wounded) which, with other troops, gallantly aided in the defense of the batteries on the Tacubaya road.

CHAPTER XXI.

THE CITY OF MEXICO.—THE BELEN AND SAN COSME GATES.—
PERSONAL INCIDENTS.—SANTA ANNA.—THE SIEGE OF
PUEBLA. — HUAMANTLA. — A RESUME OF THE MARCH
THROUGH THE VALLEY OF MEXICO.

After the capture of Chapultepec General Quitman ordered his Staff to refill cartridge boxes preparatory to an advance along the aqueduct towards the Garita-de-Belen, and rode up to the Castle to have a more extended view of the Valley and approaches to the city. Meanwhile Gen. Persifor Smith ordered the ditch across the Tacubaya road to be filled and the parapet leveled to permit the passage of artillery.

The pursuit, with a short pause at Chapultepec, was pressed vigorously on the two roads (map XIV) into the city. The more direct of these, the one followed by Quitman, led to the Garita-de-Belen, about two miles distant. Worth advanced over the other and longer, which entered the city through the San Cosme Garita. These roads were broad, level avenues. In the centre of each was an aqueduct consisting of an open stone trough, resting on arches springing from stone piers, and right and left of the causeway were ditches filled with water.

The Mounted Rifles, under Maj. W. W. Loring, followed by Captain Drum's guns, the remainder of Quitman's command, Smith's brigade of Twiggs' division, and a portion of the Sixth Infantry from Clarke's brigade, Worth's division, under Major Bonneville, led Quitman's advance along the Belen causeway, on which, a mile from Chapultepec, was a

a bridge, called the "Bridge of the Insurgents," near and beyond which was a battery^B with guns, and on its right a parapet several hundred yards long for infantry. At this battery and along the parapet was posted the battalion of Morelia. The resistance here for a short time was spirited, but the fire of the Mounted Rifles, of Drum's 8-inch howitzer, and a fraction of the infantry, drove the Mexicans from this position. A section of Duncan's battery, supported by Col. C. F. Smith's light battalion, advanced to the south side of the San Cosme aqueduct and fired upon it and towards the Paseo. Lieut. Fitz-John Porter, Fourth Artillery, was temporarily disabled near this work by a severe contusion from a spent ball.

Passing this battery and intrenched position, Quitman's command continued to advance on the causeway, the Mounted Rifles leading, followed by Drum's guns, moved by hand. The spaces between the piers, under the arches of the aqueduct, afforded good shelter for the troops from the fire of the works at the Belen Gate, now sweeping the level and straight causeway, but for the artillery, or for the men by whom the guns were moved forward, there was no cover, and they had to face the fire from the fortified gate.

As the riflemen in front, intermingled with infantry, advanced from arch to arch and approached the Garita they were exposed to a body of Mexican infantry under cover of houses on the right of the road. The advance was checked, but Drum's guns and the rifle fire drove off the Mexican infantry. As the gate was approached still nearer the South Carolina regiment was placed in front with the rifles; "three rifles and three bayonets under each arch," supported by the residue of Smith's and Shields' brigades and the Second Pennsylvania, with a part of the Sixth Infantry, under Major Bonnevill. The advance from arch to arch was made under a close artillery fire and from numerous infantry at the Garita batteries, at the breastworks on the Paseo, and on the Piedad road, extending from the right of the gate. One of Drum's guns, a 16-pounder, under Lieutenant Benjamin, was directed upon the Garita with effect, and when the enfilade fire from the Piedad road obstructed the advance of the column, Drum, with the 16-pounder and an eight-inch howitzer threw rounds

of grape and canister and cleared the way for the column. The Rifles, well sustained by the South Carolinians, rushed on in the face of a quick infantry fire from the gate and roofs of houses near the breastworks on the Paseo, amid the sheeted fire and roar of thundering guns and captured the Garita de Belen, at which point the Mexican capital was entered at 1:20 p. m., September 13th. The division commander, General Quitman, was among the first to mount and cross the breastwork on the side of the aqueduct fronting the citadel.

Sent to the rear by General Quitman to have fuzes and ammunition for the artillery brought up to the head of the advancing column, I was compelled to go as far as Chapultepec. The troops had advanced considerably when I returned, and hastening to overtake those in front near the city gate, I met going to the rear with a shattered arm Maj. W. W. Loring, the gallant commander of the Rifle regiment, who had been wounded at the head of the column by a grape shot. Next I saw General Quitman standing on the parapet at the gate, facing the rear and waving his handkerchief. When I rejoined him, being much fatigued by my long tramp, I sat down on the parapet on which he was standing. No horses were used; the road on both sides of the aqueduct being swept by artillery, all orders had to be carried on foot.

The general immediately directed that a flag be displayed from the aqueduct, in order that those of his command not yet up might see where we were. Gen. P. F. Smith arrived at this time, and with watch in hand remarked, "General, it is twenty minutes after 1." As soon as ordered I ran back from the gate thirty or forty yards to the South Carolina regiment, and requested Lieut. Frederick W. Selleck, of that regiment, to bring his flag forward, to be waved as a signal from the aqueduct. Inside the Garita on the south side was a plank scaffold resting against the aqueduct; using this as a banquette, the Mexicans could fire over it, having their bodies well protected. Selleck soon appeared with the Palmetto flag, accompanied by several men of the regiment, and mounted the scaffold by the aid of the men; he then gave me his hand, and with his assistance I was soon by his side.

The flag was handed to us, but it was inconvenient for two to hold ; it was then waved alternately, first by Selleck, then by myself.* Upon the display of the flag, there was cheering among the men near the gate; the firing had been lively all the time, but the waving of the flag and cheering of the men caused a concentration of both artillery and musketry upon the Garita. After the flag had been thus displayed several minutes, General Quitman remarked, "that will do, get down." I jumped from the scaffold instantly, and as I reached the ground was considerably shocked, almost turned around by a musket ball striking a pistol at my left side, worn under the sash and sword belt. The ball flattened itself, fell to the ground, and was picked up. Selleck did not leap down when told, but replied, "once more," meaning one more wave of the flag; but before it was finished fell upon the scaffold shot through the leg below the knee by a musket ball, breaking both bones ; one of the men helping him down was killed, and two were wounded. There were not many men inside of the gate at the time, General Quitman being one of the few.

The troops, Rifles and Palmettos, advanced into the city along the aqueduct several hundred yards; two companies of the Second Pennsylvania, Capts. Charles Naylor and Thos. S. Loeser, who advanced to the left along the Paseo, and occupied a sand-bag parapet from which the Mexicans had been driven, were under a severe fire of artillery and musketry from the Citadel, from house tops, and points along the Paseo, while moving to this battery. Two hours after the capture of the Belen Gate, I was directed by the general to have the men withdrawn from the inside of the gate, and to order them to shelter themselves near it as well as they could.

About seventy yards within the gate I found Major Gladden, commanding the South Carolina regiment, standing with the colors of his regiment in his hands and leaning against the aqueduct, a stream of blood over a yard long run-

* This account of the raising of the Palmetto flag on the Garita de Belen is verified by the report of the United States Senate committee in December, 1855, on an investigation as to the first American flag hoisted in the city of Mexico, after the entrance of the American troops.

ning from his feet. He had been shot through the leg near the body, but did not leave his regiment until ordered to the rear ; I continued on, recalled his men and the Rifles, and advanced to a point opposite the centre of the curtain on the front of the citadel facing the aqueduct. There were a few men beyond this point, who were recalled by the order being passed along from man to man, and all were withdrawn and placed under such cover as could be found. A few minutes later Mexican infantry came charging down on both sides of the aqueduct, cheering and at the same time displaying much courage. They came within sixty yards of the Garita, when the Rifles and infantry opening a brisk fire, they broke and retired, not to approach so close again.

The fire of two Mexican guns, posted at the College of the Belen de los Mochas, was very effective, and, together with other pieces in the Citadel, battered the gate fearfully. An effective infantry fire was also delivered from the roof of the college. Captain Drum and Lieutenant Benjamin were mortally wounded, the first inside, the latter outside the gate. Lieutenant Mansfield Lovell, of Quitman's Staff, and Lieutenant Earl Van Dorn, Seventh Infantry, painfully wounded by spent balls. The losses, killed and wounded, were large. It is still well remembered that both sides of the aqueduct were raked by artillery, and that shots came also obliquely from the Paseo on the left, one of which killed three South Carolinians under the same arch, with Major Bonneville.

Quitman's force, however, could not be driven from the Garita, and remained there under an annoying and effective fire of artillery and musketry, which continued until dark. During the night a battery and other intrenchments were constructed inside the gate under the supervision of Lieut. Beauregard, assisted by Lieut. Henry Coppee, Third Artillery. The former had accompanied Quitman's command in its advance upon and capture of the Belen Gate, and was struck several times during the day by musket balls and grape, but remained at the front. The battery was completed a little before day, and in it were placed one 24-pounder, one 18-pounder, and one eight-inch howitzer, under Captain Edward Steptoe, Second Artillery.

Riley's brigade and Steptoe's battery held a threatening position at Piedad, and during the 13th kept up an artillery

fire and made demonstrations against the city on that side. The Fourth Artillery regiment, ordered forward on the Piedad road to disperse a body of the enemy engaged in that quarter, advanced as far as the earthwork^v in the suburbs, south of the Belen Gate, and remained there for some time, exposed to both musketry and artillery fire. Later this brigade marched through Tacubaya, passed by Chapultepec, and bivouacked on the San Cosme road not far from the Garita.

In retreating from Chapultepec, a large portion of the Mexican forces not in the main work on the top of the hill, retired by the San Cosme road, making several stands at fortified points, but were pressed back by Garland's brigade and Magruder's guns. During a short halt, Clarke's brigade and Duncan's battery came up and passed to the front, and in a few minutes the Mexicans were driven with slight resistance from their position^f near the English cemetery^{E.C.} Their works at this point were constructed to guard approaches from the north and not from Chapultepec, but were spiritedly defended by General Rangel, who thus delayed temporarily Worth's advance. The Mexican cavalry made here an unsuccessful effort to charge, and Colonel Romero was complimented by Mexican authorities for both skill and courage on this occasion.

The San Cosme causeway here turns almost at right angles and leads to the Garita of that name, distant about 1,300 yards. A connected row of houses on the north side of the road, or street, extended all the way from the square in the road to the Garita, with an aqueduct, similar to that already described, running through the centre of the street, south of which was a deep ditch separating it from the marshy ground with walled enclosures and isolated houses near the gate. General Scott, who with his Staff had joined General Worth, ordered him to press on against the Garita and, if possible, penetrate into the city as far as the Alameda. General Cadwalader, who had reported to Worth, was ordered to hold the English cemetery and look to the left and rear, where the enemy's forces were now assuming a threatening attitude, and at the same time two brigades of Worth's divisions, Garland on the right and Clarke on the left of the aqueduct, were ordered to advance and attack the San Cosme Garita.

In his official report General Worth says: "After these two brigades had reached their position it became necessary at all hazards to advance a piece of artillery to the abandoned battery^b of the enemy between us and the Garita^c. Lieut. Henry Hunt was directed to execute this duty, and did so with great gallantry, losing only one killed and four wounded out of nine men, although the piece moved at full speed over a distance of 150 yards. It has never been my fortune to witness a more brilliant exhibition of courage and conduct." The fire from the Mexican battery at the gate and from infantry posted in the intrenchments and on the houses left and rear of the gate was very severe, sweeping the causeway on both sides of the aqueduct and the open ground south of it.

Whilst this movement was being made against the Garita, General Cadwalader ordered the Voltigeur regiment and a mountain howitzer to move out towards the enemy, north of the English cemetery, and a few discharges from the howitzer, supported by the Voltigeur company, under Capt. Charles J. Biddle, who had left a sick bed to take part,* drove him back. Lieut. I. I. Stevens, of the engineers, whilst reconnoitering the enemy's position in front of the Voltigeurs, was severely wounded.

After the capture of Chapultepec Captain Huger was ordered by the general-in-chief to follow Worth's advance and report to him with the siege pieces. The guns being in fixed batteries and the horses at Mixcoac, where they had been sent the day before, there was some delay in preparing for the movement, but as soon as the horses arrived Lieutenant

* On the morning of the 13th Captain Biddle lay on a rude pallet in camp apparently in the last stages of deadly illness. Unable to move, he saw with despair his comrades leave one by one for the scene of action, and was left alone with his pain and misery. Suddenly aroused by an ominous sound, "the cannon's opening roar," he tried to rise, but could not; called; no answer. "Oh, God," he moaned, "must I stay chained here by fever and disease while my brave Voltigeurs charge the enemy?" With that superhuman strength often begotten by desperation he crawled to the door, near which stood a gaunt crippled horse, and, after many pitiful efforts, climbed upon his back, and, undressed, hatless, bootless, weaponless, save an old ramrod found at the door, managed to reach his regiment—a skeleton captain on a skeleton steed. The apparition, startling and unexpected, was greeted with shouts heard above the thunder of the field, and gathering around him, his men were foremost in the charge, and he one of the first to reach the vantage point.

Hagner moved forward with one 24-pounder and one 8-inch howitzer, escorted by Captain Gallagher's company of New York Volunteers and a detachment of United States Marines, followed by the other section, one 24-pounder and one 8-inch howitzer, manned by a detachment from Worth's division and commanded by Lieut. S. S. Anderson, Second Artillery, with which was one 10-inch mortar, in charge of Lieut. Chas. P. Stone, of the ordnance. The Fourteenth Infantry, under Lieut.-Col. P. O. Hebert, came up and remained with the siege train, and the Fifteenth Infantry, Lieut.-Col. Joshua Howard commanding, garrisoned Chapultepec.

Shortly after the arrival of the siege train Lieut. G. W. Smith, with the company and train under his command, reported to General Worth on the causeway, was informed that the wounding of Lieutenant Stevens made him (Smith) the senior engineer of the attack then going on, and was instructed to go to the front, closely and carefully examine the state of affairs, return as soon as practicable, and report the best method of conducting the attack, especially in regard to the use of siege guns.

Lieutenant Smith proceeded at once to the extreme front, halting at the position occupied by Hunt's section of artillery, in front of Worth, to learn the condition of affairs near him, and concluded from his reports, confirmed by his own observations of the enemy's works at the gate, that infantry alone on the left of the road could capture the gate, without artillery and with little loss, by making its way through the houses, from house to house, until near the enemy's works, then mounting the roof of a two-story house, fire down upon the cannoneers and infantry in the works at the Garita. On making his report to General Worth, he was ordered to take the engineer company and tools, return to the front, and carry out the plan proposed, officers of the line in front being ordered to give the needed assistance. In the execution of the order he was assisted by Lieutenant McClellan, engineers; Lieutenants Haller and Judah, Fourth Infantry, and Lieutenant Pickett, Eighth Infantry.

Meanwhile the artillery at the San Cosme and the infantry behind the intrenchments, and from the roofs of houses in rear of the batteries, swept the causeway and open ground

south of it ; and a howitzer placed in position on the roof of a building, under the direction of Lieut. U. S. Grant,* quartermaster of the Fourth Infantry, and Lieut. John H. Lendrum, Third Artillery, was used effectively. The Voltigeur regiment and several mountain howitzers had also been ordered by General Worth to this part of the field ; and the howitzers were used from the roofs of houses. The Eleventh Infantry and a detachment of U. S. Marines remained at the works near the English cemetery.

Captain Mackenzie, Second Artillery, after the capture of Chapultepec, advanced with forty-seven files of the storming party, joined Garland's brigade, operating south of the causeway, and continued with it until halted in front of the San Cosme Garita. He here asked for and obtained permission to make an attempt upon the flank of the Mexican battery, and was joined by Capt. Thos. Glenn, Lieuts. A. J. Isaacks and Sam B. Davis, of the Fourteenth Infantry, with about fifty men. A wide ditch of water which confronted him at the start was avoided by picking through a wall. Tools were used frequently ; at one place a bridge was constructed, and after going through several walls, Captain Mackenzie halted a few minutes, and having secured a good position within 100 yards of the enemy, opened fire, then crossed another street, and again picking holes through a wall, gained cover and a closer fire, which he continued for some time.

Whilst Mackenzie was thus engaged on the right, Clarke's brigade on the left advanced under perfect cover from house to house, directed by the engineers, until it reached a point about forty yards from the Mexican heavy guns, when picking through walls was suspended. Lieutenant Smith ascending to the roof of a one-story house found steps leading to the roof of a building one story higher near the enemy's battery, and from which the interior of his works was exposed to view. About twenty infantry men and some from the engineers, mounting the steps one at a time, ascended the roof of the two-story house ; the position of the enemy below was pointed out to them, and concealing themselves behind roof walls until their numbers had been increased sufficiently to

* President of the United States from March 4, 1869, to March 4, 1877.

make their fire effective, the enemy meanwhile unconscious of what was going on above and so near, they were then ordered to fire, and the Mexicans being within forty yards, the charge was most deadly. Those in the battery, astonished and demoralized, began to run, but Mexican infantry appeared on the roof of a house in rear of their battery, and returned the fire which had poured such a murderous volley into their works. The Americans were disposed to answer the charge, but were checked in part by their officer, who, seeing the Mexicans desert the battery and endeavor to haul off the guns, ordered a part of them to descend from the roof to the streets, and seize the guns. In the meantime some of Clarke's brigade, hearing the firing on the house tops, began to crowd up the steps, thus causing some delay and confusion among the party descending, and enabling the Mexicans to drag off one of their guns, which was abandoned, however, within 100 yards of the gate.

Passing the battery at the Garita a lodgment was effected in houses on the left, and placing the main portion of the force under shelter, Lieutenant Smith moved on with the engineer company and a detachment of the Fourth Infantry, under Lieuts. Sidney Smith and Henry M. Judah, and found strong covered positions right and left of the road for the troops. General Worth being informed that a large convent^N, 150 yards in front, on the left of the road, was strongly occupied, and that the next cross street, the Paseo, had batteries upon it, moved a brigade into the position selected and directed Lieutenant Smith, after placing the troops and picket guards, to suspend operations until daylight. Lieutenant Smith, whilst utilizing the technical knowledge of the engineer, had displayed both courage and good judgment in directing the above movement. After the order to suspend operations for the night he requested permission to move forward with a detachment of 500 men, believing he might reach the National Palace before day, or at least pass the fortified convent and seize and hold some strong buildings beyond it, but the request was refused, General Worth considering it best to attempt nothing further during the night with fatigued and exhausted troops.

Three shots were fired from the siege guns and five shells thrown from a 10-inch mortar into the city as a warning of

what might be expected in the morning, and quiet then reigned in the vicinity of the San Cosme Garita, inside of which was Worth's division with two 24-pounders and one 10-inch mortar.

Santa Anna, after the fall of Chapultepec, withdrew the artillery and General Martinez's brigade from the Candelaria Garita, ordered the former to take position in the Citadel, the latter to hold the line of the Paseo Nuevo, Acordada, and San Diego, to remain there until 11 p. m., and then retire to the Citadel. He had been deceived as to Scott's point of attack, as he had been previously on the 8th of September, when he failed to respond to Bravo's request to be reinforced.

When Quitman halted his columns in front of the Belen Gate and ordered Drum to open fire with his 8-inch howitzer and 16-pounder on Mexican infantry south of the causeway near the Garita, Santa Anna, then in the vicinity of that gate, believing artillery only would be used, and no further advance made with infantry, repaired in haste to the San Cosme Gate, in front of which, at Santo Tomas, General Rangel was holding Worth in check; but the position being flanked, Santa Anna ordered him to fall back to the Garita and post his men in houses near and on both sides of it. Rangel, requesting artillery, Santa Anna sent Colonel Acebedo to him with four pieces.

Having made the above disposition of troops at the San Cosme Gate, which he was quite sanguine would insure its safety, and being just then informed that the Belen Gate had been abandoned—even the Citadel itself threatened—he repaired to the latter with the forces at the time near him, and occupied it. He found General Terres, to whom had been intrusted the defense of the Belen Gate, standing in the doorway of the citadel, and addressed him in severe terms, threatening him and finally striking him in the face. Santa Anna then ordered Colonel Carrasco to take the gun at the fountain of Victoria, place it in position near the causeway, and drive the Americans from the Belen Gate, even if he should reduce it to a pile of rubbish. D. Antonio Haro y Tamariz, taking one of the guns from the Citadel, posted it beside the arches of the College of the Belen-de-los-Mochas, and directed its fire (served by a lieutenant of artillery) upon

the American infantry and riflemen, then under cover of the aqueduct, firing upon the Citadel.

At this time and place Mexican history compliments D. Isodoro Beistegui for the courage and energy he displayed until shot dead.

Colonel Castro annoyed the Americans seriously at Belen by placing a number of infantrymen on the roof of the Belen College and directing them to keep up an unceasing fire upon the gate and along the aqueduct. With only two artillerymen and a few peasants, Colonel Carrasco moved his piece in many directions and kept up a constant fire upon the gate and points near it.

Santa Anna, apprehending no assault upon the Citadel, returned to the San Cosme Gate, which, after the restoration of order at that point and the distribution of forces near it, he deemed perfectly secure; but when he approached the Garita he had the misfortune to witness its capture and the consequent disorder among the troops. Energetic in his efforts to arrest confusion, restore order, revive morale, he ordered the retreating commands to halt and occupy the Convent of San Fernando, the houses of Pinillos and other edifices at hand, and the troops to open fire and continue it without ceasing. In front of this convent and of buildings near it, the head of Worth's columns halted for the night.

The Mexicans did not remain long in front of Worth; after dark the signal for retreat of one command was given, and being heard by all, they left the buildings and scattered in all directions, their officers being unable to restrain them. In a little while, however, they repaired to the Citadel, where the troops from Toluca were already posted, and where there was much confusion and dismay. In one of the pavilions a council was held, General Alcorta, war minister; General Carrera, commandant of artillery; the generals, chiefs of brigades, Lombardini and Perez*, and Adjutants Betancourt and Romero, of Santa Anna's Staff, being present. Santa Anna presided, explained the untoward incidents of the day, and asked the opinions of those present as to whether or not the defense of the capital should be prolonged.

*There must have been two Mexican generals of that name, as one General Perez was killed at Chapultepec.

General Carrera declared the demoralization complete, and that the quantity of arms and artillery that had been lost would render a continuation of the struggle inadvisable. Lombardini, Alcorta and Perez believed that the capital should be evacuated. There was some discussion and opposition, but Santa Anna announced his decision in these emphatic words: "I resolve that this night the city must be evacuated, and I name Sr. Lombardini general-in-chief and General Perez second." Between 8 and 9 o'clock Don Trigueros called at the Citadel and took General Santa Anna in his carriage to the villa of Guadalupe, where the troops were directed to rendezvous.

The cavalry was ordered to leave the city at once, and the infantry about 2 a. m. General Lombardini directed his Staff to withdraw the troops from the positions they were holding and move them to the Peralvillo Garita to be halted there until the artillery had passed out. After the cavalry had marched out, the artillery trains began to leave the Peralvillo Gate at 11 p. m. The chiefs labored earnestly to arrange everything for the retreat as ordered, but a deficiency in transportation prevented a large amount of war material from being removed. At 1 o'clock a. m. of the 14th commissioners from the municipal government of the city approached the advanced post of Worth's command, were passed to his headquarters, and by him sent, accompanied by his assistant adjutant-general, Maj. W. W. Mackall, to General Scott's headquarters in Tacubaya. They informed General Scott that Santa Anna had evacuated the city and turned it over to the civil authorities, and that they presented themselves in behalf of the civil Government to demand terms of capitulation, favorable to the Church, the citizens and municipal authorities. General Scott replied that no capitulation would be signed; that the city had been in possession of the American Army from the time it had entered it the day before; that he would levy upon the city a moderate contribution for special purpose, and that the United States Army would be governed by no terms not self-imposed, such only as its honor, the dignity of the United States, and the spirit of the age demand and impose.

General Worth after passing the Mexican commissioners from his own headquarters to General Scott's, directed the two

engineer officers, then serving with his command, to proceed to the front, and with a detachment of infantry, under Lieutenant Lugenbeel, and the engineer company, move forward cautiously, closely examine all strong buildings, and direct operations toward the Main Plaza and National Palace. The senior engineer being directed to make known promptly any indication that the rumored evacuation was incorrect, reported that everything indicated that the Mexican army had abandoned the city, that the Citadel was nearly deserted, and that the head of Quitman's troops was approaching the palace. A portion of the reconnoitering party under Lieutenant McClellan, which had passed the Alameda on its north side, informed them that General Scott had ordered General Worth to move his command forward into the city as far as the Alameda.

At dawn of the 14th a white flag was sent from the Citadel to the Garita-de-Belen, the bearers of which requested General Quitman to take possession, reporting that the city had been evacuated by Santa Anna and his army. Lieutenants Beauregard and Lovell moved forward to ascertain the truth of this report, and at a signal given by them from the parapet of the Citadel Quitman, leaving the South Carolina regiment as a guard to the Belen Gate, marched his command, Smith's brigade leading, and took possession of the Citadel, finding there fifteen guns mounted and as many not in position, with an extensive variety of military stores. The Second Pennsylvania Regiment was left there as a garrison. General Quitman, learning that great depredations were being committed in the National Palace and other public buildings, marched his command, followed by Steptoe's battery, to the Grand Plaza, and halted it there, the troops being on the west and south sides of the plaza, and having the National Palace and cathedral in front.

The Marine battalion was placed in the National Palace to expel the native born thieves who were mercilessly plundering it. After considerable efforts a cafe was opened in which General Quitman and a few other officers were served with breakfast. Soon after the arrival of the troops in the plaza, the stars and stripes were displayed from the flag staff of the National Palace, and were greeted enthusiastically by the



SCOTT'S ENTRANCE INTO THE CITY OF MEXICO.

SEPT. 14TH, 1847.

troops, although much exhausted by the labor and excitement of the preceding day and by the fatigue of the cold cheerless night, passed without fires and within range of the enemy's guns.

As soon as the Grand Plaza was occupied, General Quitman despatched Lieutenant Beauregard to report the fact to the general-in-chief. Not one of the little force present at this early hour in the central square of the Mexican capital had ever been in it before, and all were looking with admiring wonder upon the cathedral with its broad front and towering steeples. The American Army had fought its way to the halls of the Montezumas, and after long, toilsome marches, perils by land and sea, and many bloody battles, bivouacked in the National Capital of Mexico, then one of the largest, best built, and most noted cities on the continent, and surpassed in architectural beauty and social attractiveness by few, even at the present time.

About 8 a. m. General Scott, accompanied by his Staff and escorted by the cavalry, all in full dress, entered the Grand Plaza at the northwest angle, filed to the right along the west side, and when on a line with the front of the cathedral turned to the left; arms were then presented, colors lowered, and drums beaten. General Scott dismounted, uncovered his head, then passed through the *porte-cochere* of the National Palace, followed by Generals Quitman and Smith and Staff officers. In the *patio* he turned to them and said: "Gentlemen, we must not be too elated at our success;" then after a slight pause, "let me present to you the civil and military Governor of the City of Mexico, Maj.-Gen. John A. Quitman. I appoint him at this instant. He has earned the distinction and shall have it."

The party then ascended a broad stairway, entered a handsomely furnished apartment facing the Grand Plaza, and General Scott wrote the following order, which was read aloud to those about him:

[General Order No. 284.]

HEADQUARTERS OF THE ARMY,

MEXICO, *September 14, 1847.*

I. Under the favor of God, the valor of this army after many glorious victories has hoisted the colors of our country in the capital of Mexico and on the Palace of its Government.

2. But the war is not ended. The Mexican army and Government have fled, only to watch an opportunity to return upon us with vengeance. We must then be upon our guard.

3. Companies and regiments will be kept together and all stand on the alert. Our safety is in military discipline.

4. Let there be no drunkenness, no disorders, no straggling. Stragglers will be in great danger of assassination, and marauders shall be punished by courts-martial.

5. All the rules so honorably observed by this glorious army in Puebla must be observed here. The honor of the army and the honor of our country call for the best behavior on the part of all. To win the approbation of their country, the valiant must be sober, orderly, and merciful. His noble brethren in arms will not be deaf to this hearty appeal from their commander and friend.

6. Major-General Quitman is appointed civil and military Governor of Mexico.

By command of Major-General Scott.

H. L. SCOTT,

Assistant Acting Adjutant General.

Immediately after General Scott finished reading his order the report of a musket was heard, and it was instantly followed by a second and third fire. Turning to the junior officer present, he said: "Will you have the kindness to go and say to our volunteer friends that it is unsoldier like, bad manners, and dangerous to discharge arms in a city, and say to their officers that it must not occur again. None of us desire, I am sure, to hear more musketry."

The young officer hastened down stairs and out of the patio, crossed quickly the plaza to Plateros street, heard the reports of several muskets down in the vicinity of the Alameda, then went to the southwest angle of the plaza, and looking down towards the Paseo, saw armed Mexicans run across the street four or five blocks off, and still hearing the reports of muskets, returned and reported to General Scott that it was not the volunteers but Mexicans firing from the roofs of houses.

Orders were given to Generals Quitman and Smith to occupy the steeples of churches and roofs of houses with sharpshooters, for the artillery to sweep the streets with shells and grape, and to break open all houses from the roofs of which our troops were fired upon. Under these instructions many houses were entered, and armed bands killed or captured. Musketry and artillery were heard in many directions, and

quite heavily at times during that and the next day, but finally ceased, order being entirely restored on the 16th.

The Mexican infantry, on arriving at Guadalupe, was ordered by Santa Anna to continue on to Tlalnepantla. At daylight the Matamoras battalion—without discipline—under Deputy Othon, discharged their guns, and hearing this firing in rear, Santa Anna believed it to be the Americans endeavoring to interrupt his retreat, and gave orders for the infantry to countermarch. Learning, however, the true state of affairs, he countermanded the order, and the march was resumed. He then conferred with General Herrera upon the plan formed—to wit: That Herrera, with the greater part of the artillery, the infantry, and trains, should march to Queretaro, while he (Santa Anna), with the cavalry and four light pieces, should move upon Puebla, where, aided by General Rea, he hoped to surprise the small garrison left by Scott and force it to surrender.

General Herrera marched as ordered, but before leaving Guadalupe Santa Anna was advised of the street firing in the city.

Prospero Terez, one of the leaders in the disturbance, sought him and urged him to countermarch the troops and to give support. He lent a willing ear, countermarched the forces with him, and despatched a staff officer to Herrera, with orders to return to the city. Three hundred of Alvarez's men, "Sons of the South," were placed in the works at the Peralvillo Garita, and detachments from the Fifth, Ninth, and the Guanajuato regiments were ordered into the city, penetrated as far as Santa Catarina and Conception, had a collision with the Americans, and withdrew. Santa Anna, finding the resistance feeble, ordered General Herrera to resume the march to Queretaro, but in less than an hour he ordered him to countermarch the second time to the capital, he (Santa Anna) being again informed that serious resistance to the American army would be made.

The firing heard was so desultory, however, that he remained there, receiving occasional reports, only until 7 p. m., when he returned to Guadalupe, ordered Herrera again to retire upon Queretaro, and called a *junta* to meet on the 16th.

The operations of the 13th of September were successful in every detail, the assault upon Chapultepec and its surrounding

works being well planned and executed with a skill that baffled and again misled Santa Anna as to the real point of attack. The American commander did not, on this occasion, permit his adversary to recover from the shock experienced by the loss of Chapultepec, but by a prompt pursuit and good fighting entered the capital through two of its gates and held them, despite the determined efforts of Santa Anna, especially at the Garita-de-Belen, to dislodge him. The fall of Chapultepec, speedily followed by the capture of the Belen and San Cosme Gates, was the finishing stroke to the campaign in the Valley of Mexico, and forced Santa Anna, with his dispirited, demoralized, and greatly depleted army to abandon the capital during the night. Reduced as it was in numbers, it was equal to the American army when it first appeared in front of the city, for we learn from Mexican authorities that soon after nightfall of the 13th there were about 5,000 infantry and 4,000 cavalry at the Citadel, the troops holding the Niño Perdido, La Profesa, and San Fernando not being included in these estimates.

The loss in the American army in its various collisions with the Mexican, including the street fighting of the 14th and 15th, was 2,703; of this number 383 were officers. Deducting this number from the force (10,300) that marched from Puebla, would leave 7,697; and if from this we take the garrison of Mixcoac—the general depot—that of Tacubaya, and the force left to guard prisoners and captured property at Chapultepec, there would remain less than 6,000 who took possession of the City of Mexico.*

In his official report General Scott writes: "On the other hand, this small force (his army) has beaten, in view of their capital, the whole Mexican army of (at the beginning) 30,000 men, posted always in chosen positions, behind intrenchments or more formidable defenses of nature and art; killed or wounded of that number more than 7,000 officers and men; taken 3,730 prisoners, one-seventh officers, including thirteen generals, of whom three had been Presidents of this republic; captured more than twenty colors and standards, seventy-five pieces of ordnance, besides fifty-seven wall pieces, 20,000 small arms, an immense quantity of shot, shell, powder, etc."

*General Scott's Report, Ex. Doc. No. 1, 30th Congress, 1st Session.

According to Mexican history "their army, for the defense of the capital, was about 20,000 strong, having 104 guns of various calibres; this did not include the guerrillas organized by Valencia at San Angel, nor did it embrace the force, about 700 men, brought up from Toluca by Olaguibel." It is not possible to ascertain from their own reports with what numbers the Mexicans fought any of the battles that we have described, unless it be, probably, that of Vera Cruz.

It was the general opinion of the officers of Scott's army that they were always greatly outnumbered in the battles fought; but that under such circumstances they may have over-estimated, is quite probable, for it must be admitted that, even without design, we often over-estimate the numbers against whom we fight, and are equally prone to underestimate the distance separating us from the enemy, if in view, both before and during the battle. The true number may have been, and we believe it was, above the Mexican estimate, and below that made by General Scott; but if the Mexican numbers have been correctly given by themselves, the loss in their army, as inferred from the numbers reported to have withdrawn from the capital the night of the 13th, and the estimate made of it by General Scott, differ very little; each makes it to have been about 10,000.

On the 16th, quiet being restored, the following order was issued :

[General Orders No. 286.]

HEADQUARTERS OF THE ARMY,
NATIONAL PALACE OF MEXICO, *September 16, 1847.*

The general-in-chief calls upon his brethren in arms to return, both in public and private worship, thanks and gratitude to God for the signal triumph which they have recently achieved for their country.

Beginning with the 19th of August, and ending the 14th inst., this army has gallantly fought its way through the fields and forts of Contreras, San Antonio, Churubusco, Molinos-del-Rey, Chapultepec, and the Gates of San Cosme and Tacubaya, into the capital of Mexico. When the very limited numbers who have performed these brilliant deeds shall have become known, the world will be astonished and our own countrymen filled with joy and admiration.

But all is not yet done. The enemy, though scattered and dismayed, has still many fragments of his late army hovering about us, and aided by an exasperated population, he may again reunite in treble

our numbers and fall upon us to advantage, if we rest inactive in the security of past victories.

Compactness, vigilance, and discipline are, therefore, our only securities. Let every good officer and man look to these cautions, and enjoin them on all others.

By command of Major-General Scott.

H. L. SCOTT,

Acting Assistant Adjutant General.

As an indication on his part that the high moral tone and discipline of the army so admirably exhibited and maintained up to the occupation of the Mexican capital was to be continued, and that private property, as well as that of the church, was to be respected, and that in no case were non-combatant citizens to be interfered with or annoyed, he republished with slight modifications his martial law order as follows :

[General Orders, No. 287.]

HEADQUARTERS OF THE ARMY,

NATIONAL PALACE OF MEXICO, *September 17, 1847.*

The general-in-chief republishes with important additions his general order, No. 20, of February 19, 1847, declaring martial law to govern all who may be concerned. There are nineteen paragraphs in the order (See Ex. Doc. No. 1, 30th Congress, first session, Senate). The last seven will be copied.

13. The administration of justice, both in civil and criminal matters, through the ordinary courts of the country, shall nowhere, and in no degree, be interrupted by any officer or soldier of the American forces, except—first, in case where an officer, soldier, agent, servant or follower of the army may be a party; and second, in political cases; that is, prosecutions against other individuals on the allegations that they have given friendly information, aid or assistance to the American forces.

14. For the care and safety of both parties, in all cities and towns occupied by the American Army, a Mexican police shall be established and duly harmonized with the military police of said forces.

15. This splendid capital, its churches and religious worship, its convents and monasteries, its inhabitants and property are, moreover, placed under the special safeguard of the faith and honor of the American Army.

16. In consideration of the foregoing protection, a contribution of \$150,000 is imposed on this capital, to be paid in four weekly installments of \$37,500 each, beginning on Monday next, the 20th inst., and terminating on Monday, October 11th.

17. The Ayuntamiento, or corporate authority of the city, is specially charged with the collection and payment of the several installments.

18. Of the whole contribution to be paid over to this army, \$20,000 shall be appropriated to the purchase of extra comforts for the wounded and sick in hospital; \$90,000 to the purchase of blankets and shoes for gratuitous distribution among the rank and file of the army, and \$40,000 reserved for other necessary military purposes.

19. This order shall be read at the head of every company of the United States forces serving in Mexico, and translated into Spanish for the information of the Mexicans.

On September 18th the following order was issued:

[General Orders No. 289.]

HEADQUARTERS OF THE ARMY,
NATIONAL PALACE OF MEXICO, *September 18, 1847.*

1. The army, by degrees and beginning as soon as practicable, will be distributed and quartered over the city as follows:

2. The first division (Worth's) on or near the direct route from the San Cosme toward the Cathedral, and extending a little beyond the east end of the Alameda. This division will keep a competent guard, with two guns of medium calibre, at that gate.

3. The second division (Twiggs') about the Grand Plaza and extending towards the gate of San Lazaro, or the Penon, at which it will keep a guard and two pieces of artillery, as above.

4. The third division (Pillow's) on or near the direct route from the gate of Peralvillo, or Guadalupe, towards the Cathedral, but not south of the Convent of San Domingo, and will keep a guard of two pieces of artillery, as above, at that gate.

5. The volunteer division (Quitman's) on or near the direct route from the gate of San Antonio toward the Cathedral, but not north of the hospital of Jesus, and will keep a guard with two pieces of artillery, as above, at the gate.

6. The brigade of cavalry, Colonel Harney, will be quartered in the cavalry barracks near the National Palace (marked on the plan of the city small m). This brigade will furnish daily a detachment of a corporal and six men to the respective gates of divisions, to serve as couriers between the gates and the commanders of the respective divisions, and for other purposes.

7. No private house shall be occupied by any corps or officers until all suitable public buildings within the above ranges shall be first fully occupied; and all officers attached to troops shall be quartered with or near their troops.

8. No rent shall be paid by the United States for any buildings occupied by troops or officers without a special direction from general headquarters; nor shall any private house be occupied or quartered

490 *Army Headquarters Moved from the Palace.*

without the free consent of the owner or orders from general headquarters. No deviations from these injunctions will be tolerated.

9. The collection of customs or duties at the several gates of the city by the civil authorities of the same will be continued, as heretofore, until modified by the civil or military governor, Major-General Quitman, according to the views of the general-in-chief. But supplies belonging to the quartermaster and commissary departments will at once be exempted from all duties.

By command of Major-General Scott.

H. L. SCOTT,

Acting Assistant Adjutant-General.

The above was the last order issued from the National Palace by General Scott, who with his Staff had occupied it from the 14th to the 18th, inclusive. From this date army headquarters were in a house on the second street west of the Grand Plaza and south of the Second Plateros. The civil and military Governor with his Staff remained in the National Palace, and from this time on until the evacuation of the Mexican capital in June, 1848.

Lieuts. Mansfield Lovell, Fourth Artillery, and C. M. Wilcox, Seventh Infantry, were the aides to General Quitman. The former had been acting assistant adjutant-general from the 11th of August until the 18th of September. Capt. F. N. Page, acting adjutant-general, and Lieut. R. P. Hammond, Third Artillery, the first on duty with General Shields as adjutant-general, the latter as aid, were ordered, September 15th, to report to General Quitman, General Shields being disabled by a painful wound, which made it probable that he would not return to duty for several months.

For several days after the 15th a number of soldiers were assassinated during the night and their bodies brought to the Ayuntamiento building. At one time nine dead bodies were exposed, all of whom had been killed the night before, and in general the knife had been the instrument of death. A guard of 500 men, with a due proportion of officers, was detailed as a police force, under Brevt.-Col. C. F. Smith, Second Artillery, which, with the regular city police, restored and maintained order during the American occupation.

In ten or twelve days after the city had been in possession of the army it resumed its normal condition, many Mexicans who had retired with their families to neighboring villages or



WINFIELD SCOTT,
GENERAL-IN-CHIEF U. S. ARMY.
BORN IN AND APPOINTED FROM VIRGINIA,

to their more distant haciendas returned, and before the expiration of the first month business revived, all stores and banks were opened, the churches were thronged with worshipers, there was much gaiety and social festivity, and the Paseo, the favorite drive, was brilliant with equipages, the occupants of which seemed happy and contented. In his autobiography, page 540, General Scott having quoted the extravagant compliment paid him by Sir Henry Bulwer, minister at the time to the United States from England, at the celebration of St. Andrew's day, New York, November 30, 1850, says: "No doubt the conquest so splendidly alluded to by the orator was mainly due to the science and prowess of the army. But valor and professional science could not alone have dictated a treaty of peace with double our numbers in double the time and with double the loss of life, without the measures of conciliation perseveringly adhered to, the perfect discipline and order maintained in the army." This opinion is now concurred in by the civilized world.

The *Junta*, called by President Santa Anna to meet on the 16th, adjourned after a short session, he having in the meantime tendered his resignation of the Presidency and of the supreme command of the army, whereupon Manuel de la Peña y Peña, the senior of the Supreme Court judges, assumed the vacated office, and Gen. Santa Anna set out for Puebla in the execution of his previously conceived project.* Before describing this expedition and giving the details of military operations at or near Puebla, and which terminated with the affair at Huamantla October 9th, we will refer briefly to the main Mexican army, now commanded by General and ex-President Herrera, which marched from the Valley under orders for Queretaro, about 140 miles north of the Mexican capital. These troops had marched and countermarched so much between Cuauhtitlan and the capital that they were not only much fatigued, but greatly unnerved, and their *morale* at the time being not of the best, desertions increased to the extent that corps hitherto of unquestioned loyalty and courage became infected. Deficient in transportations, scant in funds, and with a badly organized commissariat, there was much straggling, and pillaging could not be restrained.

* To capture Puebla and occupy the main highway to the seacoast.

The prestige of the ex-President availed little, though he exerted himself to obtain subsistence for his destitute soldiers in the manner least burthensome to citizens, who gave reluctantly and only under the fear of more serious and onerous exactions.

Along the entire route from the Goleta to Arroyozarco, San Juan del Rio, and on to Queretaro, the country had been stripped and was almost destitute, and the suffering of the soldiers did not cease even upon their arrival at Queretaro.

Santa Anna remained the night of the 16th at Guadalupe, and as he wished none to follow him but those who did so voluntarily, he permitted all who desired to withdraw, and many availed themselves of this privilege. He tarried the 17th at Teotihuacan to enable distant pickets to join, marched nine leagues the next day with the brigades of Quijano and Andrade, reached the Hacienda of Guadalupe (ten miles further) on the 19th, arrived at Tlaxcala on the 20th, and halted there until the 24th, when he continued on to the factory of Antuñano, entered Puebla September 25th, and joined General Rea, who had been for some time fighting the American garrison with his guerrillas and such inhabitants of the town as had taken up arms.

Santa Anna was welcomed as the saviour of Mexico by the people, who greeted his soldiers approvingly and volunteered to aid them against the garrison. He retired at night to the neighboring mill of San Domingo, much consoled by the evidence given of the revival of public spirit, and again hopeful of expelling the invader and regaining his lost power.

When General Scott advanced from Puebla his army was encumbered with many sick, who, with much public property, had to be left behind. He was compelled to leave a garrison capable of holding the city against any force that might be brought against it, but he could only spare the minimum number requisite to accomplish that purpose, as his entire army was too small to warrant a heavy detachment. The danger he apprehended was the probable rising of the citizens of the city itself, aided possibly by neighboring guerrilla bands, though he scarcely contemplated the possibility of a considerable body leaving the Valley of Mexico to march against Puebla, least of all one commanded by Santa Anna.

The city of Puebla, with a population from sixty to eighty thousand, is situated upon an elevated plain. Flowing along its northeastern suburbs is a small stream, from which rises a ridge of considerable elevation. Midway on this is a stone work—Fort Loreto, commanding the city; further up on the top of this ridge, a half mile beyond Loreto, is the Church of Guadalupe. In the northeastern portion of the city is the Plaza of San Jose, northeast of which is the *Cuartel de San Jose*, which served as the storehouse for all supplies of the garrison, as barracks for the soldiers, and stables for the horses, and was midway between the main Plaza and the Loreto.

The sick during the occupation of Puebla by the army were in isolated buildings scattered over the city, but were subsequently brought to buildings in the immediate vicinity of San Jose. At this point Lieut.-Col. S. W. Black, First Pennsylvania, commanded, having under him six companies of his regiment, 247 men; Capt. Lemuel Ford's company, Third Dragoons, forty-six men, and the company of Capt. John H. Miller, Fourth Artillery, serving as infantry. Captain Theodore F. Rowe, Ninth Infantry, commanded at the hospital.

Maj. Thomas P. Gwynne, Sixth Infantry, commanded the Loreto, having under him men belonging to regiments with the army in the Valley, the majority of them being convalescents, the company of Capt. H. L. Kendrick, Second Artillery, serving both as infantry and artillery, and two field pieces, 12-pounders, one 10-inch mortar, and several mountain howitzers.

Captain Morehead, First Pennsylvania, commanded at Guadalupe, with two companies of his regiment and the convalescents. The entire garrison, exclusive of convalescents, was 393, all under Col. Thomas Childs, Third Artillery, civil and military Governor of Puebla.

After the march of the army to the Valley, August 7th and 10th, there were no open acts of hostility until the night of September 13th, when the reported victory of Santa Anna at Molinos-del-Rey, on the 8th, reviving the hopes of Rea's guerrilla bands, induced him to occupy Puebla, and incite the partial uprising of its inhabitants.

Before Rea's arrival Ford's cavalry company had been

actively engaged in supplying the troops with fresh meat, beef, and mutton, but was now compelled to remain in the cuartel, and at this time the commissary of subsistence had only twenty head of cattle and 400 sheep. On the night of September 13th General Rea, with his mixed command of citizens and guerrillas, opened an infantry fire upon the cuartel of San Jose and the hospital near by, his men occupying the streets leading to the Main Plaza, the roofs of houses near and along the Tivoli Gardens. They renewed their fire the night of the 14th upon the hospital and cuartel from every direction, and continued it with more or less energy and with but slight interruptions for twenty-eight days.

When Santa Anna's arrival in the vicinity of Puebla became known there was much rejoicing; the bells of the various churches pealed forth joyous chimes, loud vivas were heard both from citizens and soldiers, but were silenced by a few shot and shell thrown from the Loreto into the heart of the city. When Santa Anna entered he had with him, according to Mexican history, 1,500 cavalry and four field pieces. He at once declared it to be in a state of siege, and transmitted to Colonel Childs a summons to surrender upon the score of humanity; notified him that he would be permitted to march out of the city with the honors of war, and could either join General Scott in the Valley or march to Perote, as he might elect. He represented his command to be 8,000, and said if his terms were rejected he would assault him in all his positions and inevitably destroy him.

Colonel Childs declined to surrender; said he would defend his positions to the last, and believed he had the means to maintain them. This reply, once made known to the garrison, was greeted with enthusiasm, and preparations were made to resist the assault, which it was thought would soon be made; barricades were strengthened, sentinels posted, and each soldier assigned to the post to which he was to repair at the signal of alarm. A 12-pound mountain howitzer, in charge of Lieut. Theo. T. S. Laidley, of the ordnance, with a detachment from that corps, was placed at the barricades in the street leading to the main plaza, and night after night they remained at the piece ready for action; but the summons to surrender was not followed by assault or by any persistent

effort to drive them from their positions. Desultory firing from streets and house tops of little importance occurred daily until the 28th, when it became evident that the Mexicans were preparing a battery at Santa Rosa to fire upon the Tivoli Gardens, about 300 yards from San Jose; and a 12-pounder field piece was brought down from the Loreto to be used against this battery. On the 30th the Mexicans opened fire with grape from a 4-pounder under cover of a parapet made of bales of cotton; this was answered by Lieutenant Laidley with a 12-pounder, and before night the enemy's gun was dismounted and his fire silenced. The Mexican gun was withdrawn the following morning and no further use made of their artillery.

On the 1st of October Santa Anna raised the siege of Puebla and marched towards El Pinal, being informed of the approach of a train of wagons with supplies, provisions, and reinforcements, destined for Puebla and the Valley and commanded by Brig.-Gen. Joe Lane. He left in Puebla under General Rea a sufficient force to continue operations against the Americans, and took with him 2,500 infantry, as many more cavalry, and six light field pieces, as estimated by their own authorities on his arrival at Amazoque, and marched thence to Nopalucan.

The Mexicans erected, about 500 yards from the San Jose Plaza, a barricade across the street, running west from its southern side, and from it and the roofs of neighboring houses kept up an annoying fire. Captain Small, First Pennsylvania, was directed to dig through walls of houses until he had gained a point from which a fire could be directed upon the rear of the barricade, and succeeded in doing so. The enemy was driven off, leaving seventeen dead on the ground; the barricade was then burned, and a high building near it, from the roof of which the enemy had kept up a fire upon the howitzer battery and the cuartel of San Jose, was blown up by Lieutenant Laidley, and no further annoyance experienced from that quarter.

Hostile parties constantly annoying the garrison with their fire, two companies were sent out against them on the 29th of September, one commanded by Lieut. Edward C. Lewis, and the other by Second Lieut. William Bryan, both of the First

Pennsylvania; the former attacked a force which had been for some time firing actively upon San Jose, and dispersed it with a loss of eight killed and a large number wounded.

October 6th a party, under Second Lieut. George Edwards, Second Artillery, accompanied by Lieutenant Lewis, First Pennsylvania, attacked a body of infantry near the Tivoli, killed five and wounded many more. On the 8th Capt. John W. Johnston, Second Pennsylvania, drove off and nearly destroyed a party of the enemy without loss to himself.

Santa Anna reviewed his troops at Nopalucan on the 3d of October and finding that over 1,000 infantry of the National Guards of Puebla and other troops of the Line had deserted during the two preceding days, determined to order the infantry back to Puebla, the six guns to Oajaca, escorted by the squadron from that State, and to move himself with 2,000 cavalry to Huamantla. The troops had marched as directed and the artillery was near San Andres Chalchicomula when he dispatched an order for it to return, together with the squadron, to Nopalucan. Not more than 1,000 cavalry now remained. Not only had soldiers deserted, but officers also, and principally of the Huzares, hitherto the most devoted of his corps. He reviewed the troops at Huamantla on October 8th, and leaving there the artillery and trains marched on the 9th for El Pinal, having heard that the American train had changed its course, but within two hours after his departure a peasant came in and reported that the Americans, under Brigadier-General Lane, were hastily advancing upon the town.

Brig.-Gen. Joe Lane's command marched from Vera Cruz September 20th and had several small affairs with the guerrillas, who did not make the determined efforts as in the case of Major Lally, for the reason that he was not supposed to be guarding a large amount of money. Near San Juan, fourteen miles from Vera Cruz, a guerrilla force was seen, and Captain Lewis' company, Louisiana Mounted Volunteers, was ordered forward to drive them off. Lieutenant Lilly with a few men of the company had a smart tilt with them, in which he and his party acted with extreme gallantry and drove them back into the dense tropical undergrowth, punishing them so severely that they were not seen again during the day. On resuming the march, September 23d, the rear guard was fired

into at Paso de Ovejas, and Second-Lieut. John Kline (Lewis' company), a most energetic and efficient young officer, was killed. This was the last shot fired in the *tierra caliente*, but after reaching Jalapa and on the subsequent march General Lane heard through different sources that he would encounter a considerable Mexican force before reaching Puebla.

At Perote he was further informed that Santa Anna was in command of the troops (4,000), with six field pieces, and on arriving at the Hacienda of San Antonio Tamaris he learned through a spy that the Mexican force was at Huamantla. Leaving the train parked at Tamaris, guarded by Colonel Brough's Fourth Ohio Infantry, Captain Simmons, Seventh Infantry, with a battalion of three companies, Lieutenant Pratt's battery, Second Artillery, he marched with Colonel Gorman's Fourth Indiana, Colonel Wyncoop's First Pennsylvania, Captain Heintzelman's battalion, Second United States Infantry, six companies, Major Lally's battalion, four mounted companies, under Capt. S. H. Walker, Mounted Rifles, and five field pieces under Capt. George Taylor, Third Artillery, having with him Lieut. Horace B. Field.

Arriving near Huamantla about 1 p. m., Captain Walker, commanding the advance guard, moved forward ahead of the column, and seeing a few mounted men making their way through fields towards the town he ordered a gallop, and ere long firing being heard, General Lane moved his infantry forward. Colonel Gorman with his regiment advanced under orders to enter Huamantla from the west, whilst Wyncoop's battalion and the artillery approached it on the east, Captain Heintzelman moving on his right, and Major Lally holding his command as a reserve.

When Walker reached the town he ordered a charge at once, and a hand to hand collision was the result. The Mexicans were driven back with the loss of two guns, and were pursued by Walker for some distance, but the arrival of Mexican reinforcements checked the pursuit. Gorman's regiment reached Huamantla about the same time with these reinforcements, and opening a well directed fire upon them, dispersed and routed them. He then moved with the left wing of his regiment towards the upper portion of the town, where the enemy still held out, and succeeded in dispersing

them. Wyncoop with his battalion, the artillery, and Heintzelman's command, moved to their positions, but before getting within range the enemy gave way. Walker had captured two guns when the infantry arrived, but he could not use them for the want of priming tubes. Lieut. Thomas Claiborne, Mounted Rifles, captured the 6-pounder gun in the most gallant manner. Lieut. George T. Anderson, of Capt. John Loyall's Independent Georgia company, captured Colonel La Vega, and Major Augustin Iturbide narrowly escaped with his life.

The loss in Lane's command was thirteen killed and eleven wounded; among the former was Capt. Samuel H. Walker, Mounted Rifles. Referring to his death, General Lane in his report says: "This victory is saddened by the death of one of the most chivalric, noble-hearted men that ever graced the profession of arms, Capt. S. H. Walker. Foremost in the advance, he had routed the enemy, when he fell mortally wounded." General Lane estimated the loss of the enemy at about 150*.

The Mexican history represents that when the peasant reported the Americans advancing it was determined to resist them as far as practicable and save all the artillery and trains that could be saved. The alarm was given and Capt. Febonio Quijano placed a gun with ten men in the street by which the enemy was advancing and ordered the other guns and trains to withdraw in the opposite direction towards Nopalucan. Quijano fired the first shot, checking the advance of the enemy, but after a few shots and the wounding of several of his men abandoned the gun and retired to join the other sections. When the last gun had passed out of the city, Captain Sanchez Travieso came up in great haste, ordered a halt, and directed the five guns to fire upon the Americans moving towards other trains en route to the Hacienda of San Diego. Arms were given to citizens to defend the place as the enemy was about to enter it; and after the artillery was withdrawn and the Americans had occupied all the high points of the town, Santa Anna's cavalry arrived in the suburbs.

*Gen. Joe Lane's report, Ex. Doc., Senate, No. 1, 30th Congress, 1st Session.

He had determined to attack the American train at El Pinal, and had posted his troops with that view, then learning that they were moving upon Huamantla followed with the main force, but when he arrived the Americans were in full possession of the town, and he believed it impossible to dislodge them.

The Mexicans report that when Villaseñor reached Huamantla he found the enemy sacking and robbing stores and private dwellings and assassinating citizens, and that he charged upon them, killing and wounding more than fifty, with a loss of three of his own men killed and others wounded. He claims that Walker was killed fighting, while engaged with his command. The citizens of Huamantla were extravagant in their praise of Villaseñor's gallantry, and the legislature of the State of Puebla "voted him a gold lance in testimony of their admiration and acknowledgment for this brilliant action." Lane's forces withdrew from Huamantla before sundown, taking with them the two captured guns, one a howitzer, and returning to the trains parked at Tamaris resumed the march for Puebla to relieve Colonel Childs, whose position had been reported as very critical. As Lane's command approached the city on the 12th, firing was distinctly heard, and upon arriving near the suburbs, he directed Colonel Brough, Fourth Ohio, and Captain Heintzelman's battalion to continue the march on the main road into the city, and Colonel Gorman, Fourth Indiana, to enter on a street further to the left. The Ohio, Heintzelman's, and the Indiana troops advanced, converging upon the Grand Plaza, and drove the enemy's scattered forces before them, clearing the streets and city completely and killing a few. Quiet and order were gradually restored. Lane found twelve or thirteen of Childs' men dead in the streets, killed that morning a short time before he took possession of the city.

The Mexicans, apprised of the near approach of Lane, began to withdraw the remainder of their forces from Puebla. Lieutenant-Colonel Black, First Pennsylvania, with two companies of his regiment, advanced towards the Main Plaza to silence some firing kept up from the roofs of adjacent houses. A body of lancers took to flight on his approach, and Capt. John Herron, ordered down another street to cut off their

retreat, found his company surrounded by a large body of lancers, who charged it from many directions, but Colonel Black, coming promptly to his assistance, saved his party probably from entire destruction, though thirteen had already been killed and four wounded, the former being the bodies found in the streets by Lane.

The Mexican troops that had retired from Huamantla upon the approach of the Americans rejoined those driven from it, and marched for the hacienda of San Diego, where they united with General Reyes' brigade, which had reached there that morning. No attack upon the American train in the Pass of El Pinal was made, nor was Puebla captured, nor any protracted efforts made with that view.

The little garrison left in that city by General Scott, together with the convalescents, had resisted successfully all efforts to capture or drive them out. Deprived by the Mexicans of outside supplies, many of the sick had died from exhaustion and from the repeated and threatened attacks. With Colonel Childs' mixed command were two companies of regular artillery, Capt. H. L. Kendrick and John H. Miller, who manned the batteries and served as infantry.

The officers of the regular army directed the location and construction of barricades, the loop-holing of houses for infantry fire, the digging through the walls of houses, the blowing up of such as were annoying and dangerous, when occupied by the enemy; commanded the artillery, and proved their efficiency by the accuracy with which they directed solid shot and shell, and under their skillful direction the volunteers acted gallantly in all their encounters with numbers known to be greatly superior. The total loss in killed and wounded during the siege of Puebla was seventy-two. Two of this number, being reported missing, were no doubt killed by the enemy. The skill, watchful care, intelligence, and courage displayed by Colonel Childs during the twenty-eight days' siege justified the selection made of him to command this important and greatly exposed position.

Santa Anna reoccupied Huamantla after it was abandoned by General Lane and was joined by General Reyes, but received the following day an order directing him to turn over the command to General Rincon or, in his absence, to Gen-

eral Alvarez, and to notify the Government where he would reside pending the convening of a court for his trial.

This was a mortifying and unexpected blow to Santa Anna, who, being greatly irritated, was inclined to *pronounce* against the Government, and would have disobeyed the order had the troops near him espoused his cause. He even named Señores Ibarra and Ortega as members of his revolutionary cabinet, but on the former's advice desisted and turned over the command to General Reyes, neither Rincon nor Alvarez being with him when the order to relieve him was received, and retired to Tehuacan. His relief was a virtual admission that the war had terminated.

We learn from Roman annals that after the defeat at Cannae of the legions by Hannibal with frightful slaughter, the consul Æmilius Paulus being among the fallen, the surviving consul, Terentius Varro wrote to the Senate from Canusium, to which place he had retired with the remnant of his army, and, reporting the disaster, assured that august body "He did not despair of the republic." For this courage under defeat he received the thanks of the Roman Senate, a reward treasured by him and his descendants with patriotic gratitude. Santa Anna, after the defeat at Cerro Gordo, blighting as it did so many bright hopes and unbarring the gate of the capital to the invader, wrote from Orizaba, to which place he had fled, without an army, without friends or money: "I do not regard our cause as lost. In a few days I will collect as large a force as the one just defeated, and still hope for success." Under a defeat equally crushing and appalling, he was even more resolute and hopeful than Varro.

This was no idle threat, made in a fit of maddening despair, for a force, double his command at Cerro Gordo, was speedily organized, and with it he gallantly defended the capital until all hopes of success had vanished, then evacuated the city, resigned the presidency, placed himself at the head of a small force and moved upon Puebla, anxious to continue the struggle, and encouraged his comrades to hope that it might be captured, the enemy's line of communication with the coast permanently occupied, their supplies cut off, and they compelled to surrender, or to withdraw from the country. That his troops, demoralized and discouraged by their many de-

feats and disasters, failed to respond to his call, was certainly a great national misfortune, but he could scarcely be held altogether responsible therefor, nor should the Mexican soldiers themselves be censured too severely, for they had suffered great hardships and privations, were now deficient in all kinds of supplies, had no means of procuring them, and had lost all faith and confidence in their leaders.

With the loss of power there is a desertion of friends, but that Santa Anna should have been relieved from command and threatened with a court martial, could hardly have been expected. He was not brought before a court, but was in Tehuacan on the 29th of November when he made a report of his defense of the capital and its evacuation, called for by "His Excellency in charge of the supreme executive power," in order that it might be brought to the knowledge of the supreme Government. The report was well written, as were in fact all of his published battle reports.

Before marching from Puebla, General Scott had previously called to the front the force that had been holding Jalapa and had severed his communications with Vera Cruz, but even when thus reinforced his entire army numbered only 10,300 men. Had his line of communications been securely held, giving uninterrupted intercourse with his base, these numbers would have been regarded among military men as inadequate to insure the success of the expedition, but the simple recital of events will demonstrate that the defeat of Santa Anna and the capture of the Mexican capital were due to Scott's skill and good judgment, aided by an able, educated and scientific Staff, and by an infantry, artillery and cavalry force whose fighting qualities, rarely equaled, enabled them to compete so successfully with such vastly superior numbers. With Twiggs' division in the advance, he descended into the Valley of Mexico August 10th and occupied the village of Ayotla, fifteen miles from the City of Mexico. The same day Quitman's division encamped at the hacienda of Buena Vista, four or five miles in rear, and the two following divisions halted on consecutive days near the town of Chalco. The activity of the engineer officers during the 11th, 12th and 13th is well known, the commanding general being present while the most important reconnoissances were made.

Before leaving Puebla General Scott believed he would have to make a circuit of the Valley, passing around Lakes Chalco and Xochimilco and approach the city from the west, by way of Tacubaya, but a careful reconnoissance of the Peñon, which was strongly fortified and guarded well the main highway, the best and shortest road to the capital, dispelled all hopes of approaching the city in that direction. Between Ayotla and the Peñon a road bore off to the left and led to the city through Mexicalcingo, which being examined carefully for several miles was found practicable, and the natives represented it equally good throughout the entire distance. Well informed of the difficulties of the Chalco route, its greater length, and the danger to be incurred with his army and wagon trains strung along the narrow road between the foot of the mountains and the waters of the lakes, he deliberated whether or not he should attempt to force the passage of Mexicalcingo, strongly fortified, as it was shown to be by reconnoissances. An attack upon this place was discussed at his headquarters, and it was proposed to mask the Peñon with one division, attack in front with two divisions, while the Fourth Division (Worth's) moved rapidly around the lakes without baggage and assailed it in flank and rear simultaneously with the front attack.

This combined effort upon Mexicalcingo depended upon Worth being able during his march around the lakes to keep up communication by boats with the main force, designed for the front attack. Captain H. C. Wayne, assistant quartermaster, and Lieut. Z. B. Tower (engineers) were ordered to examine the lakes to ascertain if this communication could be maintained. Anticipating a favorable report, preparatory orders were issued looking to the combined move, but these officers reported the impossibility of using the lakes as a means of communication, and the combined move on Mexicalcingo being contingent on this, and a direct attack alone not having been entertained, it was abandoned.

Colonel Duncan, being sent by General Worth to examine the road around Lake Chalco, returned with a favorable report, confirming those made to General Scott both before leaving Puebla and after his arrival in the Valley. Without loss of time the columns were reversed and Worth, with

Harney's cavalry leading, began the famous turning move around the lakes August 15th, followed by the other divisions, that of Twiggs covering the rear. Had General Scott been in command of twenty-five or thirty thousand men, he might have decided upon one of the other routes—probably that of Mexicalcingo—and that he acted wisely under the circumstances has never been questioned, as by this move he completely turned the strongest of the enemy's fortified positions, disappointing and greatly discouraging him. Worth, on August 17th, occupied San Augustin, twelve miles south of the capital, on the road to Acapulco, the most important Mexican seaport on the Pacific Ocean. Santa Anna was forced to make corresponding changes, and ordered Valencia from his extreme left (north of Texcoco) to San Angel, the extreme right of the new line, of which Mexicalcingo became the left; intermediate was the village of Churubusco, with its *tete-de-pont* and convent; about two miles in front of the former was San Antonio, fortified and held by a strong force, with a good road from it leading to Coyoacan, by means of which the rear of the troops at San Angel could be reached and the position turned.

When General Scott rode into San Augustin on the 18th he said to the engineer officers serving on his Staff: "To-day the enemy may feel us, to-morrow we must feel him." With no secure base from which provisions could be drawn, the question of subsistence occupied much of his time and thoughts, and forced him to adopt prompt measures. San Augustin was an unfavorable point from which the quartermasters and commissaries could operate to obtain supplies. To the right was the road over which the army had marched, followed by a large cavalry force; to the rear the rugged and lofty mountains separating the Cuernavaca Valley from that of Mexico; three miles in front was the enemy, to his left the lava beds, and beyond these the enemy; again Scott's position was beset with dangers and difficulties, though he still persisted in his purpose to reach Tacubaya or its vicinity, for in that quarter the Valley was more elevated, with a wider range and greater facilities for gathering forage for animals and subsistence for men.

Worth was ordered to move towards San Antonio, three

miles north, on the road to Mexico, reconnoitre, and "take or mask it." Due west of San Antonio and four miles distant was the hamlet of Padierna, on an excellent road leading to both Tacubaya and the capital. The rear divisions were to move up to and near San Augustin, while reconnoissances were being made of Padierna and San Antonio, both held by the enemy in force. The orders for the 19th were that Worth should threaten San Antonio, Quitman hold San Augustin, the depot and general hospital, etc., of the army, while Pillow and Twiggs were to move on towards Padierna, the latter taking the lead as the position of the enemy was approached. The preliminary operations of the 19th against Padierna consisted in skirmishing on the *pedrigal*, using artillery while reconnoissances were being made. These extended to the rear of the enemy's intrenched position, and involved a sharp infantry skirmish and several cavalry collisions, which terminated about sunset, when all, except a small fraction of Twiggs' division, one regiment and one brigade of Pillow's division, crossed the *pedrigal*, seized a village near the road to the city, and intercepted Valencia's communications with Santa Anna's main army. One brigade of Quitman's division bivouacked near this village about midnight.

The presence of this large American force and its operations being reported by Valencia to Santa Anna, then with General Bravo at San Antonio, reinforcements were promptly ordered to Valencia; and Santa Anna, with a large cavalry force and five guns, marched to join him. As he approached Valencia's position he had, from the elevated ridge upon which the troops displayed, a good view of the *pedrigal*, of Valencia's intrenched position, and of the Americans in and near the village of San Geronimo, between Valencia and himself; and several shots were fired from the battery into San Geronimo, held by the Americans. Late in the afternoon of the 29th Santa Anna appeared on the field, but made no effort to drive the Americans out of San Geronimo or to restore communications with Valencia.

Padierna, far in advance of the right of the Mexican army, was isolated by the occupation of San Geronimo by the Americans. The dangers to which Valencia had exposed himself

by holding Padierna were fully appreciated by General Scott, who ordered it to be attacked as soon after daylight of the 20th as practicable, the assault to be made by Pillow and Twiggs upon the enemy's rear. Impressed also with the importance and necessity of controlling the road by Padierna into the capital, to enable him to abandon San Augustin, he ordered both Worth and Quitman to aid in the attack, the former to send one of his brigades, the latter all the infantry he still had at San Augustin. The attack on Valencia was successful as planned and the battle over before Worth's and Quitman's troops arrived upon the field.

Valencia's rout not only secured a good road to the capital and to Tacubaya, but opened a shorter and better one to both places, rendered San Antonio untenable and the capture of the Mexican troops holding it probable. The latter contingency was evidently contemplated by General Scott when he ordered Worth to return to San Antonio and attack it with his whole force in front as soon as approached by Twiggs and Pillow in rear, Quitman then to reoccupy San Augustin. The divisions of Pillow and Twiggs and a brigade of Quitman's division were advanced rapidly towards the capital, passed through San Angel, and halted at Coyoacan, two miles beyond.

From this place a reconnoitering party, followed promptly by one of Pillow's brigades, was ordered to attack San Antonio in rear when assailed by Worth in front. A second reconnoitering party, ordered directly to the front, was followed by one of Twiggs' brigades. As the first party approached the road from San Antonio to the city, it discovered that the former had been flanked by one of Worth's brigades and that the Mexicans evacuating it in haste and retreating towards the city had been struck in flank by one of Worth's brigades, creating much confusion and inflicting heavy loss in killed, wounded and prisoners. This musketry of Worth's brigade being heard, Twiggs' advance brigade began the attack on the convent at Churubusco, and Worth hearing this and seeing the confusion on the road, the fleeing Mexicans, the stalled, broken-down and abandoned wagons, attacked promptly the *tete-de-pont*.

General Scott judging that the volume of musketry and artillery heard in front indicated the presence of a large hostile force,

threw promptly a force around the right flank of Santa Anna to threaten or seize his line of communication. The move was well-timed, and perceiving it Santa Anna detached a portion of Perez's brigade from the Rio Churubusco, near the *tete-de-pont*, to the Portales to meet it. The *tete-de-pont* being the weakest was the first to fall. The capture of the Convent of San Pablo then followed, and when the troops engaged at the Portales saw the main line in front carried, and those escaping capture in retreat they joined their fleeing comrades, and the whole in a disorganized body fell back. The cavalry then passed to the front in hot chase and pursued them to the very gates of the city, now at the mercy of Scott's conquering legions.

The miseries of the cheerless bivouac during the cold, rainy night of the 19th were forgotten in the blaze of the splendid victories of the 20th. Scott's orders for both days were well conceived and his operations were more successful and the objects sought accomplished more speedily than the most sanguine could have anticipated. His initial blow in the Valley of Mexico had been well directed when it fell upon Padierna, and not upon San Antonio, as some had suggested and urged.

A halt was sounded, there was a pause in the operations inaugurated twelve or fourteen miles from the enemy's capital and continued on successfully to its suburbs. An armistice followed and hopes were indulged that Mexican officials would agree to terms of peace rather than see their fair capital occupied by the invader. It adds greatly to the interest of the incidents thus briefly narrated to know that General Scott had said before leaving Puebla he would "defeat the Mexican army in the open field if they would give him battle, and then if he could restrain the enthusiasm of his army would pause without the city and summon it to surrender in order to give the authorities within the city an opportunity and a motive—the safety of the capital—for making a peace."

The armistice continued near two weeks and was dissolved, it having become evident that its object would not be accomplished.

On September 7th orders were issued bringing the several divisions of Scott's army nearer together, and Worth rein-

forced, was ordered to attack the Molinos-del-Rey, destroy the foundry supposed to be actively employed in casting cannon, and capture or destroy a large quantity of powder stored in the Casa Mata. To aid this attack Riley's brigade, with a few guns, was advanced upon the Niño Perdido road, to threaten the city from that direction. The movement of troops on that road and near Piedad misled and deceived Santa Anna, for after dark of the 7th the six guns near the centre of the line were withdrawn and posted in front of the Mills, remained there all night without a guard, and Rangel's brigade was retired. A part of it marched back into the city, the remaining portion halted at Alfaro's house, between Chapultepec and the Belen Gate, and the Third Light was taken from the reserve and posted in Chapultepec.

After the change in position and withdrawal of the above-mentioned troops on and from the line of the Molinos-del-Rey, there remained for its defense the brigades of Perez, Ramirez, Leon, 4,000 cavalry in close supporting distance on the right, and the guns in Chapultepec, which with their fire could sweep the ground over which the Americans must advance to the assault. Although the Molinos-del-Rey were closely reconnoitered by competent engineers, their great strength, especially as against attacks to be made by infantry, had not been ascertained. In fact, this could be developed, as subsequently shown, only by battle.

Worth's troops marched to the assault, displaying a gallantry worthy of commemoration, and drove the enemy from his position, which was defended with obstinate valor, as shown by the loss inflicted upon the Americans. The Mexicans were so stunned and demoralized by the loss of the Molinos-del-Rey that Santa Anna, to revive morale and restore confidence, caused the church bells of the city to be rung and congratulatory orders to be read to the troops stationed at different points along his line, and in the midst of rejoicings extraordinary couriers were despatched to many and distant parts of the republic announcing a great victory ; but, despite this ruse so skillfully manipulated by Santa Anna, Mexican history admits that a very great depression prevailed both in the army and among citizens as a result of this collision on the 8th of September.

Chapultepec, crowned with its Castle, towered over the surrounding plain and valley; guarded securely all approaches to the city from the west and northwest, and with the Mexican national colors waving defiantly from its turrets, was still clung to with confidence, being regarded as well nigh impregnable.

The loss entailed upon Scott's army by the engagement at Molinos del Rey was very serious, and, as his communication with Vera Cruz was broken, no reinforcements could be expected in time to take part in the capture of the Mexican capital, or to cover retreat in the event of a reverse. Compelled, therefore, to act with the greatest precaution, being in no condition to suffer a defeat, he ordered his engineer officers to make the most detailed and thorough reconnoissance, to the end that the most vulnerable point of the enemy's lines might be discovered. These examinations extended from a point beyond the Candelaria Garita, all the way round to the Belen Garita, and were pushed forward night and day, in some of them the general-in-chief taking part. The engineers, conscious of their responsibility and impressed with the importance of their labors, were active, earnest and courageous, confronting all dangers cheerfully, and shrinking from no hardship or exposure. General Scott called a meeting of his general officers at Piedad on the 11th of September, to compare opinions and elicit suggestions. After they had assembled, two of the engineers returned and reported the results of observations directed from the Niño Perdido road upon the Garita of San Antonio. The general-in-chief then gave the results of his own observations, and announced his purpose "of attacking either the Garita of San Antonio and adjacent works, or Chapultepec and the western gates of Belen and San Cosme," his preference being for the latter. As the point of attack was to be determined at this meeting he asked their opinions, irrespective of his own, already expressed, only insisting that the attack be made "where the loss would be least, as thus far it had been heavy." All of the five engineers present, with one exception (Beauregard), recommended the attack to be made upon the San Antonio Garita, and in this opinion every general officer present except Twiggs concurred.

General Scott listened attentively to those who wished to

express opinions, then thanked them and said: "We will attack Chapultepec, then the western gates;" the meeting was over, and orders issued for the construction of batteries to be opened the next day upon Chapultepec. To favor the real attack by misleading the enemy, Riley's brigade and Step-toe's and Taylor's batteries were to remain in front of the southern gates, manœuvre and threaten. Quitman and Pillow were to move from Coyoacan, meet at or near Piedad before dusk, exposed to the enemy's view, after dark march to Tacubaya, and remain under cover or out of view of the enemy during the 12th.

Batteries were constructed and Chapultepec cannonaded the 12th, and, until 8 a. m. of the 13th, the assault by infantry was then made, and upon the fall of the Castle the troops moved on rapidly upon the Belen and San Cosme Gates, both of which were captured, the first at 1:20 p. m., the second about sunset. Under cover of the night, Santa Anna withdrew his army from the capital, leaving it to be entered and occupied by the American forces early in the morning of the 14th. When the batteries of Scott resumed fire upon Chapultepec before sunrise of the 13th, Santa Anna was seen hurrying from the National Palace to the Candelaria Gate, believing that to be the real point of attack, the first hostile guns having been heard in that direction, and when undeceived, it was too late to aid in the defense of Chapultepec and adjacent works. In these last collisions, as in the first blow struck in the Valley, the weak numbers of the American army were counterbalanced by their nerve and courage, and the latter, ably and admirably supplemented by the tact, skill and unswerving judgment of the commanding general.

CHAPTER XXII.

OCCUPATION OF THE CITY.—COLLISIONS WITH SMALL DETACHMENTS.—ATLIXCO.—MATAMORAS AND THE PASS OF GUADALAJARA.—MEXICAN FINANCES.—STRENGTH OF THE UNITED STATES ARMY.—TEHUACAN.—ORIZABA.—CORDOVA.—TÈOTIHUACAN.—TULANCINGO.—SEQUALTEPLAN.—RESUMPTION OF PEACE NEGOTIATIONS.—A TREATY SIGNED FEBRUARY 2, 1848.—GENERAL SCOTT RELIEVED FROM COMMAND AND SUCCEEDED BY GEN. WM. O. BUTLER.—THE CHIHUAHUA EXPEDITION.—SANTA CRUZ DE ROSALES.—OFFICIAL CORRESPONDENCE OF POLK, BUCHANAN AND TRIST.—THE TREATY OF PEACE RATIFIED BY THE UNITED STATES SENATE AND BY THE MEXICAN CONGRESS.

The Mexican capital, with its peerless climate and picturesque surroundings, its *alamedas*, *paseos*, theatres, bull fights, its dark-eyed señoritas and voluptuous señoras, had many alluring attractions, though it did not prove a Capua for the American soldiers; nor did they, like Hannibal's braves, exchange amid its Circean fascinations the role of sturdy warriors for that of listless Sybarites. Strong and vigilant guards were detailed daily, one-third of each regiment remained in its quarters as an in-lying picket ready for duty at a moment's notice, and every precaution was taken to insure efficient discipline; daily drills, inspections, and parades were the rule, and all officers and men, whether on or off duty, wore side arms when away from their quarters. It was not only important, but absolutely necessary, to restore connection with Vera Cruz, broken before the advance upon Puebla, but the Army, reduced in ranks and encumbered

with a large number of sick and wounded, was hardly adequate to garrison Chapultepec and the capital, and had to depend on the reinforcements known to be en route to the Army to clear the road of the numerous guerrilla bands infesting or occupying it.

The siege of Puebla, the largest city between the capital and seacoast, was raised October 12 after a most gallant defense by Brig. Gen. Lane, who occupied it and liberated the weak little garrison there under Colonel Childs. General Lane's report, received by General Scott on the 18th, gave the latest reliable information from Vera Cruz, though many conflicting and sensational rumors regarding Major Lally's command had reached him through Mexican sources.

Frequent collisions with small hostile detachments had followed the occupation of the capital, a brief reference to several of which will now be made.

General Lane being informed that General Rea held Atlixco with a large partisan body ordered a force to move, October 19, against it, consisting of the Fourth Ohio, Colonel Brough; Fourth Indiana, Colonel Gorman; the infantry battalions of Major Lally, Ninth, and Captain Heintzelman, Second Infantry; Capt. George Taylor and Lieutenant Pratt's Light Batteries, Third and Second Artillery, with a company of the Third Dragoons, Capt. Lemuel Ford. The enemy's advanced guard being discovered at 4 p. m. near Santa Isabella, eighteen miles from Puebla, the above-named troops halted until the cavalry, detached to examine a neighboring hacienda, rejoined, and then resumed the march.

The Fourth Ohio, under Lieut. Col. A. Moore, and Major Lally's battalion advanced, but evidence of confusion in the hostile ranks, content till then to fire escopets at long range and brandish lances defiantly, being observed, Captain Ford, followed by Lieutenant Pratt with his guns, was ordered to engage and hold them until the infantry could come up. The conflict was bloody and fatal to the enemy, who retired precipitately, followed by the cavalry; the artillery fired a few shots at long range, but without effect. A running fight of four miles ensued, when the enemy being seen on a hillside near Atlixco, behind which they halted and reformed, Lane's cavalry dashed among them and, though compelled by the thick undergrowth to dismount and fight on foot, did fearful havoc.

When the infantry, which had marched over twenty-five miles since 11 a. m. over a road cut by gullies, appeared, the enemy again retreated to the city closely pressed by both infantry and cavalry. As Lane approached Atlixco, shots from the town were fired at him, but unwilling to risk a fight at night in a place the streets of which were unfamiliar to him, he halted his troops, placed the artillery in position on an eminence overlooking the town, and opened fire. After a short cannonading, firing from the town ceased, and Colonel Brough and Major Lally advanced cautiously with their commands and occupied it.

General Lane, on entering, was waited upon by the *Ayuntamiento* and requested to spare the town. The next morning, after a thorough search for arms and munitions, and a proper disposition of those found, he resumed the march to Puebla. Learning at Chulula that two pieces of artillery had just been finished at Guexocingo, he moved with portions of Brough's and Wyncoop's regiments, a part of Heintzelman's battalion, and Taylor's battery against it, thoroughly searched it, though the guns, having been removed, were not found, and he then continued on to Puebla. The Mexican loss as given by themselves was 219 killed and 300 wounded. Atlixco had been the headquarters and temporary capital of the guerrillas, who had fitted out there many expeditions to attack American trains.

General Scott, still uncertain whether his report of the operations of the 19th and 20th of August had even reached Vera Cruz, or if his later report had been more fortunate, although duplicates and in some cases triplicates had been forwarded, wrote to the War Department and referred to Colonel Childs and General Lane as follows: "I enclose two very interesting reports made from below, (1) from Colonel Childs, Governor and Commander of Puebla, dated the 13th inst., detailing the defenses of that place, which, though highly arduous, gallant, and triumphant, has not exceeded what was expected at the hands of that excellent commander, his officers, and men. (2) From Brigadier-General Lane, dated at Puebla the 18th, giving a brief account of a brilliant and successful affair between his command and a body of the enemy at Huamantla."

He learned through Colonel Wilson at Vera Cruz that Major-General Patterson with Brigadier-Generals Marshall and Cushing had arrived at that place fifteen or eighteen days before, and was expected to march at an early date towards the capital with

five thousand reinforcements. On the mere rumor of such arrivals, he issued a circular on October 13, and enclosed a copy to the unknown commander below. He stated that as General Patterson had made no official report, his information as to the character and description of the reinforcements that had arrived in Vera Cruz since July was limited, though he presumed they were mainly volunteers, with probably some companies and detachments of recruits for the regular Army, which would be ordered up to join their regiments. After the new posts were established below, as required in the circular of October 13, he hoped to have the means of occupying Atlixco, twenty-five miles from Puebla, Toluca, capital of the State of Mexico, forty miles from the city, and possibly Orizaba; but without further addition to his command, or until he had been informed of the view of the Department on the plans submitted in his report No. 34 of the 18th ultimo, he could not undertake more distant expeditions. He mentions the fact that he had slight hopes of the renewal of peace negotiations, and also, that since the month of May he had received but three communications from the War Department, one of which was on October 13th.

It was his intention to establish two or three military posts between Vera Cruz and Jalapa, where there would be from seven to twelve hundred men; at the other posts, from five to seven hundred and fifty, each with one troop of horse, though there should be two at each post, particularly at Jalapa; and at Puebla, twelve hundred or two thousand. Should there be a surplus of troops after these posts were established, they would be halted at Puebla, where a general officer would be in command.

Six weeks after the capture of the City of Mexico a large train with a strong escort was sent to Vera Cruz, under Colonel Harney's command, Second Dragoons, to bring up much-needed supplies and aid in transporting the reinforcing detachments so long expected. Being the first down train it carried with it a number of wounded officers and men and many on the ordinary sick leave; among the former was Brig. Gen. James Shields, whose wound received at Chapultepec had proved to be very serious and had endangered his life. Major General Quitman, the first military governor of the City of Mexico, was ordered to the United States under special order of October 26, 1847, viz.: "Maj. Gen. John A. Quitman, much distinguished for

gallant and efficient services, will proceed to the United States and report in person or by letter to the Department of War."

General Quitman, having received his promotion as major general after reaching Puebla, was relieved from the duties of civil and military governor by Gen. P. F. Smith, though he continued with the Army, with a command inferior to that to which his rank entitled him. There not being a sufficient number of the new regular regiments to form two divisions, General Pillow, ranking Quitman, was assigned to the command of all that class of troops. There was a correspondence between Generals Quitman and Scott with reference to the former's command, known to be inferior to his rank, but Quitman submitted rather than leave the Army pending an active campaign. General Patterson established two posts, one at the San Juan, the other at the *Puente Nacional*, where the Thirteenth Infantry had been stationed since October 20, the Maryland and District of Columbia battalion having held it previously for a week or two. Patterson arrived at Jalapa with 2,600 men for duty, reported November 10 that his wagons had been sent back to Vera Cruz, and on their return he would resume the march to the capital.

Mr. Trist's letter of recall was received in October. On November 27 General Scott wrote to the War Department that he had received information of the appointment of Mexican commissioners, and if there was a commissioner with the Army to meet them he was sanguine of peace. The new commissioners had not called on him, nor had they submitted any propositions, but when Mr. Trist was recalled he notified the Mexican Government that it must submit propositions for peace, if desired, through him (Scott), to be forwarded to the United States.

General Butler was expected at Vera Cruz, and upon his, or General Patterson's arrival in the capital with four thousand reinforcements in excess of the garrisons, he would order the surplus force, if strong enough, to occupy Zacatecas and San Luis Potosi, unless propositions for peace were made. He reported that an indirect proposition for an armistice had been made, but had been declined.

In anticipation of garrisoning the different mining districts, the General-in-Chief had been collecting statistics of the finances of the country, and had concluded if these districts could be held and the roads made secure the percentage on the precious metals,

coinage, and exports, and the duties on increased imports of foreign goods, might amount to ten or twelve millions. By the time reinforcements should arrive at headquarters he would have devised a general system under which to collect in the interior part of the means, at least, necessary to support the occupation.

General Lane, ever on the alert, being informed that the town of Matamoras, fifty-four miles from Puebla, having in it a large amount of public property, including munitions of war, and also a few American soldiers (prisoners), was held by a large Mexican force, determined to surprise and capture it. He marched from Puebla at 7 p. m., November 22, having one piece of artillery and twenty-five men, under 1st Lieut. H. B. Field, Third Artillery, and one hundred and thirty-five men taken from Col. Jack Hays' Texans, and the Louisiana Dragoons, under Captain Lewis. A heavy rain-fall, beginning at 10 p. m. and continuing until 5 a. m., naturally increased the discomforts and annoyances of a night march, but despite it all, he reached Matamoras at sunrise. Approaching the town, the enemy's out-post was discovered, instantly charged, and followed to the main body, when the whole broke and fled precipitately through the streets, not halting until it gained a forest beyond. Giving way so rapidly, and leaving the town through many streets, General Lane could form no very correct estimate of its number, but reported it to be between four and six hundred, with from sixty to eighty killed and wounded, and not a casualty to his own command. Among the killed were Colonel Piedras, commanding at Matamoras, two artillery captains, and other officers of various grades.

Three bronze guns were captured, twelve tons of shot of all calibres, twenty boxes of fixed ammunition, twenty-seven bales of escopet and musket balls, seven bales of slow and quick match, five hundred muskets, five hundred sabres, one hundred horses, and a considerable quantity of medical stores and other public property. All of this was destroyed except the muskets, sabres, fixed ammunition and the three guns. Twenty-one American soldiers (prisoners) were released, armed with muskets and mounted on captured horses. The Louisiana Dragoons led the advance on the march, and charged the out-post which broke and fled into the town.

General Lane referred in complimentary terms to the entire command, and by name to 1st Lieutenant Ridgely, Fourth Infantry, Acting Assistant Adjutant General; 2d Lieut. B. F. McDonald, Third Artillery, acting quartermaster; 1st Lieut. S. Douglass, Brough's Ohio Regiment, and 2d Lieut. Edward Blake, of the Second U. S. Infantry, aides-de-camp, all charging by his side. Three soldiers, artillerymen, Foss, Gorman, and Friedman, were injured temporarily by an accidental explosion, while the captured property was being destroyed.

The command remained in Matamoras the balance of the day, and early on the 24th, with twenty-five or thirty of Captain Roberts' Company, Hays' Regiment, in the advance, and Captain Lewis' Company, Louisiana Dragoons, in the rear, began the return march to Puebla. While moving with difficulty through a narrow mountain pass near Matamoras, the line became extended, and the artillery and wagon train fell back, General Lane being at the time with them, when the reappearance of the enemy was reported, and Colonel Hays was ordered forward to engage him. A small advance party was at the time being driven in by a force of lancers, estimated at near two hundred, but the latter were met and driven back by Roberts' Company, with which were Lieutenants Ridgely, Waters, McDonald, Blake, and Mr. Phelps, General Lane's secretary.

The enemy, pursued across an extended plain towards the mountains, halted midway the slope for a rally, and wheeled to the front, but was broken, gave way again, and was followed over the mountain summit by Hays; below and beyond the crest was joined by General Rea, with several hundred lancers. Hays called a halt, and withdrew in good order, though followed by this force, and after returning to the road repulsed it and held the field until the artillery under Lieutenants Field and Lewis with the Louisiana horse arrived, when, after a few rounds of grape, Rea's lancers were scattered, though for several hours they continued to reappear, hovering around in groups, too distant to be pursued by Lane with his jaded horses.

In this affair two of Lane's command were killed and two slightly wounded. One of the former was Lieutenant Ridgely, Fourth Infantry, while gallantly charging by Colonel Hays' side, and Lieut. Stanford W. Waters, Louisiana dragoons,

slightly wounded. The Mexican loss was not accurately ascertained, but could not have been less than fifty killed and wounded. Among the former were two captains and one lieutenant.

During the engagement the Mexican teamsters unharnessed the mules and made their escape; and this rendered it necessary to destroy all captured property except the guns and sabres, most of which were distributed to the men, and the remainder destroyed. General Lane in his report speaks well of the endurance and courage of his men and officers, all of the latter being mentioned by name. Assistant Surgeon Brower, Fourth Indiana, displayed much courage, being foremost in the charge of the 24th. Atlixco was reached 10 a. m. of the 25th; the march resumed after a short halt, and Puebla entered 2 p. m., after an absence of sixty hours.

Colonel Hays, with five companies of Texas Rangers, and Major Lally, Ninth Infantry, with a detachment of regulars, arrived in the City of Mexico December 7th, Major General Patterson on the 8th, followed by Cushing's brigade, in all about thirty-five hundred men. Hays and Lally were the first to arrive from the United States in the Mexican Capital after its occupation. General Patterson had posted a regiment—Ohio volunteers—at the Rio Frio.

The second train left the City of Mexico December 9th under Brigadier General Twiggs, assigned to the command of the Department of Vera Cruz, with orders to inspect the intermediate garrisons of Rio Frio, Puebla, Peroté, Jalapa, National Bridge, and San Juan. He had been relieved in command of his division by Brig. Gen. P. F. Smith, Civil and Military Governor.

December 2 General Scott acknowledged receipt of a letter from Commodore Shubrick, announcing the capture of Mazatlan and Guaymas, and in reply states: "I have been waiting here two and a half months to learn the views of the Government at home, or, at least for reinforcements, before undertaking any new and distant operations. The forces that I have under my orders in the whole of this Republic, except the troops immediately under Major General Taylor, only give me means of holding Tampico, Vera Cruz, Puebla, Chapultepec, and this Capital."

General Scott, after a careful study of the statistics of Mexican finances, and previous to ordering the occupation of several

important districts near the capital, to be followed by a like disposition in more remote departments, issued general orders, No. 376, December 15, 1847, viz.:

(1) This army is about to spread itself over and to occupy the Republic of Mexico until the latter shall sue for peace on terms acceptable to the Government of the United States. (2) On the occupation of the principal point or points in any State the payment to the Federal Government of this Republic of all taxes or dues of whatever manner or kind heretofore, say in 1844, payable or collected by that Government, is absolutely prohibited, as all such taxes, dues, etc., will be demanded of the proper civil authorities for the support of the Army of Occupation. (3) The State and Federal district being already so occupied, as well as the States of Vera Cruz, Puebla, and Tamaulipas, the usual taxes or dues heretofore contributed by the same to the Federal Government will be considered as due and payable to this army from the beginning of the present month, and will early be demanded of the civil authorities of the said States and districts under rules and penalties which shall be duly announced and enforced. (4) Other States of this Republic, as the Californias, New Mexico, Chihuahua, Coahuila, New Leon, etc., already occupied by the forces of the United States, though not under the immediate orders of the General-in-Chief, will conform to the prescriptions of this order, except in such State or States where a different system has been adopted with the sanction of the Government at Washington. (5) The internal taxes or dues referred to are: 1, District taxes; 2, dues on the production of gold and silver; 3, melting and assaying duties; 4, the tobacco rent; 5, the rent of stamped paper; 6, the rent on the manufacture of playing cards; and 7, the rent of post-offices. (6) The rent of national lotteries is abolished, lotteries being hereby prohibited. (7) Import and export duties at the ports of the Republic will remain as fixed by the Government of the United States, except that the exportation of gold and silver in bars or ingots—*plata y oro en pasta*—is prohibited until the further instructions of that Government on the subject. (8) All imported articles, goods or commodities, which have once paid or given sufficient security for the payment of duties to the United States at any port of entry of the Republic, shall not again be burthened with any tax or duty in any part of this Republic occupied by the forces of the United States. (9) The levying of duties on the transit of animals, goods or commodities, whether of foreign or domestic growth, from one State of this Republic to another, or on entering or leaving the gate of any city within the Republic, will, from and after the beginning of the ensuing year, be prohibited, as far as the United States forces may have the power to enforce the prohibition. Other and equitable means, to a moderate extent, must be resorted to by the several State and city authorities for the necessary support of their respective governments. (10) The tobacco, playing cards, and stamped paper rents will be placed for three, six, or twelve months under the contract with the highest bidders, respectively, for the several States, the

State and Federal District of Mexico being considered as one. Accordingly, offers or bids for those rents within each State, or any of them, are invited. They will be sent in as early as possible, sealed, to the headquarters of departments, except for the Federal District and State of Mexico. For this latter, the offers or bids will be addressed to the General-in-Chief. (II) Further details for the execution of the foregoing system of government and revenue will soon be given in general orders.

This order was forwarded to Washington, accompanied by a memoir on the exportation of the precious metals, giving evidence of careful study and thorough knowledge of the subject, with recommendations and suggestions, the equity and wisdom of which could not be questioned. A few extracts from the memoir will be made: "The Government of the United States proposes that their forces shall occupy the Mexican Republic, and raise in said country the means to meet the expenses of occupation. To obtain this object it appears convenient that said resources should be raised so as to interfere as little as possible with the existing interests of foreign as well as of native residents; for if any measure calculated to involve the ruin of part or the whole of said interests was taken, there is little or no doubt that the results would be as injurious to the interest of the United States as to those of this country, for the destiny of both interests in the case of occupation is linked together. It appears that this recommendation, besides being fully justified by a sound policy, will also be the means of facilitating the organization of a financial system and ultimately lead to increase of revenue. * * *

"The tariff given by the United States for the Mexican ports occupied allows the free exportation of gold and silver, either in bars or coined. Although it has been done, perhaps, with a liberal view, it would seem that the measure was taken to hostile the Mexican Government, preventing thus any advance from being made to said Government on future export duties on silver or gold, and depriving it of that resource. However, who would benefit by the free exportation of gold and silver? It is well known that nothing finds its level, respecting prices, as soon as the precious metals, and, therefore, as soon as the exportation should have been carried into effect there would have been in the exchange on England, France, and the United States, a difference equivalent to the duties taken off on the precious metals. The free exportation would apparently have been advantageous to none but the miners; apparently is the

word, for it is evident that the higher prices obtained by them at first would have gradually come down until they were on a level with those obtained in Europe, and ultimately would have become lower than they are to-day, for it is not to be doubted that the free exportation of bars partially or totally occasioning the ruin of the mints, coined specie would have disappeared from circulation, and that miners would have been for the sale of their produce entirely at the mercy of the speculators, whilst the exportation being prohibited, the mints are obliged to pay them at any time a fixed price for their gold and silver which can not be altered. * * *

“The exportation of gold and silver in bars has been prohibited in this country by all the tariffs that have existed either under the Spanish or Mexican Government, and though licenses of exportation to a small amount have every now and then been granted, the prohibition has been the rule, and the exportation the exception, until the Mexican Government having rented all their mines but two to foreign companies, has taken the solemn engagement not to give any more licenses of exportation. As it may easily be supposed the engagement of giving no more licenses of exportation has been the principal basis on which the companies have relied to make their contracts and the principal inducement for them to advance the rent as they have done. It is not known what policy will be adopted by the United States respecting neutral interests in Mexico, in case the country should be occupied by their armies, but too high an opinion is entertained of the justice of their Government to admit for a moment the possibility of such interests being sacrificed or ruined when no direct benefit could be derived from such a measure for the United States and when, on the contrary, it might be injurious to them as may be explained.”

He addressed the Secretary again December 17, inviting his attention to General Orders, No. 376, the seventh paragraph of which continues the duties on exported bars of gold and silver, which had been made free by orders of the United States Government. He wrote that since its publication he had seen a slip cut from a Vera Cruz newspaper, dated the 17th, from the Department to him on the same subject. He continued: “I have taken great pains to obtain correct information in respect to the production and exportation of the precious metals in and from this country. The Mexican policy has been uniform

against the exportation of bars and ingots, though from want or cupidity special licenses have been given in violation of that sound policy, and in gross violation of the rights purchased by the renters of the mints. This Army is also interested in the same prohibition, for if we permit the exportation of bars and ingots there will be but little domestic coinage, our drafts would soon be under par, and the Mexicans from the want of sufficient circulating medium be less able to pay the contributions which we propose to levy upon them through their civil authorities."

* * *

Knowing the President's great desire to have the war terminate, General Scott embraced every opportunity to keep him advised as to the prospects, more or less remote, of peace, and wrote December 14 that he "had received no communications from the Mexican Government, and did not expect any before the Congress and President are installed, about the 10th of March. It is believed that both will be favorably inclined to peace.*"

In the matter of reinforcements, so vitally interesting to himself and Army, he states that he had heard from Gen. W. O. Butler at Jalapa with 3,600 men, which, we learn from a subsequent letter, arrived in the capital on December 18. The train despatched November 1, under Colonel Harney, returned, commanded by Lieut. Col. Joe E. Johnston, of the Voltigeurs, with 1,300 men, in addition to the escort accompanying it on the downward trip. These reinforcements, with those arriving previously, the 17th, made a total of eight or nine thousand for duty.

He needed two columns of 5,000 men each, to occupy the mining districts of San Luis and Zacatecas, maintain communications with the capital, and open one with Tampico, and to garrison State capitals within reach of the two columns. The two should march at the same time for mutual support and moral effect upon the enemy, though it might be best to await the detachments behind with Gen. Thomas Marshall. One of the columns having to march through Querétaro to reach Zacatecas that necessity would prove a serious embarrassment, as every one assured him it would cause the instant dispersion of the Mexican Government and render its reassembling at any other

* The Congress did not meet until May.

point extremely doubtful. Under instructions, however, from the Department the double move would be made when the reinforcements, known to have left Vera Cruz, would have arrived, unless in the meantime otherwise instructed.

Again, on December 25, he wrote of his great disappointment at learning on the return of the first train up from Vera Cruz that not a jacket, blanket, or a pair of shoes had been brought to the Army. The small depot at Vera Cruz had been exhausted by the troops under Patterson, Butler, and Marshall, all fresh from their homes, or the Brazos, and as in the case of other arrivals since June without clothing. * * * This want might delay distant expeditions for many weeks, as some of the new volunteers were also in want of essential articles of wear and he called attention to requisitions for clothing made by the regular regiments over a year ago, which had never been sent, or, if it had, had been issued as above. * * *

He next, on the matter of assessments, says: "You perceive I do not propose to seize the ordinary State or city revenue, as that in my judgment would be to make war on civilization, as no community can escape absolute anarchy without civil government. I shall take care, however, to see that the means collected within any particular State or city for that purpose are moderate and reasonable."

On December 31, order No. 395 was issued, which specified the States by name and the several sums they would be annually assessed. It abolished duties paid at the gates of the cities and in passing from one State to another, the tobacco monopoly and lotteries, and required the governors and members of legislatures in the different States, and all collecting officers now in commission, and heretofore charged with the collection of the federal dues of any kind to be individually held responsible in their persons and property for the collection and full payment of this assessment. The order was long, carefully prepared, and gave many details.

The last two paragraphs read as follows: "The American troops in spreading themselves over this republic, will take care to observe the strictest discipline and morals in respect to the persons and property of the country, purchasing and paying for all necessities and comforts they may require, and treating the unoffending inhabitants with forbearance and kindness. The higher honor of the country, as well as the particular honor of

the Army, must and shall be maintained against the few miscreants in our ranks. The laws of war will also be strictly observed towards all Mexicans who respect those laws. For the treatment of those atrocious bands of guerrillas and armed rancheros, General Order No. 392, of the 12th instant, will be rigidly enforced."

General Orders No. 8, of January 9, were designed to prevent frauds in the payment of dues as assessed in the previous orders. The several orders referred to and quoted in part reflect great credit upon General Scott, and indicate ability and fitness for the proper discharge of the very important and delicate duties devolving upon him as a military commander. These orders were laws for the Mexicans, and are both interesting and instructive, leaving but little room to doubt that their author was as competent for civil as military administration. They were written and published before the receipt of the communication of December 14, 1847, from the War Department, in which he (Scott) was advised that a copy of the President's message enclosed would give him the latter's views in regard to the future prosecution of the war, and in which he was urged to endeavor to lessen expenses by compelling Mexico to contribute, as in this way she might be forced to see the necessity of making peace honorable alike to both countries, "our object being to obtain acceptable terms which it is apprehended can not be speedily obtained without making the enemy feel he is to bear a considerable part of the burthen of the war."

"Should there not be at this time a government in Mexico of sufficient stability to make peace, or should the authority which there exists be adverse to it, and yet a large and influential portion of the people be really disposed to put an end to hostilities, it is desirable to know what prospect there is that the latter could, with the countenance and protection of our arms, organize a government willing to make peace and sustain relations of peace with us. It is presumed that your opportunities of knowing the disposition of the people of Mexico will enable you to furnish your Government with correct information on the subject, and the President desires to be furnished with your views."

General Scott replied, January 6, 1848, that his total force in the Valley of Mexico was 14,964, and of this force only 11,162 were fit for duty, measles prevailing, mainly among the volun-

cers. General Marshall reported from Jalapa, December 22, that half his force—number not given—was sick, and his wagons had been sent back to Vera Cruz for medicines and other supplies, but he did not mention on what day he would resume the march for the capital. Pachuca was quietly occupied by Col. J. M. Withers, Ninth Infantry, and General Cadwalader marched, December 22, for Lerma and Toluca, the latter the State capital, and thirty-eight miles from the City of Mexico.

One of the most serious inconveniences to both the Government and General Scott, was the great delay in receiving letters sent from one to the other. January 13, General Scott informed the War Department that he had not received a line from any public officer in Washington since October 26.

He referred in this report in complimentary terms to Col. F Wynkoop, First Pennsylvania Volunteers, ordered out on an expedition to capture the guerilla chief, Padre Jarauta, and in which he failed; but being informed of General Valencia's whereabouts, he made a night march, surprised and captured him and a colonel of his Staff. Col. Jack Hays had also been detailed to bring in the padre, but failed, though he had a sharp collision with his band, killing and wounding many of them.

General Scott also reported that the second train up from Vera Cruz was attacked by a large hostile body, inflicting serious losses. This train having an escort of 1,300 men, the largest that had left Vera Cruz, was commanded by Brevet Lieutenant-Colonel Miles, Fifth Infantry, who wrote from Paso de Ovejas, January 6, to General Marshall at Jalapa, that his rear was attacked on the 4th, at Santa Fé, two hundred and eight pack mules captured, one company of Mounted Rifles cut up, and that the enemy, strong in numbers, was at Plan del Rio, and intended to attack him (Miles). He asked to be reinforced with a section of artillery and five hundred men, and General Marshall despatched immediately two hundred and fifty cavalry, a section of artillery, and a portion of Lieut. Colonel Hughes' command, to operate in conjunction with him at Cerro Gordo.

If the guerilla chief, Zenobio, really intended to attack Miles at Cerro Gordo, he changed his mind on hearing of the reinforcements sent there from Jalapa.

On the day before this letter from General Scott was written, one had been despatched to him from the Secretary of War announcing that he had been relieved from command of the Army by order of the President of the United States, to be brought before a court of inquiry which would be convened in the Castle of Peroté on the 18th of February. This grave incident will be referred to in detail in the appendix.

A command, consisting of four companies of Texas Rangers under Colonel Jack Hays, two companies of the Third Dragoons, and one company of Mounted Rifles under Major Polk, Third Dragoons, a total of three hundred and fifty men, was especially assigned to General Lane's command to scour the country and drive the guerrillas from the public highways, rendered impassable unless with strong escorts. On January 18, a. m., General Lane moved out of the City of Mexico towards Puebla, and five miles from the Rio Frio met General Marshall's train, and learned that his rear guard had been threatened by the enemy, then passing over the mountains towards his right. Leaving two Texas companies to guard Marshall's wagons, he moved with the remainder of his command on the flank indicated, but after a search of several hours found no hostile force.

Lane arrived at Puebla about noon of the 20th, and after dark on the 21st, in a cold rain, marched towards Vera Cruz, and arriving at Amazoque, filed off to the left, with the view of deceiving the inhabitants. Having marched about three miles in this direction, he turned abruptly to the right through a ravine leading towards the mountains, and marched during the night forty-five miles over a route almost impassable, frequently requiring the men to move in single file, and several times to dismount and lead their horses.

His command was halted in a dreary region of country near two large haciendas a little before day, men and horses concealed, and the people of the haciendas and travelers on the road were held as prisoners until dark of the 22d, when he resumed the march towards Tehuacan. In a narrow pass, five miles from the haciendas just passed, a stage coach with an armed escort of ten or twelve men was met; the latter disarmed, and the whole held as prisoners. A passenger stepped from the coach, and, striking a light, showed a written safeguard, with permission for an armed escort, signed by Gen. P. F. Smith, when the arms were returned to the escort, and the stage permitted to proceed.

Lane continued his march over a rocky, narrow road for forty miles, until the column arrived near Tehuacan, when he learned that General Santa Anna was there with one hundred regular cavalry and a large guerrilla force, his guide even pointing out to him the sentinel posts in the town. About 4 a. m. he reached Tehuacan. Lights flashed to and fro in several houses, and a solitary gun was fired at his advancing column. With Colonel Hays by his side he charged down upon the main plaza, while Major Polk surrounded the town with his command. The place had evidently been held by troops, who had departed in haste; the house occupied by Santa Anna had been deserted abruptly, leaving furniture and clothing, which, with Señora Santa Anna's wardrobe, consisting of one hundred and twenty-two valuable pieces, was captured, packed in trunks, and delivered to the Alcalde, who gave therefor his written receipt.

General Lane's first feat of arms, after his arrival upon the southern line of operations, was the action at Huamantla, at which, after the enemy had been expelled, several of the stores were sacked by a portion of his troops. This was not only the first act of the kind, but the only one that occurred on the southern line, and was harshly commented upon by the Army generally. General Lane, plain in appearance and manner, but full of energy and courage, of unquestioned integrity, and kind-hearted, generous, and chivalric, was sensitive to these criticisms, and, if the stores in Huamantla were plundered, he neither knew nor approved of the act, and in subsequent operations, always full of dash and spirit, and invariably crowned with success, he was particular to mention in his reports that citizens and their property had been protected, and in the matter of Señora Santa Anna's apparel he was determined there should be no occasion for criticism, not even from the enemy himself.

General Lane learned from the Alcalde and several priests that a courier who arrived at Tehuacan at 2 o'clock in the night informed Santa Anna of his (Lane's) approach, and that said courier was one of the escort to the stage that had been disarmed when the safeguard with permission to bear arms was exhibited, and that the courier admitted he had been sent by a shorter route to warn Santa Anna of the intended attack. Lane endeavored to procure one hundred fresh horses from the Alcalde, but did not succeed.

Santa Anna having fresh horses, Lane abandoned further pursuit; on the 24th marched towards Orizaba; halted in the after-

noon at Aculcingo, and on the 25th met three miles from Orizaba a deputation of citizens, municipal authorities, and priests, who had advanced to arrange terms for the capitulation of the city, and were informed by him that private and church property would be respected, but that the robberies lately committed by guerrillas upon merchant trains would be investigated. The efforts to recover goods stolen from these trains were unsuccessful, and learning that Colonel Bankhead was on the march from Vera Cruz to garrison Orizaba, he (Lane) concluded to let him investigate the matter. Some government tobacco was seized, sold, and the proceeds turned over to the assistant quartermaster of the command to be used for the soldiers' benefit.

On the 26th he received a letter of submission from the Ayuntamiento of Cordova, twenty miles below Orizaba, and on the 28th marched for that place, taking three companies of Texas Rangers, under Colonel Hays, and Lieutenant Martin's company of dragoons, and on occupying the town released six American prisoners, captured at various places.

After returning to and remaining in Orizaba one week, General Lane marched on the 31st for Puebla with the Texas Rangers, and was joined at Aculcingo by Major Polk with his command, with whom they crossed the mountains unmolested, encamped at San Augustin de Palmas, and occupied a small village, where they learned that a number of horses and mules, captured from American trains, were at a hacienda two leagues distant. Permission having been given Major Polk to move with two companies and recapture them, he returned bringing twenty-six mules and one American horse, all United States property. On February 3, after an absence of two weeks, General Lane returned to Puebla. The trip to Tehuacan, thence to Cordova and the return to Puebla, most of the route never before traversed by United States troops, was made by 350 mounted men without artillery, and also without opposition.

On February 5 General Lane ordered a portion of his command, Texans and dragoons, under Major Truit, of the Rangers, to escort a wagon train from Puebla to the city of Mexico, and about midnight, with the remainder of his command, he set out from Puebla to Tlaxcala; passed through that place 10 a. m. of the 6th; crossed the mountains by a rugged path rarely traveled, and after a long day's march reached a hacienda, well known as a resort of robbers. During this march strag-

gling bandits were occasionally seen and pursued, but no force of consequence was encountered until the afternoon of the 8th.

When about to enter the town of Téotihuacan, twenty-three or four miles from the city, it being reported that a force under Col. Manuel Falcon was in his front, Major Polk was ordered with two companies, one of Mounted Rifles, under Lieutenant Claiborne, the other of the Third Dragoons, under Lieut. J. Adde, to make pursuit, while Colonel Hays with the Texans seized the town. The order was promptly executed. Seventeen of the enemy were killed, and one lieutenant and two privates captured. The remainder of the hostile force took to the mountains and was chased only seven miles—Lane's exhausted horses allowing no further pursuit. In the town Colonel Hays captured 250 muskets, a few escopets, 250 lances, and a large supply of ammunition and clothing, all of which was destroyed, not having transportation. Lane arrived in the City of Mexico 4 p. m. on the 9th, having been absent two weeks and two days.

General Scott informed the Secretary on February 2, 1848, that his letters dated November 8, 17, and December 14, had been received, and he would observe that the export duties on coins and the prohibition of the export on bars, in accordance with the system of finance he had established for the parts of Mexico occupied by the United States forces, differed materially from the instructions in his letter of November 17. He hoped, for the reasons suggested in his own communication of December 17, that the President would consent to adopt his (Scott's) views in respect to the precious metals. He reported that the Ayuntamiento of the capital had charged itself with the payment, on account of the Federal district of \$400,000 of the \$668,332, imposed per year on the State of Mexico; that General Cadwalader would soon begin to collect through the Ayuntamiento of Toluca a large part of the remainder, and that Colonel Clarke, Sixth Infantry, had been ordered into the Cuernavaca Valley, forty-three miles south, with a small force also to complete a collection.

"The *war of masses*," says General Scott, "ended with the capture of the enemy's capital; the *war of detail*, including the occupation of the country and the collection of revenue, requires a large additional force, as before suggested." He refers to the fact that he had learned it was thought in Washington that "he

had 30,000 men under his command, while in truth, including the forces at Tampico, Vera Cruz, on the line from that port, and in the Valley and vicinity, he had a total of 24,816; the sick, necessary, and indispensable garrisons deducted, would leave an available force for distant service of only 4,500, and he did not know of the approach of any considerable reinforcements. Seven thousand he deemed a minimum number with which the important line from Durango, through Zacatecas and San Luis, to Tampico, could be opened and maintained. Many of the volunteers were sick with measles, mumps, and erysipelas, common among all classes of soldiers."

Reporting the fact of a treaty of peace being at that moment signed and to be forwarded at once, he says: "In about forty days I may receive an acknowledgment of this report, and by that time if the treaty of peace be not accepted, I hope to be sufficiently reinforced to open the commercial line between Zacatecas and Tampico. The occupation of Querétaro, Guanajuato, and Guadalajara, would be the next in importance, and some of the ports on the Pacific the third. Meanwhile, the collection of internal revenue dues on the precious metals and the direct assessments shall be continued." Forty days would bring it to near the middle of March, and the city of Mexico was occupied the middle of September, six months before reinforcements arrived in numbers sufficient for the occupation of the country.

General Scott, as an Army commander, had occasion to use money for which ordinary receipts could not be taken; the nature of the service could not be specified—"secret disbursements," as styled by himself. He wrote to the War Department on the 6th of February, 1848, that he had made no report of such disbursements since leaving Jalapa, (1) because of the uncertainty of our communications with Vera Cruz, and (2) the necessity of certain explanations which, on account of others, ought not to be reduced to writing. He added: "I have never tempted the honor, conscience, or patriotism of any man, but have held it as lawful in morals as in war to purchase valuable information or services voluntarily tendered me."

Charging himself with the money he received in Washington for "secret service disbursements," the \$150,000 levied upon the City of Mexico for the immediate benefit of the Army, and the proceeds of captured tobacco taken from the Mexican Gov-

ernment, with some other small sums, all of which were strictly accounted for; then after crediting himself with \$63,745.57, expended for blankets and shoes gratuitously distributed to enlisted men, for \$10,000 extra supplies for the hospitals, \$10 each to every crippled man discharged or furloughed, some \$60,000 for secret services, including a native spy company—Dominguez' company—whose pay commenced in July and which he did not wish to bring into account with the Treasury, there remained a balance of \$100,000, a draft for which he enclosed saying: "I hope you will allow the draft to go to the credit of the Army asylum and make the subject known in the way you may deem best to the military committees of Congress. That sum is, in small part, the price of the American blood so gallantly shed in this vicinity; and considering that the Army receives no prize money, I repeat the hope that its proposed destination may be approved and carried into effect." * * * "The remainder of the money in my hands, as well as that expended, I shall be ready to account for at the proper time and in the proper manner, merely offering this imperfect report to explain, in the meantime, the character of the \$100,000 draft."

February 9, 1848, General Scott addressed the War Department a short note, which seems to have been the last official communication he made to Washington as Commander-in-Chief of the Army in Mexico. After adverting to the fact of his receiving no communication from the War Department or Adjutant-General's office, says: "But slips from newspapers and letters from Washington have come to interested parties here, representing, I learn, that the President has determined to place me before a court for daring to enforce necessary discipline in this Army against certain of its high officers. I make only a passing comment upon these unofficial announcements, learning with pleasure, through the same sources, that I am to be superseded by Major-General Wm. O. Butler."

The recommendation of General Scott was adopted and carried into effect. A portion of the land now belonging to the Soldiers' Home near the National Capital and the buildings observed and admired by daily visitors were bought and erected by the \$100,000 sent from Mexico. A small monthly contribution of twelve and one-half cents by the enlisted men of the Regular Army, and stoppages of pay by sentences of courts

martial, have proved ample to keep it in order and to purchase more land and erect additional buildings.*

The commissioners and governors, officers of the Army, who have charge of it, have displayed good taste in beautifying the grounds with broad roads convenient for driving, adorned with flowers, shrubbery, and well-kept lawns, which greet the eye as the Home is entered through any of its several gates. Near one of the roads, and on an elevated point, stands, and very appropriately, a tall bronze statue of General Scott facing to the south and overlooking Washington City and the Potomac river, the latter until it fades away in the distance.†

The guerrilla bands became so annoying north and northeast of the city that a command consisting of two hundred and fifty Texas Rangers, under Col. Jack C. Hays, one hundred and thirty of the Third Dragoons and Rifles, under Major Polk, and the *Contra Guerrillas*, under Dominguez, was organized and placed under the brave, energetic, and never-tiring Gen. Joe Lane, with orders to scour the country thus infested. Padre Jarauta, at the time the most daring and influential of the guerrilla chiefs, was from Orizaba, but seemed to be ubiquitous. If a train was attacked in the woods of the *tierra caliente*; if troops were fired on from a chapparal; if depredations were committed north, south, east, or west, Padre Jarauta was held responsible for the offense, and if a gathering of guerrillas was reported at a hacienda or village far or near, Padre Jarauta was known to be the leading spirit. If a church or family festival, a wedding, baptism, or funeral was to be solemnized; if a fandango or bull fight took place either in a village or hacienda, Padre Jarauta was sure to be on hand, recruiting guerrillas from both mourners and revelers, and mingling with his benedictions and benefactions anathemas of the Americans. The main purpose of this expedition was to head off this *saintly patriot*, and the best troops, commanded by brave and hardy leaders determined upon his destruction, were detailed and sallied forth from the capital on February 17, intending to scour first the mountainous country north of the Rio Frio. The road to Vera Cruz

* Any sums of money or property left by soldiers dying intestate and without heirs go to this home.

† The present Governor of this Home is General O. B. Willcox, United States Army.

was followed as far as the Hacienda of San Felipe; then counter-marching a few miles, Lane turned to the right towards Tulancingo, where he was informed that Generals Paredes, Almonte, and the redoubtable Jarauta would be found, the latter with a considerable force, and he sincerely hoped to kill or capture the priest. He arrived near Tulancingo on the 22d, and with a small portion of his command endeavored to surprise the town, but intelligence of his advance having preceeded him, the hostile force left three days before with Jarauta at their head. General Paredes alone remained, but owing to the ignorance of the Americans of localities, escaped. To his family, however, and to other residents every civility was extended and protection given. Major Polk with a small party made on the 23d a dash upon a hacienda near, certain of capturing Paredes, but he could not be found.

General Lane now received reliable information that Padre Jarauta had retired with his entire band to Sequalteplan, seventy-five miles north of Tulancingo. Sending his sick in charge of Dominguez to the city, he set out from Tulancingo, and after a severe forced march arrived about daylight on the 25th at Sequalteplan, and, with the Texas Rangers leading, charged the town, he and Hays being at the head of the column. As they dashed through the street towards the plaza an unexpected volley of musketry was poured in upon them from a *cuartel* occupied by some fifty or sixty of Jarauta's men. Major Truit, with Adjutant Ford, entered the barracks in the face of the fire, killed ten or twelve of the enemy, wounded about the same number, and captured twenty, including Colonel Montengo. The plaza was occupied, and Hays with the larger portion of his force attacked a strong detachment of lancers and infantry observed sallying from a *cuartel* on a street to the left, while General Lane with the remainder charged straight forward upon a second body seen on another street. Hays received a street fire and one from behind walls, and then a running fight ensued, in which the Padre lost about thirty men killed. Hays after this returned to the plaza; there met 2d Lieut. Alexander Hays, Eighth Infantry, A. A. Adjutant General to General Lane, who informed him that the General was, with a small force, hotly engaged with superior numbers, and Colonel Hays ordered Captain Daggett's company of Rangers to his assistance. The Mexicans fought bravely, taking ad-

vantage of their position, and firing under cover of every object that gave protection, but were overcome with a loss of thirty killed.

While Hays was in pursuit of the scattered fugitives, he met Major Polk with two companies of the Third Dragoons, "E" and "G," commanded by Lieutenants Divver and Adde, and firing being heard when they arrived in the suburbs of the town, the Major dismounted Walker's Rifles, and directing them upon the *cuartel* from which the firing had proceeded, they silenced it, then moved on to the church from which an occasional volley was fired. Lieut. George E. Maney, Third Dragoons, Acting Adjutant, was sent back to order up the two companies of dragoons, with which Polk advanced beyond the plaza, ascended a hill to the left, and dispersed the enemy losing, himself, only one horse.

Polk ordered Lieutenant Adde to remain in the plaza, and Lieutenant Divver's company, divided into small squads, to pursue. Walker in the meantime had taken the church, killed some of the enemy, and captured others. General Lane extolled the endurance and courage of his entire command, and called special attention to Lieut. Alexander Hays, Eighth Infantry, A. A. Adjutant General, referred to his former gallantry, and says: "His behavior in every emergency added, if possible, new honors; he entered one of the *cuartels* first, under my own eye, gallantly calling upon the men to follow him, and killed several of the enemy with his own hands. I beg leave to recommend him in the strongest manner to the commanding general's notice."

General Lane reported his loss to be only one killed and six wounded, and estimated the enemy's loss at one hundred and fifty killed, including Padre Martinez, second in command; fifty prisoners were captured, among them three Americans, supposed to be deserters. Leaving Sequalteplan on the 26th, General Lane arrived in the City of Mexico on March 1. Jarauta had received a heavy blow, but escaped, and returned to the town a few hours after the Americans left it; visited his wounded, gave orders looking to their ease and comfort, and followed in the rear of his enemy, to cut off stragglers, or to attack if occasion offered. The Texans with their six-shooters were an over-match for Padre Jarauta's men, comparatively badly armed; but in courage, skill, and power to hold his gue-

rillas together, the Padre was probably without a rival among his countrymen or a superior among his enemies. This was the last expedition sent against guerillas, as the armistice of March 5 soon followed. The padre was on several occasions reported killed, or wounded mortally, but managed to escape capture, and it is believed, was unscathed in all of his many collisions with his country's invaders. He was quick in perception, wonderfully daring and energetic, and fond of dangerous adventure, though always kind and prompt in administering the consolations of the church to the seriously wounded, whether friend or foe.

Peace negotiations inaugurated and continued for two weeks during the armistice, terminated abruptly and unsatisfactorily, leaving hostilities to be resumed and waged with unrelenting vigor until the capture and occupation of the Mexican Capital by the victorious Americans. The events following the resumption of active operations weakened Mexico and left her no alternative but to make "peace, such as her powerful and successful enemy might dictate." By her constitution the office of President devolves under certain contingences, provisionally, upon the President of the Supreme Court; these several contingencies had all occurred, but there was no President of the Supreme Court in September, 1847, when Santa Anna resigned the Presidency of the Republic, hence that office was vacant, the last incumbent having died and his successor not having been elected.

It was the duty of Congress to elect this officer, but it was not in session, and as a further complication, could not be convened except under a call or proclamation by the President. Under this wretched condition of affairs, Mexico—without a government of any kind—the best and most influential of the *Moderado* party hoping to prevent anarchy already rampant and then conclude a peace, prevailed upon the able jurist and enlightened statesman and patriot, Peña y Peña, Senior Judge of the Supreme Court, to assume the Provisional Presidency. His consent being gained, they endeavored and succeeded in securing his recognition by the State authorities, who pledged themselves to uphold and defend it against the senseless intrigues and assaults of those intent upon compassing destruction, by rendering peace impossible through the non-existence of a government competent to make it.

As the correspondence of Peña y Peña while Minister of Foreign Relations had evinced a disposition not averse to peace, it was believed that under his administration it would be consummated. To smooth the way to this end, so earnestly desired by President Polk and his Cabinet, propositions were made by Mr. Trist to the new government for a reopening of negotiations, and met with a favorable reception. They could not, however, be at once entertained as the Mexican Congress had to be called together to elect a President *ad interim*, to serve until January 8, 1848, when the new President chosen at an election soon to take place would be inaugurated. The *Puro* party by combinations with the Santanistas and other factions came near defeating the *Moderados*, who were, however, successful and elected General Don Pedro Maria Anaya *ad interim* President, and Peña y Peña and General Mora y Villamil, both known to be in favor of a speedy peace with the United States, became respectively Minister of Foreign Relations and Minister of War.

Negotiations were therefore again formally undertaken, the Mexican Government being represented by Señores Couto, Atristain, and Cuevas—the first two being of the commission that met during the armistice—in the village of Guadalupe Hidalgo, three miles from the City of Mexico, and after repeated meetings, many long conferences, various earnest discussions, and with rumors of *pronunciamientos* in distant States, a treaty of peace, friendship, and limits between Mexico and the United States was made and signed February 2, 1848. Maj.-Gen. Wm. O. Butler, commanding United States forces in Mexico, in fulfillment of one of the articles of the treaty, agreed March 5 to a general suspension of hostilities to continue for two months, and it was agreed subsequently that four months should be allowed in which to ratify the different stipulations.

General Scott having been notified, the treaty was given to a trusty messenger, despatched at once to Vera Cruz, and the commanding general in that department ordered to forward it at once by the fastest steamer present in the harbor. Every precaution was taken to insure its prompt transmission and delivery in Washington, and the general requested in the event of its being accepted and ratified that he might be instructed as early as practicable respecting the evacuation of Mexico, the disposition to be made of the wagons, artillery, and cavalry

horses, and the points in the United States to which the troops were to be ordered. He hoped to be permitted to leave Mexico and return to the United States as soon as the public service would allow, and that some other general officer might be charged with completing the evacuation, which ought, if practicable, to be finished before the return of the *vomito*.

General Scott's service terminated in Mexico with the following order. Rumors that he was to be relieved had been current in the Army for several weeks.

[General Orders No. 59.]

HEADQUARTERS OF THE ARMY,
MEXICO, *February 18, 1848.*

By instructions from the President of the United States just received, Major-General Scott turns over the command of this Army to Major-General Butler, who will immediately enter upon duty accordingly. In taking official leave of the troops he has so long had the command of in an arduous campaign, a small part of whose glory has been from position reflected on the senior officer, Major-General Scott is happy to be relieved by a general of established merit and distinction in the service of his country.

By command of General Scott.

H. L. SCOTT,
Acting Assistant Adjutant General.

Referring to this order Mexican history states "the Government of the United States ordered a court of inquiry, and the conqueror of Mexico (as General Scott was called) found himself brought like a criminal before a military tribunal and deprived of command, which devolved upon General Butler who had a short time before arrived in the Mexican capital."

A treaty of peace having been made and signed before General Scott was relieved from command, there was nothing for his successor to do but to await the action of the United States Senate, then to order the evacuation of the Mexican territory by the American troops.

We will now refer to and give a brief account of the expedition to Chihuahua conducted by Gen. Sterling Price subsequent to the suspension of hostilities.

Col. A. W. Doniphan marched in April, 1847, to Saltillo, and reported to General Wool that he had left the State of Chihuahua entirely free of United States troops. It had been found difficult to obtain supplies; and inasmuch as there was no organized enemy within hundreds of miles, and as the term

for which the men volunteered had well nigh expired, they were ordered to join the Army of Occupation, that being the nearest and most expeditious route by which to return to their homes in Missouri. Colonel Doniphan marched from Fort Leavenworth to Santa Fé (eight hundred miles), explored the Navajo country, this expedition continuing into the winter, and the line of march being often over wide, arid plains or rugged mountains covered with snow, causing much discomfort, and often positive suffering, to all of which these hardy Missourians submitted without a murmur. They marched in the Navajo country at least six hundred miles, and on returning to the Rio Grande enjoyed a brief respite, while preparations for the march to El Paso and thence to Chihuahua were being perfected.

Before arriving at El Paso the *jornado de los Muertos*, a stretch of ninety miles without water, was crossed, and also other long ranges between El Paso and Chihuahua, in which water was scarce. They fought at Sacramento, and occupied Chihuahua, where they remained until ordered as stated above, having received no pay or supplies of clothing from the Government. Colonel Doniphan on March 20, 1847, wrote from Chihuahua to General Wool as follows: "My position here is extremely embarrassing. In the first place, most of the men under my command have been in service since June 1, 1846, and have never received one cent of pay. Their marches have been hard, especially in the Navajo country, and without forage; so that they are literally without horses, clothes, or money—nothing but arms, and a disposition to use them. They are all volunteers, men and officers, and although ready for any hardships or dangers, are wholly unfit to garrison a town or city. 'It is confusion worse confounded.' Having made a march of more than two thousand miles, and their term of service rapidly expiring, they are restless to join the army under your command." In reply to this they were ordered to join the Army of Occupation.

In the latter part of 1847 General Price, commanding in New Mexico, learned that the few American citizens residing in the city of Chihuahua were treated with marked severity by the Mexicans, and that General Urrea was moving upon El Paso with a considerable force, estimated to be between two and three thousand, his purpose being to invade New Mexico. To meet and check Urrea's advance and repress hostile feeling



STERLING PRICE,
BRIGADIER GENERAL. U. S. VOLUNTEERS,
BORN IN AND APPOINTED FROM MISSOURI.

in Chihuahua General Price, after providing for the security and tranquillity of New Mexico, left Santa Fé February 8, 1848, escorted by a company of Missouri horse, for El Paso, whither he had previously ordered the following commands: three companies of U. S. First Dragoons, under Major B. L. Beall, one of which companies, "B," served as light artillery with six guns, under Lieut. John Love; two companies of Missouri infantry, under Lieut.-Col. A. R. Easton; six companies of Missouri horse, under Col. John Ralls; Maj. Robert Walker's battalion of Santa Fé troops, three companies of horse, and one of light artillery.

General Price arrived at El Paso February 23, and promptly made preparations for the advance upon Chihuahua, first sending Major Walker forward ninety miles to Carrizal, which commanded the passes through which all roads lead to Chihuahua, and ordering him to hold them with pickets, so as to cut off communications south, which order was promptly and successfully executed. General Price left El Paso March 1, taking with him Colonel Ralls, with four of his companies, and two of Major Beall's command, to be followed by Rall's remaining companies, under Lieut.-Col. R. H. Lane, Easton's battalion, and Love's battery. The general displayed much energy, in his advance; within sixty miles of Chihuahua encountered and forced back a Mexican picket by which, however, his movements, until then unknown to the Mexicans, were reported.

He continued the march to the Laguna, six miles north of Sacramento, where he was met by a white flag, with a protest from the Mexican commander against his further advance, for the reason that (as informed by his Government) hostilities had been suspended, and a treaty of peace made and signed by commissioners appointed by the two governments. A treaty had been made and signed February 2, 1848. General Price, however, having no evidence or knowledge of these facts, continued to advance. Urged to send forward two of his Staff Officers to arrange preliminaries of a capitulation, Capt. Wm. D. McKissack, A. Q. M., of the regular Army, at that time A. A. Adjutant General, and Lieut. W. E. Prince, First Infantry, were chosen for that mission. Mistrusting the Mexican representations, General Price continued to march during the night, and met an hour after the departure of his Staff Officers

a few American citizens of Chihuahua, who reported that the Mexicans had retreated the previous morning. At 9 p. m. of the 7th he occupied Chihuahua, and the following morning, with Rall's, Beall's, and Walker's commands, two hundred and fifty strong, the majority being re-mounted, he dashed on to Santa Cruz de Rosales, sixty miles south of Chihuahua, where he arrived by sunrise of the 9th.

After a careful reconnoissance he decided to attack at once, placed his small command in position, and sent forward by Lieutenant Prince a white flag with demand for an unconditional surrender of the town and public property. General Trias, the Mexican commander, who requested and was granted an interview with General Price, assured him there was no doubt as to the treaty, confirmation of which would surely be received by him from his Government in three days.

Price suspended active operations until the 16th, when the troops in rear, consisting of three companies of Missouri horse under Lieutenant-Colonel Lane, Love's battery of six guns, and Captain Hassendeubel with two 12-pounders, would come up. Love marched two hundred and ten miles in four nights and three and a half days.

General Price determined to attack on the 16th, broke camp and moved all his forces except Beall's companies and McNair's Missouri horse around to the south of the town. Ralls' remaining companies occupied a central position convenient for either Love's or Hassendeubel's support, the latter with his two 12-pounders being on the west side.

The artillery was directed to fire on the Mexicans seen on the roofs of houses, and also upon the church, which with its heavy thick walls was the enemy's stronghold. The firing began 10.30 a. m., and was promptly replied to by the Mexican guns, but without damage to Price. Lieut. A. B. Dyer, of the ordnance, volunteered to serve with Love's battery, and with one 6-pounder and a 24-pound howitzer, joined Hassendeubel. The Mexicans placed in position additional pieces to confront these guns. A brisk fire continued for over an hour, and Love with a 6-pounder and one 24-pound howitzer moved to Dyer's support, intending with the combined fire to silence the Mexican guns.

General Price, being informed that his rear was threatened by a cavalry force estimated to be one thousand strong, and believed to be Mexican reinforcements, withdrew the artillery

three-fourths of a mile and placed it with the infantry in position on a commanding ridge, this change being made to attack the supposed reinforcements. The withdrawing of Price's troops creating the impression that they had been compelled to withdraw by Mexican artillery, the air resounded with *vivas*, their soldiers reoccupied the roofs of houses, and briskly opened fire from their heaviest guns. Lane, discovering that the force in Price's rear was inconsiderable, attacked and dispersed it; the troops then re-occupied their former positions and Price renewed the attack which continued until sunset when the enemy surrendered. General Trias and forty-two of his principal officers were made prisoners; eleven guns (nine of which General Price styled wall-pieces) and five hundred and seventy-seven stands of arms were taken; the number of soldiers captured not given. The American loss was one lieutenant, G. O. Hepburn, of the Missouri horse, while leading the assault, two corporals and one private killed, nineteen men wounded; a total of twenty-three. "The loss of the enemy," he reported, "from the evidence of commissioned officers herewith submitted, but which I have not seen, was two commissioned officers and two hundred and thirty-six non-commissioned officers and men killed; the number of wounded could not be correctly ascertained."

General Price was very complimentary to the battalion and company commanders and to the artillery officers, and also to Lieutenants Dyer and O. H. Taylor, who, after hard work with deficiency of tools, repaired and fitted for service a 24-pounder that had been rendered unserviceable. Of Asst. Surgs. R. F. Simpson and Horace R. Wirtz he spoke in terms of praise for prompt attention to his own and also to the enemy's wounded.

Mexican history states of this affair: "All supplies, material, and other elements of war, without counting the government assistance and protection granted to the State of Chihuahua to resist invasion, vanished in the battle of Sacramento. Chihuahua, occupied by the enemy (Doniphan) since March 1, 1847, could not rely upon her own resources of any kind. * * * The State was wanting in the means of resistance, having expended her efforts the year before, and could not now hope for any assistance except that of her own sons. The patriotism of these, therefore, was invoked, and they were found ready to devote their lives and fortunes to the defense of the country. The organization of these was forthwith commenced, and in a

short time arms, supplies, and the requisite trains to maintain in the field a force of one thousand men, including the Presidial companies, were secured. The money accrued from the sale of tobacco was set aside to defray the expense of maintaining this force.

“Trias, while in the midst of preparations for defense, received a decree of the Government at Querétaro disbanding the Presidial companies, leaving in service only the National Guards, or volunteers, and a yet greater embarrassment, an order from the Minister of Finance on the administrator of tobacco to pay drafts upon him drawn by the Government, thus withholding this needful assistance and promised support. The picture presented by Chihuahua was dismal. The enemy (Price) reported to be advancing, supplies scarce, unable even to defend herself against the savage Indians, she, however, persisted in preparations to resist the Americans.

“On the 21st of February a circular was received, which, announcing that on the 2d a treaty of peace had been concluded at Guadalupe, made the authorities believe they would be honorably extricated from their painful situation, quieted the minds of the people, and caused them to believe that they would be spared the sacrifices required for a vigorous defense. Suddenly notice came of the American advance; it preceded Price only one day, and there was but little time to prepare for defense or to retire with the public property. Trias withdrew from Chihuahua with about four hundred men of all arms, the greater part being National Guards, two 18-pounders, two 4-pounders, two 7-inch howitzers, and two swivels, and halted at the villa of Rosales, twenty leagues from the city, where he recruited an additional force of one hundred men, and made the necessary disposition to oppose Price, who came in sight at 6 a. m. of the 9th.

“Generals Price and Trias held two conferences, but nothing was concluded, for the former had no notice of the armistice and treaty of peace made at Guadalupe, and refused to retire to El Paso as requested, and the latter would not surrender himself and men nor deliver up the artillery, armament, and munitions.

“On the 10th Price declared the villa in a state of siege, and from that date until the 15th both parties awaited reinforcements, and Trias occupied himself in digging ditches and

making breast-works. The enemy having been reinforced by three hundred men and six guns sent a summons at 7 a. m. on the 16th to surrender. Trias refused, and the firing began, and was well sustained by both sides till the Americans gave way, abandoning some pieces of artillery, a wagon train, etc. Many Mexicans regarded this as a victory; the bells were rung and loud vivas were heard throughout their ranks; but the Americans reorganized, and with a better knowledge of the ground, made a second attack. * * * Our soldiers resisted with courage, and prolonged the defense until twilight, when the town fell into the hands of the enemy; but a stop was with difficulty put to the firing and to the excesses of the soldiers, who did not fail to perpetrate many outrages.

“The General-in-Chief and Mexican officers became prisoners of war, and were paroled. General Trias, Colonel Justiniani, and First Adjutant Horeitas continued with the enemy, and were treated with great consideration. The honorable defense of the place received eulogiums from Price, who, as a testimonial of his appreciation of it, permitted the officers to retain their swords. In pursuance of the armistice of February the Americans had to evacuate the villa of Rosales as well as the city of Chihuahua. Price received by express a positive order from General Butler, the American Commander-in-Chief, relative to evacuation.”

The Mexicans naturally found fault with Price for not retiring more promptly, and say: “In this way, with a notorious infraction of the rights of war, several towns suffered for some time all the evils consequent on an armed occupation.” They also held the Mexican Government responsible for the collision at the villa of Rosales, twenty-two days after the treaty of peace had been signed, and said: “By only comparing the dates of events it can be clearly known that if the authorities at Querétaro had operated with despatch the battle of Rosales might have been averted.” A treaty of peace had been entered into February 2, and, pursuant to one of its articles, Maj. Gen. Wm. O. Butler, then in command of the Army, on the 5th of March concluded with the Government of Mexico an agreement for the general suspension of hostilities, to continue for two months. Couriers from Querétaro could have reached Chihuahua in eleven days, the intervening distance being about eleven hundred miles, and from the City of Mexico to Chihuahua less

than thirteen hundred miles. Had due diligence been used both General Trias and General Price could have been informed of the armistice, the former by his Government and the latter by General Butler.

The official correspondence between Secretary of State Buchanan and Peace Commissioner Trist clearly indicates that the latter failed to give satisfaction to the administration. A few brief extracts will be made from the former's letters, showing wherein Mr. Trist was alleged to have failed; also extracts from President Polk's communication and from Mr. Trist's replies to the above officials.

Mr. Buchanan wrote to Mr. Trist, October 6, 1847, that he had seen a printed Spanish document, coming from Vera Cruz, giving a history in detail of the origin, progress, and unsuccessful termination of his negotiations with the Mexican commissioners during the armistice, and in this printed document the Mexican commissioners are represented to have stated "that he, Trist, had proposed (if other terms of the treaty were made satisfactory) to refer to Washington, with some hope of a good result, the question of surrendering to Mexico that portion of the sovereign State of Texas between the Nueces and the Rio Grande, or any part of Upper California." The Secretary stated in this letter that, in justice to Mr. Trist, he did not believe he had submitted any such proposition. His original instructions had been framed in a spirit of forbearance and moderation. * * * Circumstances had entirely changed since the date of those instructions. Much treasure had been expended, many lives lost, with additional defeats to the enemy.

The counter *projet* submitted by the Mexican commissioners was so extravagant that it was believed the liberal terms offered by the United States were due to their fear as to the result of the war, and under this view, it was thought his presence with the Army would be productive of no good, and he was recalled, but if he had made a treaty he could bring it with him; if he was in the act of negotiating one he must suspend it, and inform the Mexican commissioners that he would lay promptly any terms they may have to submit before the President on his return, but he was not to delay his departure for the purpose of bringing such terms. Mr. Buchanan, on the 25th of October, informed Mr. Trist that his own communication to him of the 4th of September confirmed the statement in the printed docu-

ment from Vera Cruz, as to the boundary he was disposed to submit to his Government if the Mexicans would accept the *projet* of the treaty in other respects. The President, he wrote, deeply regretted that he had gone so far beyond the carefully considered *ultimatum* to which he had been limited by his instructions, and he—the Secretary—had been directed to reiterate his recall. In this letter it is also stated: "Texas is in the exercise of peaceable and undisturbed jurisdiction over the country between the Neuces and the Rio Grande. She has made extensive grants of land within its limits; divided it into counties, which have been represented in her convention and legislative assemblies; established courts of justice therein; and, in short, has exercised the same sovereign rights over it as over any other portion of her territory. * * *

"Under such circumstances, the President could not, for a single moment, entertain the question of surrendering that portion of Texas, even if it were practicable; but such is not the case.

"Considering the enterprising and energetic character of the American people, it would be impossible to expel by force the inhabitants between the Nueces and the Rio Grande from their possessions, and to convert this territory for the security of the Mexican frontier."

The Secretary of State was greatly mistaken as to the American population at that time between these two rivers. When the United States forces, under General Taylor, landed in July, 1845, at Corpus Christi, that place and Point Isabel, the seaport for Matamoros, and nine miles east of the Rio Grande, were the only occupied points. Those living at the latter were wholly Mexican, and at the former were scarcely a dozen Americans. Immediately on the east bank of the Rio Grande were a few small villages, Laredo, of some ten or twelve hundred inhabitants, entirely Mexicans, being the largest.

When the treaty of peace was transmitted February 23, 1848, by President Polk, to the Senate, it was informed that Commissioner Trist, having transcended his instructions, had been recalled, and the treaty had therefore been made without authority, he, the President, having decided that Mexico, if she desired peace, should transmit her propositions to the Government of the United States through the commander of the American troops. "It was not expected," says the President, "that Mr. Trist would remain in Mexico, or continue in the

The President's Message.

exercise of the functions of commissioner after he received his letter of recall. He has, however, done so, and the Plenipotentiaries of the Mexican Government with a knowledge of the fact, have concluded with him this treaty. I have examined it with a full knowledge of the extraordinary circumstances attending its conclusion and signature, which might be objected to, but conforming as it does, substantially on the main questions of boundary and indemnity, to the terms which our commissioner when he left the United States in April last was authorized to offer, and animated as I am by the spirit which has governed all my official conduct towards Mexico, I have felt it my duty to submit it to the Senate for their consideration, with a view to its ratification.”*

And again, in his message of February 29, 1848, in response to a call by the Senate for the correspondence between Mr. Trist and Secretary Buchanan since the recall of the former, the President says: “It will be perceived they contain much matter that is impertinent, irrelevant, and highly exceptionable. * * * It is impossible that I can approve the conduct of Mr. Trist in disobeying the positive orders of his Government, contained in the letter recalling him, or do otherwise than condemn much of the matter with which he has chosen to encumber his voluminous correspondence. Though all his acts since his recall might have been disowned by his Government, yet Mexico can make no such exception. The treaty which the Mexican Commissioners have negotiated, with a full knowledge on their part that he had been recalled from his mission, is binding on Mexico. * * * Looking at the actual condition of Mexico, and believing that if the present treaty be rejected, the war will probably be continued at great expense of life and treasure for an indefinite period, and considering that the terms, with the exceptions mentioned in my message of the 22d instant, conformed substantially so far as relates to the main question of boundary, to those authorized by me in April last, I consider it to be my solemn duty to the country, uninfluenced by the exceptionable conduct of Mr. Trist, to submit the treaty to the Senate with a recommendation that it be ratified with the modifications suggested.”

* Ex. Doc., No. 52, 30th Cong., First Session. *Confidential.*

In Mr. Trist's defense it may be said, that when appointed peace commissioner and despatched to Mexico with instructions to accompany the headquarters of the American Army in its advance upon the capital, he was provided with the *projet* of the treaty his Government was willing to make, and with also a letter of instructions, in which we read: "You may in conversation with him (the Mexican Plenipotentiary), ascertain what change in the terms of the *projet* the Mexican Government would require, and if this should become indispensable to attain the object, you may modify those terms, including the amount to be paid Mexico, in the following particulars," etc., In the letter of instructions was also the following: "The extension of our boundaries over New Mexico and Upper California, for a sum not to exceed \$20,000,000.00, is to be regarded as a *sine qua non* of any treaty. You may modify, change, or omit the other terms of the *projet*, if needful, but not so as to interfere with this *ultimatum*." Mr. Trist had literally violated no orders or instructions.

Secretary of State, John C. Calhoun, when the joint resolution for annexation passed the U. S. Congress, informed the Mexican Government through its Minister then in Washington that the Government of the United States had "taken every precaution to make the terms of the treaty as little objectionable to Mexico as possible, and among others has left the boundary of Texas without specification, so that what the line of boundary should be, might be an open question, to be fairly and fully discussed and settled according to the rights of each."

On November 22, Mr. Trist was informed by Minister Peña y Peña that commissioners had been appointed by the Mexican Government to treat with him for peace; but the former had in the meantime been recalled; the Mexican Minister was notified of that fact, and also that propositions for peace coming from Mexico must be submitted to the United States Government through the commander of its troops in that country.

Mr. Trist in reply to the Secretary of State, notifying him of his recall, says: "For the present I will merely call attention to the fact, that a mere offer to refer a question to my Government constitutes the only grounds on which I can be charged with 'having gone so far beyond the carefully considered *ultimatum* to which I was limited by my instructions.' Whether this offer, under the circumstances and prospects of the crisis

when it was made, was wise or unwise, is a question which no longer possesses any practical importance, though the time was when it constituted with me a subject of the most careful and the most anxious deliberation ; not because of the personal responsibility attaching to the decision in which that deliberation resulted, but because I knew and felt that upon my decision depended, according to every human probability, the early cessation of the war, or its indefinite protraction. The alternative presented by the position in which I found myself, was on the one hand to keep on safe ground as far as I was personally concerned, and destroy the only possible chance for a peace ; on the other hand, to assume responsibility and keep that chance alive with prospects, at least, that the adoption of our *projet* might come to pass." He then referred to the great depression among the leading men of the peace party, when it became known that he had been recalled, and the corresponding exultation among those clamorous for a continuation of the war.

Mr. Trist present in Mexico, knowing the relative strength of the many political factions contending for the ascendancy, seizing the moment favorable to the peace party, assumed the responsibility and, although without authority, made a treaty which he knew would be acceptable to his Government, thus putting it in its power to terminate the war, if it so desired. The correspondence between him and the State Department demonstrates clearly that in remaining in Mexico on his own responsibility, and negotiating a treaty without authority, he acted wisely, and that his reasons for so doing were the same that induced the President to accept and to transmit it to the Senate with the recommendation that it be ratified.

The opinion entertained of Mr. Trist by the Mexican Commissioners may prove interesting. When the armistice was dissolved by order of General Scott, these commissioners, under date of September 7, 1847, in sending in their report to the Minister of Foreign Relations, concluded it with the following reference to Mr. Trist: "It only remains for us to say, that in all our relations with Mr. Trist, we found ample motives to appreciate his noble character, and if at any time the work of peace is consummated, it will be done by negotiators adorned by the same estimable gifts which in our judgment distinguish him." The action both of the President and of the Senate with reference to the Guadalupe Hidalgo Treaty, fully justified

his conduct, and that he was entitled to the thanks of his Government, and not to its condemnation and neglect, must be conceded. The President admitted the treaty was essentially such as had been desired, and its ratification was urged by him, fearing like Mr. Trist, unless this was done, the war might be protracted an indefinite period.

The Mexican Government had great obstacles to overcome to secure the ratification of this, to them, most important treaty. The first and greatest was the assembling of the National Congress, for without it, under the Constitution of Mexico, nothing could be done. Notwithstanding the most strenuous efforts by the Peña and Anaya administrations, time passed away, and in April the requisite number of Representatives had not assembled in Querétaro, the temporary capital. They were finally brought together early in May, and on the 7th met and organized for business.

Peña y Peña, in January preceding, pursuant to a constitutional proviso,* had returned to the presidency, and sent in his message, explaining the policy pursued by the Government and the motives that induced him to recommend the ratification of the treaty. Two documents of much importance were submitted to the Mexican Congress, defending the treaty and urging its adoption, one by Señor Luis-de-la-Rosa, Minister of Foreign Relations, the other by the peace commissioners, giving explanations why they were compelled to agree to the extravagant demands of the conqueror. The Committee on Foreign Relations, in the Chamber of Deputies, submitted their report the 13th of May, recommending the adoption of the treaty, with the modifications adopted by the U. S. Senate. The treaty was approved in the Chamber of Deputies after an animated but decorous debate, by a vote of 51 ayes, nays 35. The subject was taken up at once in the Senate, the Committee on Foreign Relations recommended its adoption, and it passed that body, ayes 23, nays 4. May 26, a protocol explaining the modifications of the treaty made by the Senate of the United

*The new Congress was to have met in Querétaro January 8, 1848, when a president would have been elected regularly, and for the period of four years; but Congress had not assembled on that day, and Anaya, the *ad-interim*-president, ceased to be president January 8, leaving the office vacant, and causing it to devolve, under the constitution, provisionally on the President of the Supreme Court, Peña y Peña, who would serve until Congress should meet and elect the president.

States, was agreed upon by Messrs. Clifford and Sevier and Minister Rosa. May 30th the ratifications were exchanged in Querétaro, "and thus," says Mexican history, "was definitely consummated one of the affairs of the greatest historical celebrity contained in our annals. * * * Being sadly affected by an event that has reduced us to the most frightful abasement of misfortune and discredit, we feel incapable of expressing ourselves with that impartiality that ought to characterize the historian."

The treaty having been confirmed, General Butler issued, May 29, 1848, an order announcing the termination of the Mexican war and the speedy evacuation of the city. The troops in the capital and vicinity would march to Encero, six miles below Jalapa, in the following order, the detachments at and near Toluca and in the Cuernavaca Valley having first been drawn in: (1) The siege train under Lieutenant Hagner and Captain Roland's Second Artillery heavy battery, with a company of the Third Artillery as additional escort. (2) The second division of volunteers under Brigadier-General Marshall. (3) The first division of volunteers under Major-General Patterson. (4) The third division of regulars—Pillow's—under Colonel Trousdale, Fourteenth Infantry, the senior officer of the division present. (5) The second division of regulars—Twiggs'—under Brigadier-General Kearny. (6) The first division of regulars under Brevet Major-General Worth.

The volunteer divisions were to be joined on the march by any detachments they might have at posts along the route. Guards of regulars would be left at these points until the last division passed, and then join it. * * * (8) Prisoners under sentence of death, or to be dishonorably discharged, to march with their regiments; no troops were to leave Jalapa until notified by Brig.-Gen. P. F. Smith that transportation awaited them at Vera Cruz. * * * (11) Commanding officer at Tampico to give orders for its evacuation. * * * (16) The San Patricio prisoners still confined to be discharged.*

Worth's division, the last to leave the Mexican capital, assembled in the Grand Plaza, 6 a. m., where many Mexicans of the class called *leperos* had already collected. The United States flag was hauled down and saluted by Captain Shover's battery,

*Sixteen of these had their sentence of death commuted by General Scott (Ex. Doc. No. 1, 2d sess., 30th Congress).

Third Artillery; then by a Mexican battery. The Mexican flag was run up, and saluted by their battery, followed by Duncan's.

June 8, 1848, General Orders No. 2 were issued from the War Department, directing the Quartermaster Department to take measures for the transportation of the volunteer regiments, battalions, and companies to points as near their homes as circumstances and the conveniences of the service would permit, the volunteers being the first to sail from Vera Cruz.

The *new ten regiments—regulars*—were to follow the volunteers, to be duly mustered, inspected, and the enlisted men paid and discharged, as follows: The Third Dragoons at Jefferson Barracks, the Ninth Infantry at Fort Adams, the Tenth and Eleventh at Fort Hamilton, the Twelfth and Fourteenth at New Orleans, the Thirteenth at Mobile, the Fifteenth at Cincinnati, the Sixteenth at Newport Barracks, and the Voltigeurs at Fort McHenry.

The *old regiments*—permanent or *regular Army*, were the first to cross the Rio Grande and the last to sail from Vera Cruz; the First and Second Artillery were ordered to *rendezvous* at Governor's Island and the Third and Fourth Artillery at Fort Monroe. The First, Second, Third, and Fourth Infantry, under the orders of Brevet Major-General Twiggs, were to be concentrated at or near Pass Christian; three companies of the First and seven of the Second Dragoons with the main Army; the Mounted Rifles, and Sixth, Seventh, and Eighth Infantry, to assemble under Brigadier-General Kearny at Jefferson Barracks; eight companies of artillery remaining with the "Army of Occupation," were to take post temporarily on the left bank of the Rio Grande.

When the ceremony of saluting the flags of the two countries was over, a number of army wagons filed out of the court-yard of the palace, turned to the right, and followed Worth's division towards the Garita at San Lazaro. A section of artillery, Duncan's battery, under Lieut. H. J. Hunt, the caissons preceding the guns, brought up the rear of the division. There were a number of the rougher element of the population in the plaza and along the line of march to the Garita, who belonged to the class of citizens who had stoned the American teams and their drivers in the streets of the city during the armistice of the preceding summer. To insure good order during the withdrawal of the last division of the American Army, to prevent

or instantly check any hostile demonstration on the part of the easily-excited rabble, every precaution was taken. General Worth, with Lieutenant Hunt by his side, rode in rear of the two guns followed by the rabble, and was the last of the Army to pass out of the eastern gate of the city, at about 8 a. m., June 12, 1848.*

President Herrera, elected Chief Executive on the assembling of Congress, arrived at Mixcoac on the 9th with his Cabinet and was duly installed the following day in the capital under the folds of the tri-colored flag which once more securely waved over the National Palace. There were apprehensions that the departure of the American Army would be the signal of tumult, but the energetic measures adopted by the authorities insured good order and inspired hopes that the affairs of the country would be in future more wisely administered. The most patriotic spirit was manifested by all the better classes of society; a National Guard was formed for the preservation of the public peace, and the resident foreigners, by invitation, united for a like purpose.

By the 21st of June Worth's division arrived at Peroté, and the following order was issued:

[General Orders No. 1.]

HEADQUARTERS ARMY OF MEXICO,
June 21, 1848.

In obedience to orders of Major-General Butler, Brevet Major-General Worth hereby assumes command of the Army in Mexico.

W. J. WORTH,
Major-General.

The last order of General Butler issued in Mexico as commander of the Army was in Vera Cruz on the 20th of June, when he sailed for the United States on the steamer *Fanny*, and his first order issued in New Orleans bore date June 26, 1848.

Worth's division marched to Jalapa by brigades on successive days from Peroté, beginning the 22d. The castle and town were evacuated 5 a. m. on the 23d, the former, with its artillery, being turned over to an officer of the Mexican Army designated for that purpose. The 23d of June, Worth issued

* Maj.-Gen. Wm. O. Butler, commanding the Army, left the Mexican capital with Worth's division.

orders at Jalapa, announcing Maj. Henry Bainbridge, of the Seventh Infantry, civil and military governor* of that city, and directing the breaking up of all general hospitals, and the despatch of the sick to their regiments; and on the 27th all persons claiming to be citizens of the United States were notified that the entire military force would be withdrawn 10 a. m. July 2d; that all civil jurisdiction would cease on the 29th instant, and devolve from that date upon Mexican authorities, except in criminal cases in which soldiers or camp followers of the American Army were parties.

June 29, orders were issued for Worth's division to march by brigades for Vergara on July 1, and upon arrival there, to notify Brig.-Gen. P. F. Smith in Vera Cruz. The batteries of Taylor, Duncan, Steptoe, and Lovell marched with these brigades, and were also to report to General Smith, who was to advise them when vessels would be ready to receive them, preparatory to sailing for the United States.

There was some detention at Jalapa, where General Worth remained until July 11, when he announced the proceedings of a military commission, and sailed from Vera Cruz the 15th of July, on the steamer *Alabama*.

Colonel Swords, of the Quartermaster Department, reported that on July 17, 1848, there remained in Vera Cruz, besides the garrison, four companies of dragoons, which would be sent off as soon as transportation arrived. The last of these companies sailed on the steamer *Fanny* the 22d. From this date to August 1, mules, horses, and such quartermaster and other public property as had not been sold, were shipped, and on that day the garrison, composed of five companies of the First Artillery, sailed for New York, three on the ship *Iowa* and two on the steamship *Massachusetts*. Gen. P. F. Smith and Staff sailed on the steamer *Alabama*. The propeller, *Secretary Marcy*, and steamer *New Orleans*, with teamsters, discharged quartermaster men, clerks, agents, and a few horses, did not sail until August 2. The entire number transported by the Quartermaster Department from Vera Cruz was 29,175. Of this number about 2,500 were employés of various kinds.

It is seen that the Army withdrew from Mexico, and that most of the reinforcements that joined passed through Vera

* Bvt. Lieut. Col. Dixon S. Miles, of the Seventh United States Infantry, was the last officer to hold the position, and only for a day or two.

Cruz in summer, the yellow fever season. Colonel Swords, in a report dated Washington, August 31, 1848, says: "In consequence, as I understand, of the small supply of provisions in depot at Vera Cruz all troops leaving there previous to the 15th of July were ordered to some port on the Gulf of Mexico, which involved considerable extra expense, as further transportation had to be provided in New Orleans."

Although every precaution was taken to preserve the health of the Army as it passed through the *tierra caliente* in mid-summer, many sickened and died, and a large number contracted diseases that proved fatal within a few months; in some instances they lingered for years. Prominent among the first class was Brigadier-General Kearny, who died at Jefferson Barracks October 31, 1848, and of the latter Gen. Persifor F. Smith, who was sick for years with the disease he brought from Mexico, and of which he died May 17, 1858.

Foreseeing the necessity for troops in the newly-acquired territories, and the delay that must ensue in sending them from the United States, orders in anticipation of peace were given to the General-in-Chief to send a regiment from the Army in Mexico to California, but the Mexican Government refused to permit its passage to the Pacific Ocean. Orders were in like manner given to General Wool, commanding on the line of the Rio Grande, to send a part of the regular troops with him to California and New Mexico, and in obedience to these instructions two companies of the First and two of the Second Dragoons proceeded up the Rio Grande to near El Paso, crossed over to the Gila, down that river, and crossed the Colorado into California. One company of Dragoons and one of Light Artillery were also sent from Wool's command on the Mexican side of the Rio Grande to Santa Fé.

No troops had ever been stationed in Oregon, and as it had been raided by hostile Indians, the War Department took the earliest possible measures to send garrisons there, and ordered the Mounted Rifles regiment, even before its return from Mexico, to proceed to Oregon, believing it could reach its destination before winter. But this arrangement was frustrated by an act of Congress, which authorized the enlisted men of the regiment who had served in Mexico to "receive on application an honorable discharge from the United States service, and stand as if they had served out their enlistment," and by operation of this

act the regiment as to the rank and file was in effect discharged. Other regiments of the permanent military establishment were greatly reduced at the close of the war, for they had been to a considerable extent filled up by recruits enlisted to serve during the war.

Upon the exchange of the ratifications of the treaty of peace with Mexico, the temporary governments by virtue of the rights of war established by military and naval commanders ceased to have any obligatory force. The President, impressed with the necessity of establishing territorial governments over them, recommended the subject to Congress, but it adjourned without making any provision therefor. Hence it became necessary to regard the military governments as *de facto* governments, and with the assumed consent of the people continue them. Indian depredations had been committed in Oregon, and were liable to occur at any moment. To check these and protect California from a similar infliction the Second Infantry and four companies of artillery sailed from New York in November, 1848, under orders for California and Oregon. These companies were, under the act of August 14, 1848, increased to sixty-four privates, at the expense of the remaining companies of artillery and infantry, which by the same act were to be thirty-nine or forty privates to the company.

In General Order No. 35, War Department, July 6, 1848, the President's proclamation declaring the termination of the war between the United States and the Republic of Mexico was officially announced, the discharge of the new regulars and volunteers, and that "all officers serving as aides-de-camp to general officers whose commands or commissions terminate with the war, will join their respective regiments without delay." It also embraced other detailed instructions.

Under General Order No. 36, July 7, 1848, general and staff officers called into service by the war would be honorably discharged, to date from July 20. 1848.

President Polk, in his message to Congress December, 1848, says: "Within less than four years, the annexation of Texas to the Union has been consummated; all conflicting claims to the Oregon Territory south of the 49th parallel of north latitude, being all that was insisted on by any of my predecessors, have been adjusted; and New Mexico and Upper California have been acquired by treaty. The Territories thus acquired con-

sisted of New Mexico, the present States of Colorado, Nevada, and California, and the Territory of Utah.

“The area of these several Territories, according to a report carefully prepared by the Commissioner of the General Land Office from the most authentic information in his possession, and which is herewith transmitted, contains one million, one hundred and ninety-three thousand and sixty-one square miles, or seven hundred and sixty-three millions of acres, while the area of the remaining twenty-nine States and the Territories not yet organized into States east of the Rocky Mountains contains two millions, fifty-nine thousand, five hundred and thirteen square miles, or one thousand three hundred and eighteen millions of acres, showing that our territories recently acquired constitute a country more than half as large as all that was held by the United States before their acquisition. Excluding Oregon, there is an addition equal to more than one-third of all the territory owned by the United States before their acquisition. * * * The Mississippi, so lately the frontier of our country, is now only its center. The acquisition of California and New Mexico, the settlement of the Oregon boundary, the annexation of Texas * * * are of greater consequences, and will add more to the strength and welfare of the nation than any which have preceded them since the adoption of the Constitution.”

The glowing terms in which the President referred, in his message of 1848, to the immense acquisitions of territory, rich in mineral and agricultural resources, and with great salubrity of climate, embracing the most important ports on the Pacific with great extension of sea-coast, leave no room to doubt that he and his Cabinet regarded the Mexican war and the great material gain it brought as the crowning act of his administration. But while he enumerated with great pride and apparent satisfaction what had been accomplished, in his message there was much indicating clearly serious apprehensions lest a want of harmony of views between himself and one branch of the Legislative Department of the Government might give rise to bitter party feuds with high political excitement threatening even the peace of the country.

He had in a previous message, July 6, 1848, to Congress upon the exchange of ratifications of the treaty of peace, urged it to provide territorial governments for New Mexico and California,

as the military governments over them must cease with the war, but it adjourned without creating such governments. The question was again brought to the attention of Congress by President Polk in his message of December 5, 1848, in which he said: "It is our solemn duty to provide with the least possible delay for New Mexico and California regularly organized territorial governments. The causes of the failure to do so at the last session of Congress are well known—the Wilmot Proviso—and deeply to be regretted."

Representative Daniel Wilmot, from Pennsylvania, had moved the following amendment* to a bill making an appropriation for payment to Mexico for certain portions of her territory: "That as an express and fundamental condition to the acquisition of any territory from the Republic of Mexico by the United States neither slavery nor involuntary servitude shall ever exist in any such territory." This amendment was adopted by the House, but rejected by the Senate, and became the starting point of the "free soil" movement of 1848.

That this amendment, with the vote in favor of it by the House of Representatives, should have produced a profound sensation throughout the country, and more especially in the southern section of it, was to have been expected, for at that time the Government of the United States was conceded by all parties to be a Federal Government, in which not individuals but States, as distinct sovereign communities, were parties. To them, the States, as members of the Federal Union, the territories belonged, and they were hence declared to be territories belonging to the United States. The States are, or were, the joint owners of the territories. All writers on the subject concede that they are equal in rights, equal in dignity. They concede also that this equality constitutes the basis of the Government, and that it can not be destroyed without changing its nature and character. To deprive them, the Southern States, and their citizens of their full share in the territories declared to belong to them in common with the other States was in derogation of the equality belonging to them as members of a Federal Union, and sink them from being equals into a subordinate

* The "Proviso" had been prepared by Representative Brinkerhoff, of Ohio, but the Speaker failing to recognize him, and he believing he would not be recognized, asked Wilmot to introduce it while he retired from the House for a few minutes.

and dependent condition. Much of the newly-acquired territory lay south of $36^{\circ} 30'$, commonly known as the Missouri Compromise Line.

The President in his message continues: "In view of the high and responsible duties which we owe to ourselves and to mankind, I trust you may be able at your present session to approach the adjustment of the only domestic question which seriously threatens to disturb the harmony and successful operations of our system. * * * Shall the dissimilarity of domestic institutions of the different States prevent us from providing them suitable governments? These institutions existed at the adoption of the Constitution, but the obstacles which they interposed were overcome by that spirit of compromise which is now invoked.

"In organizing Governments over these Territories, fraught with such vast advantages to every portion of our Union, I invoke that spirit of concession, conciliation, and compromise in your deliberations in which the Constitution was framed, in which it should be administered, and which is indispensable to preserve and perpetuate the harmony and union of the States. We should never forget that this Union of confederate States was established and cemented by kindred blood and by the common toils and sufferings, dangers and triumphs of all its parts, and has been the ever-augmenting source of our national greatness and all our blessings.

"If Congress, instead of observing the course of non-intervention, leaving the adoption of their own domestic institutions to the people who may inhabit these territories, or, if instead of extending the Missouri Compromise Line to the Pacific Ocean, shall prefer to submit the legal and constitutional question which may arise to the decision of the judicial tribunals as was proposed in a bill which passed the Senate at your last session, an adjustment may be effected in this mode. If the whole question be referred to the judiciary all sections of the Union should cheerfully acquiesce in the final decision of the tribunal created by the Constitution for the settlement of all questions which may arise under the Constitution, treaties, and laws of the United States." There can be no doubt that the late war (1861) between the States flowed directly from and was hastened by the Mexican war.

The Mexicans regarded the war waged by the United States against them as one of aggression and conquest; and Minister Rosa, under date of October 31, 1847, in response to a note from Mr. Trist of September 20, proposing to reopen negotiations, says: "The undersigned can assure his Excellency, Mr. Trist, that the Government of Mexico is animated by the same ardent wish as his Excellency for the cessation of a war, the calamity of which now bears heavily upon this Republic, and the consequences of which will sooner or later make themselves felt by the United States of America." Señor Peña y Peña when Minister had used similar and even stronger language.

CONCLUSION.

“Homeward bound !” are thrilling and suggestive words. How thrilling, how suggestive, no sojourners in a foreign land ever more fully realized than did the United States troops in Mexico. Responding to their country’s call in the hour of danger, and commissioned by her to “conquer a peace,” they waged a contest unique in American and unparalleled in historic annals. The only war in which the United States forces ever invaded an enemy’s country, occupied its capital and held its territory by right of conquest, it is also the only one ever undertaken by any nation to “conquer a peace,” and in which the material advantages gained by the victors were counterbalanced by the political, commercial, and educational benefits accruing to the vanquished.

Tabasco, where Commodore Perry won his famous victory, was the scene of Cortez’s first triumph; many of Scott’s battles were fought on fields and ridges baptized 300 years before with blood by the Spanish legions, and his line of march was over the same plains, rivers, and hills crossed by Cortez; but how different the records of the two commanders—the Spaniard’s marked by massacre, rapine, and pillage; the American’s just, humane, conciliatory. Scott’s magnanimity at Churubusco was supplemented by his Government when tendering a fair equivalent for domain already conquered and possessed.

The American soldiers, educated and patriotic, were far superior in moral and physical force to their opponents, but the American graves at Palo Alto, Monterey, Buena Vista, Vera Cruz, Tabasco, Cerro Gordo, Sacramento, and Churu-

busco attested the valor and energy with which the Mexicans resisted invasion. That Santa Anta, Arista, and Ampudia were outgeneraled by Taylor and Scott, all students of history must concede, and that the latter made errors no one can deny; but the great Turenne said: "Show me the general who has committed no faults in war and he will be one who has seldom made war." In both armies distrust and jealousy were rampant in high places, there were bitter rivalries and enmities between commanders, and ill-concealed suspicion and resentment against superior authority. Each battle field had its skillful leader and gallant hero, whose strategic move or dashing charge was commemorated by poet and painter; but underlying this skill and prowess were the energy, courage, and patient endurance of the rank and file, whose sturdy arms and stout hearts made leadership and heroism possible.

The United States forces employed in the invasion of Mexico aggregated about 100,000 armed men—26,690 regulars, 56,926 volunteers, and the balance in the navy, commissariat and transportation departments. Of this number 120 officers and 1,400 men fell in battle or died from wounds received there; 100 officers and 10,800 perished by disease, always more fatal than bullets, and many were ruined in health or disabled by wounds—in all about 25,000. The cost, exclusive of pensions granted in late years, was from 130 to 160 millions of dollars.

Turning from the debit to the credit side, the United States gained in Texas and the ceded territory about 1,000,000 square miles of land, increasing their area one-third and adding 5,000 miles of seacoast and three great harbors; but the paramount gain from the Mexican war was one not measurable by square miles or to be estimated by dollars—a national prestige inspiring confidence at home and respect abroad. Its momentum generated a force which, flashing forth in 1861, removed the blot of slavery from the national escutcheon and is not yet spent. Three Presidents—Taylor, Pierce, and Grant—bore in it honorable service, the roll calls of the Congresses immediately succeeding it were almost echoes of the muster rolls at Scott's and Taylor's headquarters, and in the civil war (thirteen years later) the great leaders on

both sides owed their pre-eminence in skill and strategy to preliminary training in Mexico where, planning attacks, masking batteries, turning positions, or in the rhythmic flow of iron and flame in siege and assault, they received their baptism of fire.

Soon after the termination of the war some unconscious and unwitting Argonauts, not like Jason's crew in Colchis, sowing dragons teeth and battling with gods and goddesses, but engaged in peaceful pursuits, discovered some shining grains of gold in a California mill-race, and as if by magic touched a spring that, opening, revealed the hidden treasures divined but fruitlessly sought by Cortez, De Soto, Ponce-de-Leon, and which were destined to change a wilderness to empire. This (the discovery of gold in territory acquired by it and the consequent rush of emigration thither) may be considered the first fruits of the memorable struggle which the author has aimed to recall.

Many scenes portrayed by him will be familiar to the Mexican war veterans who, in the full honors of useful years, still remain in our midst; but that unerring marksman, Death, is steadily reducing their ranks, and ere long their memories, not their living examples, will voice the great lesson: "Be just and fear not; let all the ends thou aimest at be thy country's, thy God's, and truth's."

APPENDIX A.

MEXICO, 1848.—THE TREATY OF GUADALUPE HIDALGO.

TREATY OF PEACE, FRIENDSHIP, LIMITS, AND SETTLEMENT
WITH THE REPUBLIC OF MEXICO.—CONCLUDED FEBRUARY
2, 1848; RATIFICATIONS EXCHANGED AT QUERETARO, MAY
30, 1848; PROCLAIMED JULY 4, 1848.

In the name of Almighty God:

The United States of America and the United Mexican States, animated by a sincere desire to put an end to the calamities of the war which unhappily exists between the two Republics, and to establish upon a solid basis relations of peace and friendship, which shall confer reciprocal benefits upon the citizens of both, and assure the concord, harmony, and mutual confidence wherein the two people should live, as good neighbors, have for that purpose appointed their respective plenipotentiaries, that is to say:

The President of the United States has appointed Nicholas P. Trist, a citizen of the United States, and the President of the Mexican Republic has appointed Don Luis Gonzaga Cuevas, Don Bernardo Couto, and Don Miguel Atristain, citizens of the said Republic;

Who, after a reciprocal communication of their respective full powers, have, under the protection of Almighty God, the author of peace, arranged, agreed upon, and signed the following

Treaty of Peace, Friendship, Limits, and Settlement between the
United States of America and the Mexican Republic.

ARTICLE I.

There shall be firm and universal peace between the United States of America and the Mexican Republic, and between their respective countries, territories, cities, towns, and people, without exception of places or persons.

ARTICLE II.

Immediately upon the signature of this treaty, a convention shall be entered into between a commissioner or commissioners appointed by the General-in-chief of the forces of the United States, and such as may be appointed by the Mexican Government, to the end that a provisional suspension of hostilities shall take place, and that, in the places occupied by the said forces, constitutional order may be re-established, as regards the political, administrative, and judicial branches, so far as this shall be permitted by the circumstances of military occupation.

ARTICLE III.

Immediately upon the ratification of the present treaty by the Government of the United States, orders shall be transmitted to the commanders of their land and naval forces, requiring the latter (provided this treaty shall then have been ratified by the Government of the Mexican Republic, and the ratifications exchanged) immediately to desist from blockading any Mexican ports; and requiring the former (under the same condition) to commence, at the earliest moment practicable, withdrawing all troops of the United States then in the interior of the Mexican Republic, to points that shall be selected by common agreement, at a distance from the seaports not exceeding thirty leagues; and such evacuation of the interior of the Republic shall be completed with the least possible delay; the Mexican Government hereby binding itself to afford every facility in its power for rendering the same convenient to the troops, on their march and in their new positions, and for promoting a good understanding between them and the inhabitants. In like manner orders shall be despatched to the persons in charge of the custom-houses at all ports occupied by the forces of the United States, requiring them (under the same condition) immediately to deliver possession of the same to the persons authorized by the Mexican Government to receive it, together with all bonds and evidences of debt for duties on importations and on exportations, not yet fallen due. Moreover, a faithful and exact account shall be made out, showing the entire amount of all duties on imports and on exports, collected at such custom-houses, or elsewhere in Mexico, by authority of the United States, from and after the day of ratification of this treaty by the Government of the Mexican Republic; and also an account of the cost of collection; and such entire amount, deducting only the cost of collection, shall be delivered to the Mexican Government, at the city of Mexico, within three months after the exchange of ratifications.

The evacuation of the capital of the Mexican Republic by the troops of the United States, in virtue of the above stipulation, shall be completed in one month after the orders there stipulated for shall have been received by the commander of said troops, or sooner if possible.

ARTICLE IV.

Immediately after the exchange of ratifications of the present treaty all castles, forts, territories, places, and possessions, which

have been taken or occupied by the forces of the United States during the present war, within the limits of the Mexican Republic, as about to be established by the following article, shall be definitely restored to the said Republic, together with all the artillery, arms, apparatus of war, munitions, and other public property, which were in the said castles and forts when captured, and which shall remain there at the time when this treaty shall be duly ratified by the Government of the Mexican Republic. To this end, immediately upon the signature of this treaty, orders shall be despatched to the American officers commanding such castles and forts, securing against the removal or destruction of any such artillery, arms, apparatus of war, munitions, or other public property. The city of Mexico, within the inner line of intrenchments surrounding the said city, is comprehended in the above stipulation, as regards the restoration of artillery, apparatus of war, etc.

The final evacuation of the territory of the Mexican Republic, by the forces of the United States, shall be completed in three months from the said exchange of ratifications, or sooner if possible; the Mexican Government hereby engaging, as in the foregoing article, to use all means in its power for facilitating such evacuation, and rendering it convenient to the troops, and for promoting a good understanding between them and the inhabitants.

If, however, the ratification of this treaty by both parties should not take place in time to allow the embarkation of the troops of the United States to be completed before the commencement of the sickly season, at the Mexican ports on the Gulf of Mexico, in such case a friendly arrangement shall be entered into between the General-in-chief of the said troops and the Mexican Government, whereby healthy and otherwise suitable places, at a distance from the ports not exceeding thirty leagues, shall be designated for the residence of such troops as may not yet have embarked, until the return of the healthy season. And the space of time here referred to as comprehending the sickly season shall be understood to extend from the first day of May to the first day of November.

All prisoners of war taken on either side, on land or on sea, shall be restored as soon as practicable after the exchange of ratifications of this treaty. It is also agreed that if any Mexicans should be held as captives by any savage tribe within the limits of the United States, as about to be established by the following article, the Government of the said United States will exact the release of such captives, and cause them to be restored to their country.

ARTICLE V.

The boundary line between the two Republics shall commence in the Gulf of Mexico, three leagues from land, opposite the mouth of the Rio Grande, otherwise called Rio Bravo del Norte, or opposite the mouth of its deepest branch, if it should have more than one

branch emptying directly into the sea ; from thence up the middle of that river, following the deepest channel, where it has more than one ; to the point where it strikes the southern boundary of New Mexico ; thence, westwardly, along the whole southern boundary of New Mexico (which runs north of the town called Paso) to its western termination ; thence, northward, along the western line of New Mexico, until it intersects the first branch of the River Gila; (or if it should not intersect any branch of that river, then to the point on the said line nearest to such branch, and thence in a direct line to the same;) thence down the middle of the said branch of the said river, until it empties into the Rio Colorado; thence across the Rio Colorado, following the division line between Upper and Lower California, to the Pacific Ocean. The southern and western limits of New Mexico, mentioned in this article, are those laid down in the map entitled "*Map of the United Mexican States, as organized and defined by various acts of Congress of said republic, and constructed according to the best authorities. Revised edition. Published at New York, in 1847, by J. Disturnell;*" of which map a copy is added to this treaty, bearing the signatures and seals of the undersigned Plenipotentiaries. And, in order to preclude all difficulty in tracing upon the ground the limit separating Upper from Lower California, it is agreed that the said limit shall consist of a straight line drawn from the middle of the Rio Gila, where it unites with the Colorado, to a point on the coast of the Pacific Ocean, distant one marine league due south of the southernmost point of the port of San Diego, according to the plan of said port made in the year 1782 by Don Juan Pantoja, second sailing master of the Spanish fleet, and published at Madrid in the year 1802, in the atlas to the voyage of the schooners Sutil and Mexicana; of which plan a copy is hereunto added, signed and sealed by the respective Plenipotentiaries.

In order to designate the boundary line with due precision, upon authoritative maps, and to establish upon the ground landmarks which shall show the limits of both republics, as described in the present article, the two Governments shall each appoint a commissioner and a surveyor, who, before the expiration of one year from the date of the exchange of ratifications of this treaty, shall meet at the port of San Diego, and proceed to run and mark the said boundary in its whole course to the mouth of the Rio Bravo del Norte. They shall keep journals and make out plans of their operations; and the result agreed upon by them shall be deemed a part of this treaty, and shall have the same force as if it were inserted therein. The two Governments will amicably agree regarding what may be necessary to these persons, and also as to their respective escorts, should such be necessary.

The boundary line established by this article shall be religiously respected by each of the two republics, and no change shall ever be made therein, except by the express and free consent of both nations lawfully given by the General Government of each, in conformity with its own constitution.

ARTICLE VI.

The vessels and citizens of the United States shall, in all time, have a free and uninterrupted passage by the Gulf of California, and by the river Colorado below its confluence with the Gila, to and from their possessions situated north of the boundary line defined in the preceding article; it being understood that this passage is to be by navigating the Gulf of California and the river Colorado, and not by land, without the express consent of the Mexican Government.

If, by the examinations which may be made, it should be ascertained to be practicable and advantageous to construct a road, canal, or railroad, which should in whole or in part run upon the river Gila, or upon its right or its left bank, within the space of one marine league from either margin of the river, the Governments of both republics will form an agreement regarding its construction, in order that it may serve equally for the use and advantage of both countries.

ARTICLE VII.

The river Gila, and the part of the Rio Bravo del Norte lying below the southern boundary of New Mexico, being, agreeably to the fifth article, divided in the middle between the two republics, the navigation of the Gila and of the Bravo below said boundary shall be free and common to the vessels and citizens of both countries; and neither shall, without the consent of the other, construct any work that may impede or interrupt, in whole or in part, the exercise of this right; not even for the purpose of favoring new methods of navigation. Nor shall any tax or contribution, under any denomination or title, be levied upon vessels, or persons navigating the same, or upon merchandise or effects transported thereon, except in the case of landing upon one of their shores. If, for the purpose of making the said rivers navigable, or for maintaining them in such state, it should be necessary or advantageous to establish any tax or contribution, this shall not be done without the consent of both Governments.

The stipulations contained in the present article shall not impair the territorial rights of either republic within its established limits.

ARTICLE VIII.

Mexicans now established in territories previously belonging to Mexico, and which remain for the future within the limits of the United States, as defined by the present treaty, shall be free to continue where they now reside, or to remove at any time to the Mexican Republic, retaining the property which they possess in the said territories, or disposing thereof, and removing the proceeds wherever they please, without their being subjected, on this account, to any contribution, tax, or charge whatever.

Those who shall prefer to remain in the said territories may either retain the title and rights of Mexican citizens or acquire those of citizens of the United States. But they shall be under the obligation to make their election within one year from the date of the exchange of ratifications of this treaty, and those who shall remain in the said territories after

the expiration of that year, without having declared their intention to retain the character of Mexicans, shall be considered to have elected to become citizens of the United States.

In the said territories property of every kind, now belonging to Mexicans not established there, shall be inviolably respected. The present owners, the heirs of these, and all Mexicans who may hereafter acquire said property by contract, shall enjoy with respect to it guarantees equally ample as if the same belonged to citizens of the United States.

ARTICLE IX.

The Mexicans who, in the Territories aforesaid, shall not preserve the character of citizens of the Mexican Republic, conformably with what is stipulated in the preceding article, shall be incorporated into the Union of the United States, and be admitted at the proper time, to be judged of by the Congress of the United States, to the enjoyment of all the rights of citizens of the United States, according to the principles of the Constitution; and, in the meantime, shall be maintained and protected in the free enjoyment of their liberty and property, and secured in the free exercise of their religion without restriction.

ARTICLE X.

[Stricken out.]

ARTICLE XI.

Considering that a great part of the Territories which, by the present treaty, are to be comprehended for the future within the limits of the United States is now occupied by savage tribes, who will hereafter be under the exclusive control of the Government of the United States, and whose incursions within the Territory of Mexico would be prejudicial in the extreme, it is solemnly agreed that all such incursions shall be forcibly restrained by the Government of the United States whensoever this may be necessary; and that, when they cannot be prevented, they shall be punished by the said Government, and satisfaction for the same shall be exacted, all in the same way and with equal diligence and energy as if the same incursions were meditated or committed within its own territory, against its own citizens.

It shall not be lawful, under any pretext whatever, for any inhabitant of the United States to purchase or acquire any Mexican or any foreigner residing in Mexico who may have been captured by Indians inhabiting the territory of either of the two republics; nor to purchase or acquire horses, mules, cattle, or property of any kind stolen within Mexican territory by such Indians.

And in the event of any person or persons captured within Mexican territory by Indians being carried into the territory of the United States, the Government of the latter engages and binds itself in the most solemn manner, so soon as it shall know of such captives being within its territory, and shall be able so to do, through the faithful exercise of its influence and power, to rescue them and return them to their country, or deliver

them to the agent or representative of the Mexican Government. The Mexican authorities will, as far as practicable, give to the Government of the United States notice of such captures; and its agents shall pay the expenses incurred in the maintenance and transmission of the rescued captives; who, in the meantime, shall be treated with the utmost hospitality by the American authorities at the place where they may be. But if the Government of the United States, before receiving such notice from Mexico, should obtain intelligence through any other channel of the existence of Mexican captives within its territory, it will proceed forthwith to effect their release and delivery to the Mexican agent, as above stipulated.

For the purpose of giving to these stipulations the fullest possible efficacy, thereby affording the security and redress demanded by their true spirit and intent, the Government of the United States will now and hereafter pass, without unnecessary delay, and always vigilantly enforce, such laws as the nature of the subject may require. And, finally, the sacredness of this obligation shall never be lost sight of by the said Government when providing for the removal of the Indians from any portion of the said Territories, or for its being settled by citizens of the United States; but, on the contrary, special care shall then be taken not to place its Indian occupants under the necessity of seeking new homes by committing those invasions which the United States have solemnly obliged themselves to restrain.

ARTICLE XII.

In consideration of the extension acquired by the boundaries of the United States, as defined in the fifth article of the present treaty, the Government of the United States engages to pay to that of the Mexican Republic the sum of fifteen millions of dollars.

Immediately after this treaty shall have been duly ratified by the Government of the Mexican Republic the sum of three millions of dollars shall be paid to the said Government by that of the United States, at the City of Mexico, in the gold or silver coin of Mexico. The remaining twelve millions of dollars shall be paid at the same place and in the same coin in annual installments of three millions of dollars each, together with interest on the same, at the rate of six per centum per annum. This interest shall begin to run upon the whole sum of twelve millions from the day of the ratification of the present treaty by the Mexican Government, and the first of the installments shall be paid at the expiration of one year from the same day, together with each annual installment as it falls due; the whole interest accruing on such installment from the beginning shall also be paid.

ARTICLE XIII.

The United States engage, moreover, to assume and pay to the claimants all the amounts now due them, and those hereafter to become due by reason of the claims already liquidated and decided against the Mexican Republic under the conventions between the two Republics, severally

concluded on the 11th of April, 1839, and on the 30th of January, 1843; so that the Mexican Republic shall be absolutely exempt for the future from all expense whatever on account of the said claims.

ARTICLE XIV.

The United States do furthermore discharge the Mexican Republic from all claims of citizens of the United States, not heretofore decided against the Mexican Government, which may have arisen previously to the date of the signature of this treaty; which discharge shall be final and perpetual, whether the said claims be rejected or be allowed by the board of commissioners provided for in the following article, and whatever shall be the total amount of those allowed.

ARTICLE XV.

The United States, exonerating Mexico from all demands on account of the claims of their citizens mentioned in the preceding article, and considering them entirely and forever cancelled, whatever their amount may be, undertake to make satisfaction for the same, to an amount not exceeding three and one-quarter millions of dollars. To ascertain the validity and amount of those claims, a board of commissioners shall be established by the Government of the United States, whose awards shall be final and conclusive, provided that in deciding upon the validity of each claim the board shall be guided and governed by the principles and rules of decision prescribed by the first and fifth articles of the unratified convention, concluded at the City of Mexico on the 20th of November, 1843; and in no case shall an award be made in favor of any claim not embraced by these principles and rules.

If, in the opinion of the said board of commissioners or of the claimants, any books, records, or documents in the possession or power of the Government of the Mexican Republic shall be deemed necessary to the just decision of any claim, the commissioners, or the claimants through them, shall, within such period as Congress may designate, make an application in writing for the same, addressed to the Mexican Minister for Foreign Affairs, to be transmitted by the Secretary of State of the United States, and the Mexican Government engages, at the earliest possible moment after the receipt of such demand, to cause any of the books, records, or documents so specified which shall be in their possession or power (or authenticated copies or extracts of the same) to be transmitted to the said Secretary of State, who shall immediately deliver them over to the said board of commissioners; provided that no such application shall be made by or at the instance of any claimant until the facts which it is expected to prove by such books, records, or documents, shall have been stated under oath or affirmation.

ARTICLE XVI.

Each of the contracting parties reserves to itself the entire right to fortify whatever point within its territory it may judge proper so to fortify for its security.

ARTICLE XVII.

The treaty of amity, commerce, and navigation, concluded at the City of Mexico on the 5th of April, 1831, between the United States of America and the United Mexican States, except the additional article and except so far as the stipulations of the said treaty may be incompatible with any stipulation contained in the present treaty, is hereby revived for the period of eight years from the day of the exchange of ratifications of this treaty, with the same force and virtue as if incorporated therein; it being understood that each of the contracting parties reserves to itself the right, at any time after the said period of eight years shall have expired, to terminate the same by giving one year's notice of such intention to the other party.

ARTICLE XVIII.

All supplies whatever for troops of the United States in Mexico, arriving at ports in the occupation of such troops previous to the final evacuation thereof, although subsequently to the restoration of the custom houses at such ports, shall be entirely exempt from duties and charges of any kind; the Government of the United States hereby engaging and pledging its faith to establish and vigilantly to enforce all possible guards for securing the revenue of Mexico, by preventing the importation, under cover of this stipulation, of any articles other than such, both in kind and in quantity as shall really be wanted for the use and consumption of the forces of the United States during the time they may remain in Mexico. To this end it shall be the duty of all officers and agents of the United States to denounce to the Mexican authorities at the respective ports any attempts at a fraudulent abuse of this stipulation which they may know of or may have reason to suspect, and to give to such authorities all the aid in their power with regard thereto; and every such attempt, when duly proved and established by sentence of a competent tribunal, shall be punished by the confiscation of the property so attempted to be fraudulently introduced.

ARTICLE XIX.

With respect to all merchandise, effects, and property whatsoever imported into ports of Mexico whilst in the occupation of the forces of the United States, whether by citizens of either Republic or by citizens or subjects of any neutral nation, the following rules shall be observed:

1. All such merchandise, effects, and property, if imported previously to the restoration of the custom houses to the Mexican authorities, as stipulated for in the third article of this treaty, shall be exempt from confiscation, although the importation of the same be prohibited by the Mexican tariff.

2. The same perfect exemption shall be enjoyed by all such merchandise, effects, and property imported subsequently to the restoration of the custom houses and previously to the sixty days fixed in the following article for the coming into force of the Mexican tariff at such

ports respectively; the said merchandise, effects, and property being, however, at the time of their importation subject to the payment of duties as provided for in the said following article.

3. All merchandise, effects, and property described in the two rules foregoing shall, during their continuance at the place of importation and upon their leaving such place for the interior, be exempt from all duty, tax, or impost of every kind under whatsoever title or denomination. Nor shall they be there subjected to any charge whatsoever upon the sale thereof.

4. All merchandise, effects, and property described in the first and second rules, which shall have been removed to any place in the interior whilst such place was in the occupation of the forces of the United States, shall during their continuance therein be exempt from all tax upon the sale or consumption thereof, and from every kind of impost or contribution under whatsoever title or denomination.

5. But if any merchandise, effects, or property described in the first and second rules shall be removed to any place not occupied at the time by the forces of the United States they shall, upon their introduction into such place, or upon their sale or consumption there, be subject to the same duties which under the Mexican laws they would be required to pay in such cases if they had been imported in time of peace through the maritime custom-houses and had there paid the duties conformably with the Mexican tariff.

6. The owners of all merchandise, effects, or property described in the first and second rules, and existing in any port of Mexico, shall have the right to reship the same, exempt from all tax, impost, or contribution whatever. With respect to the metals or other property exported from any Mexican port whilst in the occupation of the forces of the United States, and previously to the restoration of the custom-house at such port, no person shall be required by the Mexican authorities, whether general or State, to pay any tax, duty, or contribution upon any such exportation, or in any manner to account for the same to the said authorities.

ARTICLE XX.

Through consideration for the interests of commerce generally it is agreed that if less than sixty days should elapse between the date of the signature of this treaty and the restoration of the custom-houses, conformably with the stipulation in the third article, in such case all merchandise, effects, and property whatsoever arriving at the Mexican ports after the restoration of the said custom-houses, and previously to the expiration of sixty days after the day of the signature of this treaty, shall be admitted to entry; and no other duties shall be levied thereon than the duties established by the tariff found in force at such custom-houses at the time of the restoration of the same. And to all such merchandise, effects, and property the rules established by the preceding article shall apply.

ARTICLE XXI.

If unhappily any disagreement should hereafter arise between the Governments of the two republics, whether with respect to the interpretation of any stipulation in this treaty, or with respect to any other particular concerning the political or commercial relations of the two nations, the said Governments, in the name of those nations, do promise to each other that they will endeavor, in the most sincere and earnest manner, to settle the differences so arising and to preserve the state of peace and friendship in which the two countries are now placing themselves, using for this end mutual representations and pacific negotiations. And if, by these means, they should not be enabled to come to an agreement a resort shall not, on this account, be had to reprisals, aggression, or hostility of any kind, by the one republic against the other, until the Government of that which deems itself aggrieved shall have maturely considered, in the spirit of peace and good neighborhood, whether it would not be better that such difference should be settled by the arbitration of commissioners appointed on each side, or by that of a friendly nation. And should such course be proposed by either party it shall be acceded to by the other unless deemed by it altogether incompatible with the nature of the difference or the circumstances of the case.

ARTICLE XXII.

If (which is not to be expected and which God forbid) war should unhappily break out between the two republics, they do now, with a view to such calamity, solemnly pledge themselves to each other and to the world to observe the following rules, absolutely where the nature of the subject permits, and as closely as possible in all cases where such absolute observance shall be impossible :

1. The merchants of either republic then residing in the other shall be allowed to remain twelve months (for those dwelling in the interior), and six months (for those dwelling at the seaports), to collect their debts and settle their affairs ; during which periods they shall enjoy the same protection and be on the same footing, in all respects, as the citizens or subjects of the most friendly nations ; and, at the expiration thereof, or at any time before, they shall have full liberty to depart, carrying off all their effects without molestation or hindrance, conforming therein to the same laws which the citizens or subjects of the most friendly nations are required to conform to. Upon the entrance of the armies of either nation into the territories of the other, women and children, ecclesiastics, scholars of every faculty, cultivators of the earth, merchants, artisans, manufacturers, and fishermen, unarmed and inhabiting unfortified towns, villages, or places, and in general all persons whose occupations are for the common subsistence and benefit of mankind, shall be allowed to continue their respective employments, unmolested in their persons. Nor shall their houses or goods be burnt or otherwise destroyed, nor their cattle taken, nor their fields wasted, by the armed force into whose power, by the events of war, they may happen to fall;

but if the necessity arise to take anything from them for the use of such armed force, the same shall be paid for at an equitable price. All churches, hospitals, schools, colleges, libraries, and other establishments for charitable and beneficent purposes shall be respected, and all persons connected with the same protected in the discharge of their duties and the pursuit of their vocations.

2. In order that the fate of prisoners of war may be alleviated, all such practices as those of sending them into distant, inclement, or unwholesome districts, or crowding them into close and noxious places shall be studiously avoided. They shall not be confined in dungeons, prison-ships, or prisons; nor be put in irons, or bound, or otherwise restrained in the use of their limbs. The officers shall enjoy liberty on their parols within convenient districts and have comfortable quarters, and the common soldier shall be disposed in cantonments, open and extensive enough for air and exercise, and lodged in barracks as roomy and good as are provided by the party in whose power they are for its own troops. But if any officer shall break his parole by leaving the district so assigned him, or any other prisoner shall escape from the limits of his cantonment after they shall have been designated to him, such individual officer or other prisoner shall forfeit so much of the benefit of this article as provides for his liberty on parole or in cantonment. And if any officer so breaking his parole or any common soldier so escaping from the limits assigned him, shall afterwards be found in arms, previously to his being regularly exchanged, the person so offending shall be dealt with according to the established laws of war. The officers shall be daily furnished, by the party in whose power they are, with as many rations and of the same articles as are allowed, either in kind or by commutation, to officers of equal rank in its own army, and all others shall be daily furnished with such ration as is allowed to a common soldier in its own service, the value of all which supplies shall, at the close of the war, or at periods to be agreed upon between the respective commanders, be paid by the other party, on a mutual adjustment of accounts for the subsistence of prisoners, and such accounts shall not be mingled with or set off against any others, nor the balance due on them be withheld, as a compensation or reprisal for any cause whatever, real or pretended. Each party shall be allowed to keep a commissary of prisoners, appointed by itself, with every cantonment of prisoners in possession of the other, which commissary shall see the prisoners as often as he pleases, shall be allowed to receive, exempt from all duties or taxes, and to distribute whatever comforts may be sent to them by their friends, and shall be free to transmit his reports in open letters to the party by whom he is employed.

And it is declared that neither the pretence that war dissolves all treaties, nor any other whatever, shall be considered as annulling or suspending the solemn covenant contained in this article. On the contrary, the state of war is precisely that for which it is provided; and, during which, its stipulations are to be as sacredly observed as the most acknowledged obligations under the law of nature or nations.

ARTICLE XXIII.

This treaty shall be ratified by the President of the United States of America, by and with the advice and consent of the Senate thereof, and by the President of the Mexican Republic, with the previous approbation of its general Congress; and the ratifications shall be exchanged in the city of Washington or at the seat of government of Mexico in four months from the date of the signature hereof, or sooner if practicable.

In faith whereof we, the respective plenipotentiaries, have signed this treaty of peace, friendship, limits, and settlement, and have hereunto affixed our seals respectively. Done in quintuplicate, at the city of Guadalupe Hidalgo, on the second day of February, in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and forty-eight.

N. P. TRIST. [L. S.]

LUIS G. CUEVAS. [L. S.]

BERNARDO COUTO. [L. S.]

MIGUEL ATRISTAIN. [L. S.]

APPENDIX B.

THE COURT OF INQUIRY.

Several months after the battle of Monterey General Taylor addressed a letter to General Gaines, whose headquarters were at the time in New Orleans. They were and had been on intimate terms for many years. The letter was private. References were made in it to the service of the Army of Occupation, and speculations were indulged in as to lines of future operations. No one—least of all those acquainted with General Taylor—could believe the letter was designed for the public, but General Gaines, knowing it would prove interesting, permitted it to be published, and, of course, it was circulated and read throughout the country.

Shortly after the letter appeared in the papers the following orders were issued :

WAR DEPARTMENT,
WASHINGTON, *January 28, 1847.*

The President of the United States directs that paragraph 650 of the general regulations for the army, established the 1st of March, 1825, and not included among those published January 25, 1841, be now published, and that its observance, as a part of the general regulations, be strictly enjoined upon the army.

By order of the President.

W. L. MARCY,
Secretary of War.

The following is the paragraph referred to above :

Private letters or reports, relative to military movements and operations, are frequently mischievous in design and always disgraceful to the army. They are, therefore, strictly forbidden; and any officer found guilty of making such report for publication, without special

permission, or of placing the writing beyond his control, so that it finds its way to the press within one month after the termination of the campaign, to which it relates, shall be dismissed from the service.

The day before the order was issued Secretary Marcy wrote to General Taylor, enclosing him a copy of his letter to General Gaines, published in the *New York Morning Express*, and stated he had been informed it was genuine, but that General Gaines had said it was not intended for publication. The Secretary further stated it would be soon in the enemy's possession, who would gain by it valuable information as to our present and future line of operation, and made other criticisms he conceived applicable.

The Secretary then referred to the 650th paragraph of the regulations for 1825, quoted it, and informed General Taylor that it had been revised, and that the President directed it to be strictly enforced. The reviving of the said obsolete paragraph met with the approval of the army, but the manner and time of its publication produced an irritation with General Taylor that was never removed.

He forwarded a reply to Secretary Marcy, a few extracts from which will show his feelings in the matter :

Although your letter does not convey the direct censure of the department or of the President, yet, when it is taken in connection with the revival of a paragraph in the regulations of 1825, touching the publication of private letters covering operations in the field, I am not permitted to doubt that I have become the subject of executive disapprobation. To any expression of it, coming with the authority of the President, I am bound in my duty and my respect for his high office patiently to submit, but lest my silence should be construed into a tacit admission of the grounds and conclusions set forth in your communication, I deem it a duty I owe to myself to submit a few remarks in reply. I shall be pardoned for speaking plainly.

In the first place, the published letter bears upon its face the conclusive evidence that it was intended only for private perusal and not at all for publication. * * * Surely I need not say I am not in the habit of writing for newspapers. The letter was a familiar one, written to an old military friend, with whom I have for many years interchanged opinions on professional subjects; that he should think proper under any circumstances to publish it, could not have been foreseen by me. * * * With the absence of proof that the publication was made with my authority or knowledge I may be permitted to say that the quotation in your letter of the 650th paragraph of the

suspended regulation of 1825, in which the terms "mischievous" and "disgraceful" are employed to characterize certain letters or reports, conveys, though not openly, a measure of rebuke, which, to say the least, is rather harsh and which many think not warranted by the premises. * * * To suppose that it will give the enemy very valuable information touching our past or prospective line of operation, is to know very little of the Mexican sources of information or of their extraordinary sagacity and facilities in keeping constantly apprised of our movements. As to my particular views in regard to the general policy to be pursued towards Mexico, I perceive from the public journals that they are shared by many distinguished statesmen, and also in part by a conspicuous officer of the navy, the publication of whose opinions is not, perhaps, obstructed by any regulation of his department.

It will be seen hereafter that an attempt by General Scott to enforce this revived article of the regulations of 1825 led to his being deprived of the command of the army in the City of Mexico.

Before taking up the latter subject reference will be made to the action taken on another occasion caused by the dissatisfaction of an officer arising from General Scott's animadversions.

During the occupation of Puebla General Worth, conceiving himself aggrieved because his official action had been censured by the commanding general, asked for a court of inquiry, which was granted promptly, and convened under the following order :*

[General Orders No. 186.]

HEADQUARTERS OF THE ARMY,

PUEBLA, *June 16, 1847.*

At the instance of Brevet Major General Worth, a court of inquiry will meet in the building called the Palace, of this city, at 10 o'clock to-morrow morning, to investigate certain matters in which that general officer conceives himself to have been injured by the general-in-chief of this army, viz., in the matter of the terms granted by the said brevet major general to the functionaries of this city in the way of

* Lieut. Raphael Semmes, of the United States Navy, served on the Staff of General Worth in the campaign against the Mexican Capital, and wrote a history of the operations of the army. In this history he refers to the estranged relations between Generals Scott and Worth, and alleges that it began in Puebla. The proceedings of the Court of Inquiry, called at the request of General Worth and which we have inserted, will throw light upon the subject.

capitulation or guarantees at or about the time, May 15, 1847, of his entrance with the advance corps of the army into this city, and in the matter of a circular dated June 16, 1847, published by the said brevet major general to the officers or troops of his division. If there are other matters in the conduct of said brevet major general which he may specially desire to have investigated by the said court of inquiry he will submit them to the general-in-chief, through the recorder, for further orders in the case.

Detail : Major-General Quitman, Brigadier-General Twiggs, Brevet-Brigadier-General Smith, members.

Lieut. R. P. Hammond, Third Artillery, is appointed special judge advocate. They will give an opinion on the merits of all the matters investigated by it.

By command of Major General Scott.

H. L. SCOTT,
Acting Assistant Adjutant General.

The following is the circular referred to in the above order:

[Circular.]

HEADQUARTERS FIRST DIVISION,
PUEBLA, *June 16, 1847.*

Intelligence has come to the headquarters of the division in a form and from sources entitled to consideration, that food, exhibited and in tempting form for sale to the soldiers, is purposely prepared to cause sickness and ultimately death. The general of division would be wanting in his duty as commander and comrade, did he fail to bring the circumstance to the notice, and earnestly appeal to every soldier at once to forbear the procurement or use of food at so great a risk and of which, as ample rations are issued, he does not stand in need. Doubtless there are among those with whom we are situated many who will not hesitate, as is the habit of cowards, to poison those from whom they habitually fly in battle, a resource familiar in Spanish history, legitimately inherited, and willingly practiced by Mexicans.

By order of Brevet-Major-General Worth.

(Signed)

W. W. MACKALL,
Assistant Adjutant General.

When the Court of Inquiry convened under the above general orders, No. 186, General Worth submitted a brief statement of the matters in which he conceived himself wronged by the general-in-chief, and upon which he invited investigation, in the following terms :

In the matter (1) of an interview had May 15th, at Chichapa, Mex., between Brevet-Major-General Worth, commanding first division of the army, and the civil authorities of Puebla, at the instance of

said Brevet-Major-General, the general-in-chief, verbally and in writing, has improperly, in manner and in matter, characterized the proceedings at said interview, to the prejudice and wrong of said brevet-major-general.

In the matter (2) of a circular which was addressed by said Brevet-Major-General Worth to the first division, on or about June 16, 1847, the general-in-chief, verbally and in writing, has harshly and injuriously characterized said circular, and in a manner uncalled for, and to the undeserved reproach of said inferior officer.

After investigation of the above matters the court made the following decision. Having carefully investigated all the documents and evidence adduced, touching the matters submitted by the general order convening this court, all of which are embodied in the record of its proceedings, after mature deliberation upon the grave subjects before it, it pronounced the following opinions:

That regarding the remarks of the general-in-chief, dated June 17th inst., endorsed upon the translated copy of a letter from the Mexican Judge Duvan to Major-General Scott, dated June 16th, as hypothetical and applicable only to claims urged by the Mexican authorities, which the general-in-chief, at the time of his remarks, supposed to be without authority, and which Brevet-Major-General Worth insists were not conceded by any of his official acts.

The court can perceive nothing in the remarks of the general-in-chief to which Brevet-Major-General Worth could properly take exceptions. The court is further of opinion that the terms or stipulations, granted by Brevet-Major-General Worth to the functionaries of the city of Puebla, upon his entrance with his advance corps of the army into that city on the 15th of May last, were unnecessarily yielded, improvident, and in effect detrimental to the public service, and that the grant of these privileges was in contravention of the 9th and 10th paragraphs of general order No. 20, published at Tampico on the 19th of February last, and was not warranted by the letter of instructions of the general-in-chief to General Worth.

The court, as required, further declares its opinion that the "circular" published by Brevet-Major-General Worth to his division, dated Puebla, June 16, 1847, was highly improper and extremely objectionable in many respects, especially as it might tend, by exasperating the whole Mexican nation, to thwart the well known pacific policy of the United States, and, in view of the high source from which it emanated, to disturb the friendly relations of our Government with Spain, or at least give occasion to that power to call for explanation or apologies. The barbarous offense against which that "circular" warned the soldiers of the first division, if it exists at all, equally affected the whole army. The information obtained by General Worth, if worthy of notice, should therefore have been communicated to the

general-in-chief, that he might have exercised his discretion on the means to be adopted for correcting the evil.

With these views of the "circular" alluded to, the court is of the opinion that it called for the "emphatic admonition" and rebuke of the general-in-chief.

In conclusion, this court deems it material to the case to express the opinion that it is the right and the duty of the general-in-chief, and indispensable to the preservation of proper discipline in the army, that he should at all times possess the privilege of freely commenting upon, disapproving or censuring the official acts of his subordinate officers.

The City of Mexico had been occupied by the United States forces about two months when, upon the arrival of a mail from the States, it was found that two letters, written from the Valley within a few days after the battles of Contreras and Churubusco, were published in newspapers. One of these, known as the "Leonidas letter," appeared in the New Orleans *Delta*, from which the following extracts are taken:

"General Pillow's order for the attack was that General Twiggs should advance with one brigade of his division and assault the enemy's strong working front, while the others should turn his left wing and assail the work in reverse."

* * * "Having thus opened the battle, he then ordered General Cadwalader's brigade to the support of Colonel Riley, who had moved to turn the enemy's left and attack in reverse, and advanced General Pierce's brigade to the support of General Smith, who had advanced to assault the works in front." * * *

"Late in the evening General Scott came on the field and brought with him General Shields' brigade of volunteers." * * * "The next morning, before daylight, the brigade of General Pierce advanced in execution of the original order of battle and renewed the assault in front, while Colonel Riley's brigade, supported by Cadwalader, turned his left, assailed the enemy's work in reverse, and most gallantly carried it." * * *

"Having achieved this signal and brilliant victory, General Pillow immediately resolved to pursue the retreating forces of the enemy."

* * * "During this great battle, which lasted two days, General Pillow was in command of all the forces engaged except Worth's division." * * * "General Pillow's plan of battle and the disposition of his forces were most judicious

and successful. *He evinced on this, as he had on other occasions, that masterly military genius and profound knowledge of the science of war which has astonished the mere martinets of the profession. His plan was very similar to that by which Napoleon effected the reduction of the fortress of Ulm, and General Scott was so perfectly well satisfied with it that he could not interfere with any part of it, but left it to the gallant projector to carry into glorious and successful execution;*" and then follows an account of a personal combat with a Mexican officer, in which the latter was killed by General Pillow with his revolver.

The other letter was called the "Tampico letter." It reads as follows:

TACUBAYA, MEX., August 27, 1847.

The whole force which moved from Puebla, amounting to 10,000, more or less, marched in four columns on successive days, in the following order, viz: Twiggs, Quitman, Worth, and Pillow. In approaching the City of Mexico by the main highway, you go directly on to Penon, which is a strong position, excessively well fortified. Before leaving Puebla, it had been considered whether the main road could not be avoided and El Penon turned by passing around to the south and left of Lakes Chalco and Xochimilco. The engineer officers serving immediately at general headquarters had questioned a number of persons, including spies and agents sent expressly to examine the route, and the mass of testimony was entire to the boggy, mucky, and perfectly impracticable character for wagons and artillery of the road leading in that direction. It was therefore in contemplation to turn Penon by forcing Mexicalcingo, although the ground was difficult and the batteries known to be numerous. This route, you will observe, is to the north and right of the lakes. The reconnoissances of the engineers were consequently directed to this end. In the meantime General Worth, whose division had been left at Chalco, while General Scott with Twiggs had gone on to Ayotla, sent Colonel Duncan with a large party to examine the denounced route.

Colonel Duncan found it just the reverse of what it had been pronounced to be; it was firm, rocky, and quite practicable, requiring, to be sure, a little labor here and there. General Worth instantly sent Colonel Duncan with this information to General Scott, and urged the movement of the whole army to the left of Lake Chalco. The direct attack was abandoned, and on the morning the whole army was in motion.

These two letters, if written by officers of the army, were flagrant violations of the revived paragraph of the regula-

tions of 1825, the observance of which, as has been stated, was strictly enjoined upon all officers by the President's recent specific instructions, and their publication called forth the following orders from the commanding general:

[General Orders No. 349.]

HEADQUARTERS OF THE ARMY,
MEXICO, *November 12, 1847.*

The attention of certain officers of this army is recalled to the foregoing—650th paragraph, 1825, regulations—a regulation prohibiting officers of the army from detailing in private letters or reports the movements of the army, which the general-in-chief is resolved to enforce so far as it may be in his power. As yet but two echoes from home of the brilliant operations of our army in this basin have reached us—the first in a New Orleans and the second through a Tampico newspaper.

It requires not a little charity to believe that the principal heroes of the scandalous letters alluded to did not write them, or especially procure them to be written; and the intelligent can be at no loss in conjecturing the authors, chiefs, partisans, and pet familiars. To the honor of the service, the disease—pruriency of fame not earned—cannot have seized upon a half dozen officers present, all of whom, it is believed, belonged to the same two coteries.

False credit may, no doubt, be attained at hand by such despicable self-puffings and malignant exclusion of others, but at the expense of the just esteem and consideration of all honorable officers, who love their country, their profession, and the truth of history. The indignation of the great number of the latter class cannot fail in the end to bring down the conceited and envious to their proper level.

By command of General Scott.

H. L. SCOTT,
Acting Assistant Adjutant General.

The language of this order is pointed and severe, but it is hardly more so than the words of the revived regulation itself, which characterizes the forbidden acts as “mischievous in design and always disgraceful to the army,” the penalty for which on conviction is dismissal from the service.

The day after the publication of order No. 349 General Worth forwarded to army headquarters the following communication:

HEADQUARTERS FIRST DIVISION,
MEXICO, *November 13, 1847.*

SIR: I learn with much astonishment that the prevailing opinion in this army points the imputation of “scandalous,” contained in the

third, and the invocation of the "indignation of the great number" in the fourth paragraph of orders No. 349, printed and issued yesterday, to myself as one of the officers alluded to. Although I cannot suppose those opinions to be correctly formed, nevertheless, regarding the high source from which such imputations flow, so seriously affecting the qualities of a gentleman, the character and usefulness of him at whom they may be aimed, I feel it incumbent on me to ask, as I now do, most respectfully, of the frankness and sense of justice of the general-in-chief, whether in any sense or degree he condescended to apply, or designed to have applied, the epithets contained in that order to myself, and consequently whether the general military opinion or sentiment in that matter has taken a right or intended direction. I trust I shall be pardoned for pressing with urgency an early reply to this communication.

Very respectfully, etc.,

W. J. WORTH,

Brevet-Major-General United States Army.

The day General Worth addressed his first communication to General Scott, Bvt. Lieut.-Colonel James Duncan, Second Artillery, wrote the following letter :

MEXICO, November 13, 1847.

*To the Editor of the North American : **

SIR : I herewith present a copy of the "Tampico letter," characterized as "scandalous, despicable and malignant" in general orders No. 349, published in the *American Star*, another newspaper—the Government paper, if I may so call it, which has accompanied the headquarters of General Scott in all his movements, and received the patronage of the public printing—of this morning. To the end that the true character of this letter may be known, I desire that you publish it in your paper. The reader has already seen so much of it as was material to my purpose, and that none of my brother officers may innocently suffer for a publication so obnoxious, I hereby publicly acknowledge myself to be its author.

The substance of it I communicated from Tacubaya soon after the battles in a private letter to a friend in Pittsburg. The statements in the letter are known by very many officers of this army to be true, and I cannot but think that the publication of the truth is less likely to do violence to individuals or to the service than the suppression or perversion of it. Justice to General Worth, who is evidently one of the heroes pointed at in orders No. 349, requires me to state that he knew nothing whatever of my purpose to write the letter in question, nor that it had been written, until well on its way to its destination. He never saw, nor did he know directly or indirectly, even the pur-

* This was a newspaper published in the City of Mexico in English.

port of one line or word or syllable of it until he saw it in print, and he is equally ignorant of my desire to make this declaration, which I do, as I wrote the letter, unprompted and on my own responsibility.

JAMES DUNCAN,
Brevet-Lieutenant-Colonel.

After the publication of the above letter the "prevailing opinion" in the army fully exonerated General Worth from any connection with either of the letters referred to in General Scott's order No. 349.

General Scott, in reply to General Worth, directed as follows :

HEADQUARTERS OF THE ARMY,
MEXICO, *November 14, 1847.*

SIR : I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt this morning of your communication dated the 13th relative to general orders No. 349, and I am instructed by the general-in chief to reply, "that the general order No. 349 was, as is pretty clearly expressed on its face, meant to apply to the letter signed "Leonidas" in a New Orleans paper and to the summary of the two letters given in the *Washington Union* and copied into a Tampico paper, to the authors, aiders and abettors of those letters, be they who they may.

I am, very respectfully, your obedient servant,

H. L. SCOTT,
Acting Assistant Adjutant-General.

It may be a question if any officer has a right to demand of his superior whether or not certain words in his written orders apply to himself. If one officer can claim this privilege another may, until every officer of the command has interrogated his commanding officer as to his intentions. It is a privilege as well as an obligation appertaining to the office of general-in-chief, both indispensable and imperative, for the maintenance of discipline and *morale* to comment upon, disapprove or censure the official acts of his subordinates.

But any officer who feels aggrieved thereby has the right to demand a court of inquiry.

General Worth replied to General Scott as follows :

HEADQUARTERS FIRST DIVISION,
MEXICO, *November 14, 1847.*

SIR : I have the honor to receive your letter in reply, but not in answer to mine of yesterday, handed in this morning. The general order is too clearly expressed on its face to admit of any doubt in regard to papers, and, in public military opinion, in regard to persons.

The object of my letter, as I endeavored clearly to express, was to seek to know distinctly and with the view to further measures to protect myself, if, as is supposed, I was one of the persons referred to. Regretting the necessity for intrusion, I am compelled again, respectfully, to solicit an answer to that question. I ask it as an act of simple justice, which it is hoped will not be denied.

I have the honor to be, very respectfully, your obedient servant,

W. J. WORTH,

Brevet-Major-General, United States Army.

General Scott's reply to the above letter from General Worth was as follows :

HEADQUARTERS OF THE ARMY,

MEXICO, *November 14, 1847.*

SIR : The general-in-chief desires me to reply to your note of this date by saying that he cannot be more explicit than in his reply through me already given ; that he has nothing to do with the suspicions of others, and has no positive information as to the authorship of the letters alluded to in general orders No. 349. If he had valid information he would immediately prosecute the parties before a general court martial.

I have the honor to be, etc.,

H. L. SCOTT,

Acting Assistant Adjutant General.

This correspondence between Generals Scott and Worth was terminated by the latter as follows :

HEADQUARTERS FIRST DIVISION,

MEXICO, *November 14, 1847.*

SIR : It is due to official courtesy and propriety that I acknowledge your letter No. 2, in answer to mine of this date, and in doing so, and in closing this correspondence with the headquarters of the army, I beg permission to say, and with regret, that I have received no satisfactory answer to the just and rightful inquiries which I have addressed to the general-in-chief ; but in as much as I know myself to be deeply aggrieved and wronged, it only remains to go, by appeal, as I shall do through the prescribed channels, to the constitutional commander-in-chief.

The general in-chief is pleased to say through you that he has nothing to do with the suspicions of others, and that he has no positive information as to authorship, etc., granted. But has not the manner in which the general-in-chief has been pleased to treat the case established, whether designedly or not remains to be seen, an unequivocal public sentiment on the subject ? There are always enough of that peculiar and pestilential species who exist upon the breath of authority to catch up the whisperings of fancy and infect a whole military community. I do not design to be stifled under the miasma of such,

nor stricken down in my advanced age, without an effort to convince my friends that I scorn to wear "honor not earned." I remain,

Your obedient servant,

W. J. WORTH,
Brevet Major General.

Two days later General Worth sent to army headquarters the following communication :

HEADQUARTERS FIRST DIVISION,

November 16, 1847.

To the Hon. Secretary of War, Washington:

SIR: From the arbitrary and illegal conduct, the malice and gross injustice, practiced by the general officer, commanding-in-chief, this army, Major-General Winfield Scott, I appeal (as is my right and privilege) to the constitutional commander-in-chief, the President of the United States. I accuse Maj.-Gen. Winfield Scott of having acted in a manner unbecoming an officer and a gentleman. He has availed himself of his position to publish, by authority, to the army which he commands, and of the influence of his station, to give the highest effect to an order bearing date November 12, 1847, and numbered 349—official printed copy herewith—calculated and designed to cast odium and disgrace upon Brevet-Major-General Worth; to bring that general officer into disrepute with the army, to lessen, if not destroy, his just influence and proper authority with those officers and soldiers over whom he is placed in command; that he has without inquiry or investigation, in the said order published to the army and the world, falsely charged Brevet Major-General Worth with having written, or connived at the writing, a certain letter published in the United States, and to which he has been pleased to apply the epithets of "scandalous," "malignant," etc.; that he has made these statements to the world, giving to them the sanction of his high authority and the influence of his position, while he has acknowledged that he had no information as to the authorship of the letters in question, and when respectfully and properly addressed upon the subject by the undersigned appellant, he has declined to reply whether or not he intended to impute to Brevet-Major General Worth conduct which he had characterized as "scandalous," "malignant," etc.; be pleased to refer to correspondence herewith, marked from A to E. I do not urge present action on these accusations, because of their inconvenience to the service in withdrawing many officers from their duties, but I do humbly and respectfully invoke the President's examination into the case and such notice thereof and protection from arbitrary conduct of the said Major-General Scott as he may deem suitable.

I have the honor to be, etc.,

W. J. WORTH,
Brevet-Major General, United States Army.

General Worth's arrest followed the receipt of the above communication, addressed to the War Department through General Scott's headquarters; he was charged "with behaving with contempt and disrespect towards his superior and commanding officer," or words to that effect; the specification to the charge, "under pretext of appeal he charged his commanding officer to be actuated by malice towards him (Worth) and conduct unbecoming an officer and a gentleman," or words to that effect.

To prefer charges against General Worth must have been a painful duty for General Scott; they had been friends for over thirty years; Worth was his aid-de-camp in the war of 1812 and was the first officer ordered from Taylor's army to report to him on his arrival in Mexico.

General Pillow had given a written account of the battles of Contreras and Churubusco to a newspaper correspondent about the 25th of August, expressed a desire for it to go off with the first impressions and be engrafted in the correspondent's letter, and told him he had prepared it for him. The correspondent kept General Pillow's account, looked at it, believed it to be incorrect, and laid it aside. When the mail that brought the Leonidas letter was received in the City of Mexico the correspondent compared that letter with the statement given him by General Pillow and he, as well as several other persons to whom they were shown, declared them to be "twin brothers."

General Pillow was placed in arrest and charged (1) with a violation of a general regulation or standing order of the army; (2) conduct unbecoming an officer and a gentleman. Specification to the first charge—that he (Pillow) wrote or caused to be written an account of military operations between the United States forces and those of the republic of Mexico August 19, 1847, in and about Contreras and Churubusco, in which operations said Pillow bore a part, and which account was designed by said Pillow and in due time under the signature of "Leonidas" partially printed and published in the New Orleans *Delta* of September 10, 1847, and reprinted entire in the *Bulletin* and the *Daily Picayune* of the 15th and 16th of the same month, all of this pending the campaign between the forces before mentioned.

To the second charge were eight specifications, and under the first, eight different items or headings. These specifications cover eleven printed pages and are to be seen in Ex. Doc. No. 65, Senate, 30th Congress, first session. In effect, these specifications charge that General Pilow's account was incorrect in the very many particulars specified.

Colonel Duncan was charged (1) with violation of the 650th paragraph (revived), general regulations of the army; the specification cited the "Tampico letter," which he acknowledged he wrote. The second charge related to matters of fact set forth in the "Tampico letter."

While the army remained in Puebla awaiting reinforcements to enable General Scott to advance upon the capital, the engineer officers were constantly occupied in seeking information as to the Valley of Mexico, the different approaches to the capital, the location, extent, and condition of fortified points and lines near and surrounding it.

A member of General Scott's Staff, the inspector general of the army, Col. E. A. Hitchcock, in a letter dated January 23, 1848, speaking of the labor of the engineers whilst the army lay in Puebla, and methods used to perfect maps of the Valley, says both Major Turnbull, of the Topographical Engineers, and Captain Lee, of the Military Engineers, made a map of the Valley; their work was perfected by comparing the two maps, and they satisfied themselves the Chalco route was practicable. One man in Major Turnbull's employ was sent expressly to go over the route, and returned reporting it practicable, saying he had been entirely over it. Referring to the industry displayed by Captain Lee in getting information as to the routes, Colonel Hitchcock says:* "He fell in with a very intelligent professional surveyor, an Italian, who assured him the route was available for the General's purpose." With this information of the Chalco route, General Scott marched from Puebla and posted his various divisions in the Valley of Mexico, whilst reconnoissances were being made to ascertain the practicability of other, shorter, and more convenient routes.

The march of the army around Lakes Chalco and Xochimilco, previously described somewhat in detail, will be again referred to. It was the rule with General Scott to have one of the divisions of regular troops at the head of his columns.

Worth's division was first in landing at Vera Cruz; Twiggs' division was in front from Vera Cruz to Jalapa, Worth then took the lead and kept it to Puebla; on the march from that city to the Valley of Mexico Twiggs was again in the advance and halted at Ayotla, fifteen miles from the Mexican capital. Quitman followed and bivouacked at Buena Vista, a mile or two in rear where the Chalco road bore off from the main highway to the left.

Worth was the next to descend into the Valley, filed to the left from the main road, and occupied the village of Chalco. Pillow followed and halted a little beyond Worth on Lake Chalco, near a hamlet called Chimalpa. But one division of the army, it is seen, had gone beyond where the Chalco road leaves the main or stage road leading to the capital.

But whatever may have been General Scott's intentions, based upon information derived through others before leaving Puebla, he was too prudent a commander to carry out that intention without examining other routes. Satisfied already that the Chalco route was practicable, there were yet objections to it, for it was the longest; the road was not a turnpike, but narrow and rough; lying along the foot of the mountains, and pressed in closely upon them by the lakes, and with the army moving over this narrow road, with its artillery and wagons hemmed in between the water and the mountains, it would have been difficult to communicate with his different divisions; and an enterprising enemy, if disposed, could have greatly annoyed and retarded the march, compromising even its safety and the success of the expedition.

These well known objections to the Chalco route no doubt induced General Scott to pass beyond it with one division only and occupy Ayotla, a convenient and favorable point, from which to send out reconnoitering parties. The activity displayed by the engineers in their examinations on the 11th, 12th, 13th, and 14th has been referred to. Peñon, well forti-

*Lieut. S. B. Buckner, Sixth Infantry, was directed to go to army headquarters while at Puebla and ask for a map of the Valley giving the route around the lakes. At headquarters he was present and heard Captain Lee question a person who had been over the whole route, and this party pronounced it practicable.

fied, guarded the main route, the shortest and best, leading directly to the city, and could be carried, the engineers believed, but with considerable loss, and the army was not strong enough to incur such a risk. Another route, further to the left and south, was also closely examined, known as the Mexicalcingo route. This was a turnpike, only a little longer than that by Peñon; the engineers believed that an attack on the fortifications on this route would entail serious losses. The greater distance and difficulties on the Texcoco route caused that to be ignored entirely.

The examination of the shorter routes proving them to be strongly fortified, General Scott's judgment decided against them, and "threw him back upon the project long entertained, etc." The disposition of the troops was favorable to this prompt inversion of his columns; and Worth, whose turn it was to lead, being already in position, began this famous turning march.

In the "Tampico letter" we find: "In the meantime General Worth, whose division had been left at Chalco while General Scott with Twiggs had gone to Ayotla, sent Colonel Duncan with a large party to examine the denounced route." This may, and with many would, make the impression that Twiggs and Worth were both at Chalco, and that General Scott had moved off to Ayotla, taking with him the former's division; this was not the case, as has been seen. Colonel Duncan, it is true, was sent by General Worth to examine the Chalco route, but General Worth, in a letter to Colonel Duncan of date, Tacubaya, March 31, 1848, two weeks after the first meeting of the Court of Inquiry, used the following words: "General Scott evinced a disposition to gather information as respects this route (Chalco), on the 12th, and, no doubt, preferred it." * * * "As I have said, General Scott directed me to send and examine the Chalco route," etc.

Again, the "Tampico letter:" "Colonel Duncan," referring to his reconnoissance, "found the road just the reverse of what it had been pronounced to be; it was firm, rocky, etc. General Worth instantly sent Colonel Duncan with this information to General Scott, and urged the movement of the whole army to the left of Chalco. The direct attack was

abandoned, and on the morning the whole army was in motion."*

On January 13, 1848, the Secretary of War wrote to General Scott as follows :

The President has determined to relieve you from further duty as commanding general in Mexico. You are, therefore, ordered by him to turn over the command of the army to Major-General Butler, or, in his absence, to the officer highest in rank with the column under you, together with all instructions you have received in relation to your operations and duties as general-in-chief-command, and all records and papers properly belonging or appertaining to the general headquarters.

Desirous to secure a full examination into all the matters embraced in the several charges which you have presented against Major-General Pillow and Brevet-Colonel Duncan, as well as the charges or grounds of complaint presented against you by Brevet-Major-General Worth, and deeming your presence before the Court of Inquiry, which has been organized to investigate these matters, indispensably necessary for this purpose, you are directed by the President to attend the said Court of Inquiry wherever it may hold its sittings, and when your presence before or attendance upon the court shall no longer be required, and you are notified of that fact by the court, you will report in person at this department for further orders.

It may be well here to recall the fact that General Scott while in Puebla asked to be relieved from the command of the army, in view of the want, as he alleged, of the sympathy and the support of the Government. He begged that he might be relieved as soon as the passage through Vera Cruz

*"An attack upon Mexicalcingo was discussed at General Scott's headquarters. It was in substance to mask Penon with Pillow's division, attack it in front with Quitman's and Twiggs' divisions, and Worth moving rapidly around the lakes, with little or no baggage, to attack in flank and rear. But this plan of attack was deemed impracticable, unless communication could be kept up constantly between Worth and the other portions of the army. To determine this question a reconnoissance was ordered to be made by Capt. Henry C. Wayne, acting assistant quartermaster, and Lieut. Z. B. Tower, of the engineers. Pending this reconnoissance, orders were issued preparatory to the move in the event of a favorable report. But these officers reported before dark August 14th that it was wholly impracticable to use the lakes. That report determined General Scott to adhere to his original intention—the Chalco route. Worth in the meantime had ordered Colonel Duncan to examine the Chalco route, and he reported it practicable. He (Worth) had been ordered several times by General Scott to examine this route, once on the 12th and again on the 13th of August.

(The above is an extract from the work of Lieut. I. I. Stevens, of the engineers.)"

could be made with safety, which would be in November after, as he presumed, all active operations had ceased.* In reply the Secretary denied that there were any just grounds for such a charge against the Government, concluding :

Regarding the inducements you have assigned for begging to be recalled as deserving to have very little influence on the question, it will be decided by the President with exclusive reference to the public good. When that shall render it proper in his opinion to withdraw you from your present command his determination to do so will be made known to you.

The Secretary further states :

The perusal of these communications by the President has forced upon his mind the painful conviction that there exists a state of things at the headquarters of the army which is exceedingly detrimental to the public service, and imperiously calls upon him to interfere in such a way as will, he sincerely hopes, arrest and put an end to the dissensions and feuds which there prevail. * * * The documents show that General Worth felt deeply aggrieved by your general order No. 349. * * * With this view of the import and object of the order, his attempt by all proper means to remove from himself the ignominy of these imputations, cannot be regarded as an exceptionable course on his part. If he was actually aggrieved in this matter, or believed himself to be so, he had an unquestionable right to have the subject brought to the consideration of his and your common superior—the President. He prepared charges against you, for his letter November 16th to the Secretary of War can be viewed in no other character, and endeavored to send them through you, the only channel he could use without violating established regulations to his common superior. * * * And adds: General Worth having preferred charges against General Scott before the latter preferred charges against him, both law and natural justice require that the order of events should be pursued in such cases. The charges which he prefers against you should be first disposed of before proceedings can be instituted against him for malice in preferring these charges or for presenting such as he did know or believe to be well founded.

The President seems to have been under a strange delusion as to the headquarters of the army. The usual quiet prevailed there, the same habits of industry and constant care and watchfulness on the part of its Chief for the well-being

* The President had asked Congress to create the office of lieutenant-general, that he might supersede General Scott, by Senator Benton, who was to be appointed to the office. Failing in this he desired a law that would permit him to assign Benton as a major-general to command Scott, who would be his senior.

of the army and for the public interests with which he was charged. It was quite certain the army at the time knew of no feuds, nor did it recognize any occasion for,* nor could it anticipate any interposition of the President other than to sustain, if occasion required, the commanding general in his efforts to enforce discipline and obedience to the article of the army regulations revived by himself, the rigid compliance with which he had enjoined upon all officers and soldiers.

The Secretary's letter makes the impression that the President believed the time had come and the public good demanded that General Scott should be relieved from command of the army, which he had directed with extraordinary skill and success. To say that the army was surprised when it became known that General Scott had been deposed and ordered to appear before a court of inquiry, would not express its sentiments and feelings. The sympathy for him was general and profound. His being superseded and ordered to appear before a court of inquiry was regarded almost as a personal indignity to the whole army.

The prevailing opinion amongst officers and soldiers was that consideration for the public good had not led to General Scott's being deprived of command, and that other reasons, neither military nor patriotic, had caused it.

The Secretary says: "The attempt, by all proper means, made by General Worth to remove from himself the ignominy of these imputations cannot be regarded as exceptionable." There may have been imputations against the anonymous writers of the two obnoxious letters, for General Scott's order was intended to apply to them, but General Worth was known not to be one of them, from the date of his first letter

* At the time the order was issued to relieve General Scott from command, with the view of putting an end to the dissensions and feuds reported to prevail in the army in Mexico, both Major General Quitman and Brigadier-General Shields were in Washington and of the same political faith with the President, and could have furnished correct information with reference to the feeling existing in the army, as they were but recently from Mexico, but the President did not consult them. General Quitman, in a letter to his aid, Lieutenant Lovell, written from Washington, says: "You are long since informed of the course which the War Department has thought fit to pursue in relation to the difficulties between some of the generals. Though Shields and myself were at Washington when the information came we were not consulted." * * *

to General Scott. But had he been the subject of certain imputations, he did not avail himself of "all proper means." A demand for a court of inquiry is one of the means and generally the first thought of in such cases, and it was the one to which he had previously, under an alleged grievance, had recourse. No one questions the right of an officer to appeal to a common superior when aggrieved and redress is refused, but he is required by the rules of the service to be respectful in his appeal, and he should have good grounds for making it. The Secretary regarded General Worth's letter, addressed to himself through General Scott, as being both in the nature of an appeal and charges against that general. Military men would more probably consider it to be neither, but an insubordinate, disrespectful communication abusive of his superior and commanding officer. But construing the letter as the Secretary did, to be charges against General Scott and of date anterior to the formal charges he preferred against Worth, "both law and natural justice require that the order of events should be pursued in such cases;" in other words, Scott be tried first. The question before the President, the constitutional commander-in-chief of the army, was the most elementary one known to the profession of arms, that of discipline, and would not have required any action or intervention on his part but for the fact that General Scott, the commander of the army, was the accuser, and Pillow, Worth and Duncan, officers of the army under his command. In such a case only the act of May 29, 1830, was applicable and required the order for a court-martial to be issued by the President.

The Court of Inquiry was composed of Brig.-General N. Towson, paymaster-general, Brig.-Gen. Caleb Cushing, and Brevt.-Col. Wm. G. Belknap, with Capt. S. C. Ridgely, judge advocate and recorder.

After organization the court met pursuant to adjournment in the City of Mexico, March 16, 1848. Present, all the members and the judge advocate and recorder, Major-General Pillow, in attendance. The general order instituting the court having been read and General Pillow making no objection to any member, the court and judge advocate were duly sworn in his presence.

General Scott then read a paper, from which we make the following extracts :

Having, in the maintenance of what I deemed necessary discipline, drawn up charges and specifications against three officers, then under my command, I transmitted the papers November 28, 1847, to the Secretary of War with a request in each case that the President, under the act of Congress May 29, 1830, would appoint a general court martial for the trial of the same. This court of inquiry is the result. I am stricken down from high command ; one of the arrested generals is preacquitted and rewarded and the other parties, the judge and his prisoners, the accuser and the accused, the innocent and the guilty, with that strange exception, all thrown before you to scramble for justice as we may.

In the case of Major-General Pillow I preferred two charges ; the first, with one specification, respecting a prohibited publication in the newspapers of the United States, and the second embracing a great number of specifications.

Considering, Mr. President, that I asked for a general court martial to try and definitely determine cases specifically defined and set out, and that this preliminary court has no power beyond the mere collection of facts and giving an inoperative opinion thereon ; considering that if we now proceed the whole labor must be gone over again, at least by the parties and witnesses ; * * * considering that the court will be obliged to adjourn to the United States in order to have the least hope of obtaining the testimony of these important witnesses, now retired to civil life, and, therefore, not compellable to attend a military court even at home, or to testify before a commission duly appointed by such court, and the parties will not be able to leave this country for home without peril of life.

Considering that there is a near prospect of peace between the United States and Mexico, which may be consummated in time to enable this whole army to return home at once in safety ; considering immediately on such consummation, Major-General Pillow would, by express terms of the law under which he holds his commission, be out of the army, and, therefore, no longer amenable for his acts to any military tribunal ; considering, that in preferring the charges against that officer, I was moved solely by the desire to preserve the discipline and honor of the army, not having even had the slightest personal quarrel or difficulty with him, and that the time had probably gone by for benefiting the service by a conviction and punishment ; in view of all these circumstances I shall, Mr. President, decline prosecuting the charges and specifications against Major-General Pillow before this preliminary court without its special orders or further orders of the President of the United States.

In General Worth's case the President had ordered him to be released from arrest and restored to his command, thus

disregarding the charges preferred against him by General Scott, his superior and commanding officer. General Worth then wrote to the court of inquiry that he withdrew his accusations against General Scott, mainly on the ground that the President had done him "full and ample justice." To this General Scott replied that he "felt strong in conscious rectitude, strong in all the means of defense, defied his accusers, and would not plead the letter withdrawing the accusations against him in bar of trial, that he challenged the writer of that letter to come forward and do his worst."

In Colonel Duncan's case, who had over his signature admitted writing the Tampico letter, thereby pleading guilty of the charge of violating the army regulations, the President having ordered a court of inquiry and not a court-martial, General Scott declined to prosecute him on this charge before the Court of Inquiry or any other tribunal without further orders from the President, General Scott entertaining, no doubt, the opinion that it was not for him to go through the form of attempting to uphold a regulation revived by the President whilst the latter manifested an evident indifference on the subject.

Colonel Duncan no doubt believed all he had written to be true. But the evidence shows the direct "attack" he refers to had not been determined upon, much less ordered.

Col. H. L. Scott, assistant adjutant general of the army, states no such order was ever given, and "Colonel Hitchcock and Captain Lee positively aver that the attack by Mexicalcingo was never decided upon."

After General Scott, for reasons above cited, announced his purpose not to prosecute Pillow and Duncan before the Court of Inquiry without its special orders, or further orders of the President, he was informed that that body would probably adjourn to await further orders from the Government. To prevent this delay he (Scott) consented to prosecute the case of Pillow, although with the probability that a ratified peace and disbanding of the new troops would put a stop to the investigation, and certainly bar any trial before a court martial, should one be recommended.

The investigation before the Court of Inquiry began in the City of Mexico March 21st, and continued in that city until April 21st, when the court, as predicted by General Scott,

adjourned to the United States for the purpose of obtaining further testimony.

The court met in Frederick, Md., May 29, 1848, and adjourned from day to day, owing to the absence of General Pillow, until June 5th, when he and General Scott appeared. The latter stated he had been prevented from attending owing to sickness; General Pillow, that he had stopped at his home to see his family.

The court continued in session until July 1st, when General Scott submitted the following paper and withdrew the charges against Colonel Duncan.

The first charge was withdrawn for the reason that the President himself had shown no disposition to enforce the revived paragraph 650, which he had enjoined upon all to enforce.

The other or second charge and specification against Colonel Duncan related to matters of fact set forth and quoted from the "Tampico letter," and which he acknowledged over his signature to have written. General Scott, believing Colonel Duncan had fallen into errors of statements in that letter without design, sent an officer to ask of him if he was not ignorant, at the time he wrote the letter, of the facts:

1. That before the army left Puebla for the Valley his (Scott's) bias and expectation that the army would be obliged to reach the enemy's capital by the left, or south, around Lakes Chalco and Xochimilco.

2. That after his headquarters were established at Ayotla, August 11th, he (Scott) had showed equal solicitude to get additional information of that route, as well as that of Peñon or Mexicalcingo.

3. That besides sending from Ayotla August 12th oral instructions to Brevet-Major-General Worth to push further inquiries from Chalco as to the character of the southernmost route around the two lakes, he (Scott) had sent written instructions to General Worth to the same effect from his quarters at Ayotla.*

* General Worth in a letter to Colonel Duncan, dated Tacubaya, March 31, 1848, says: "General Scott evinced a disposition to gather information as respected this route (Chalco) on the 12th. * * * As I have said, General Scott directed me to send and examine the Chalco route, etc."

4. That while at Ayotla from the 11th to the 15th of August he (Scott) sent a Mexican from Ayotla, independent of General Worth, all around to the village of Xochimilco to report to him (Scott) whether there had been any recent change in that route, either in the matter of fortifications or from overflowing of the lakes.

5. That in the evening of the 13th he (Scott) had ordered Captain Mason, of the engineers, to report to General Worth the next morning to be employed in reconnoitering that same southern route, in which service he had already been anticipated by the reconnoitering party under himself—Colonel Duncan.

If Colonel Duncan would state he was ignorant of these facts he would withdraw and abandon, upon his word, the second charge and its specifications.

Colonel Duncan replied he "believed the facts therein (Tampico letter) set forth to be substantially true and still believed so; had no desire to detract directly or indirectly from the merits of any officer, and no one can regret more than himself if he had done so. If the statements of General Scott were facts, he learned them for the first time, and was ignorant of them when he wrote the "Tampico letter." General Scott replied "that ample evidence, both oral and written, was at hand to substantiate his averments in respect to the route around Lakes Chalco and Xochimilco, and withdrew the second charge against Colonel Duncan.

The opinion of the Court of Inquiry in Pillow's case :

On reviewing the whole case it will be seen that the points on which the conduct of General Pillow has been disapproved by the court are his claiming, in certain passages of the paper No. 1* and in his official report of the battles of Contreras and Churubusco, a larger degree of participation in the merit of the movements appertaining to the battle of Contreras than is substantiated by the evidence, or he is entitled to, and also the language above quoted, in which that claim is referred to in the letter to General Scott.

But as the movements actually ordered by General Pillow at Contreras on the 19th were emphatically approved by General Scott at the time, and as the conduct of General Pillow in the brilliant series

* No. 1 was the letter he gave to Mr. Freaner, correspondent of the New Orleans *Delta*, and which had been pronounced a "twin brother" to the "Leonidas letter."

of military operations carried on to such triumphant issue by General Scott in the Valley of Mexico appears by the several official reports of the latter and otherwise to have been highly meritorious, from these and other considerations the court is of the opinion that no further proceedings against General Pillow in this case are called for by the interest of the public.

The following, with the exception of the caption, is what General Pillow admitted he had had prepared for the newspapers :

Editors New Orleans Delta :

GREAT BATTLE OF MEXICO.

Commenced on the 19th, under command of Major-General Pillow, having a force of 3,500. The enemy had 12,000 (of whom 5,000 were cavalry) and twenty-seven pieces of artillery.

General Pillow's order for the attack was that General Twiggs should advance with a brigade of his division and assault the enemy's strong work in front, while the other should turn his left wing and assail the work in reverse. He also placed at the disposition of General Twiggs Captain Magruder's battery and Lieutenant Callender's howitzer battery (both of which belonged to the proper division of General Pillow). Having thus opened the battle, he then advanced General Cadwalader's brigade to support the brigade of Colonel Riley, who had moved to turn the enemy's left and attack in reverse, and advanced General Pierce's brigade to support General Smith, who had advanced to assault the work in front.

The action had now become (with the advancing forces) very severe, but General Pillow, seeing five or six thousand men advancing from the city to reinforce the enemy, whom he apprehended would fall upon General Cadwalader's rear, detached from General Pierce's brigade Colonel Morgan's regiment (which was yet within reach), and ordered it instantly to the support of General Cadwalader, who, seeing so large a force approaching his rear, threatening to overwhelm him, halted his forward movements, confronted the enemy in a strong position, and held him at bay.

The forces under General Smith, Colonel Riley, and General Pierce were hotly engaged with the enemy's strong battery and a large force of infantry and cavalry until it was quite dark. Magruder's battery and Callender's howitzer battery were both very much cut to pieces and disabled. Late in the evening General Scott came upon the field and brought with him General Shields' brigade of volunteers,* whom he advanced to the support of the forces now under General

* General Scott sent an order from the field to Quitman in reserve at San Augustin to send him two regiments. The battle had been over three-quarters of an hour when he reached the field, and the order to advance had already been given by General Smith and repeated by General Twiggs.

Cadwalader, but it was so late they did not get into position until in the night.

The next morning before daylight the brigade of Pierce advanced, in execution of the original order of battle, renewed the assault in front; while Riley's brigade, supported by Cadwalader, turned his left, assailed the enemy's work in reverse and gallantly carried it, capturing a large force of the enemy, twenty-two guns (among them those lost at Buena Vista), and killing in the general engagement between 600 and 800 of the enemy. Having achieved this signal and brilliant victory, General Pillow immediately resolved to pursue the retreating forces of the enemy; and while his troops were flushed with victory, give battle to a large force, still in Santo Angelo, which he did, and drove them before him. He then sent an officer of his Staff back to General Scott to say to him if he would cause General Worth to co-operate with him he would sweep around the Valley and assault the strong works of San Antonio in reverse, and carry that place so as to open the direct route to the capital for the advance of his siege train, upon the other battery on that road. General Scott replied that Worth should co-operate with him. General Pillow moved rapidly around the Valley at the head of his triumphant forces, until he reached within one mile of San Antonio, where he halted * to allow his troops a short time to recover their breath and exhausted strength before engaging the enemy at San Antonio.

While waiting for this purpose, General Scott overtook the army. At this moment it was discovered, at the distance, that the enemy (seeing their main work had been carried and that they were about to be attacked in the rear) had abandoned the work at San Antonio and fallen back upon a second strong work at Santa Marta. General Scott, who now assumed command,† immediately directed Twiggs' division to advance upon the left and arrest and cut off the retreating forces of the enemy; while he ordered General Pillow‡ to lead Cadwalader's brigade to advance and assault the enemy upon the right and in front.

Twiggs' division soon became desperately engaged with the enemy's left at Santa Marta. Pillow's division,§ in the effort to get to the battle-ground, got entangled among some ditches, wide and waist-deep, in mud and water.

The general dismounted from his horse, and, plunging through, called upon his column to follow him, which they nobly did. He advanced rapidly with it in front of the enemy's main work, and, find-

* The halt had been ordered by General Scott, who desired to make reconnoissances.

† He had never relinquished it.

‡ Had ordered him to co-operate in the attack upon San Antonio, which being turned had been evacuated, and Cadwalader's brigade took part in the battle with Worth's division in front of the *lele-de-pont*.

§ Not the division, but Cadwalader's brigade.

ing it would be cut down by the terrible fire of grape and canister which swept down the road, he turned it into the field on the right * to attack the main battery on its left flank. Here his forces and General Worth's were joined, and went forward and gallantly carried this work in conjunction.

During the advance upon this work the general himself was knocked to his knees by the concussion of a cannon ball, which brushed his head. In the course of the action he shot a Mexican officer and killed him with his pistol.†

The enemy's battery being taken, Pillow's and Worth's divisions pursued the enemy until they came under the fire of the enemy's guns from the battery, at the very gate of the city.

During the battle, in which the first work, with twenty-two pieces of artillery, was taken, Santa Anna was present all the time upon the field of battle commanding his forces in person.

Our total loss was heavy, amounting in killed and wounded to about 800; the enemy's, to near 2,000. In the two works the enemy's forces amounted to at least 30,000 men. His positions were remarkably strong and well fortified, and in every case he was driven out of his works at the point of the bayonet.

The general's well devised plans of battle, his judicious disposition of his forces, his coolness and daring during the whole of this terrible battle is the subject of universal congratulations among his friends and general remark with all.

Very respectfully,

GIDEON J. PILLOW.

Having copied what General Pillow prepared for publication in the newspapers, we will now make a summary statement of the two battles referred to by him, relying upon official reports of those battles to sustain any assertions made.

In the forenoon, August 19th, General Pillow's division moved from San Augustin towards Contreras with orders to open up and make practicable the road—a bridle path for over half the distance—between the two places. Twiggs followed, and upon joining Pillow, the latter's division halted and the former's moved forward to cover the latter while repairing and making the road. Small advanced hostile parties were encountered and forced back until about 3 p. m., when the road had been rendered practicable to a point commanded by a field work mounting twenty-two guns, held by a large force under General Valencia.

* On the left of the road.

†Not established before the Court of Inquiry, though the effort was made.

Intermediate to the troops under Twiggs and Valencia's position was a rough, uneven surface, impracticable save for mules or horses, and for these only along a narrow path. Passing near and in front of the enemy's position was a wide, excellent road, leading into the city, and along this, coming from the capital*, reinforcements for Valencia could be seen. It was determined to occupy, if possible, this road, the main line of the enemy's communication.

Riley's brigade was ordered to move forward to the right and front for that purpose; and as the move and the authority for it were subsequently (together with other matters) investigated before a court of inquiry, we will endeavor to be as exact as possible, stating nothing not found in official reports or in the evidence before the court. In Colonel Riley's report the order for the forward movement, made by his brigade, was stated to have been given by Lieut. W. H. Brooks, acting assistant adjutant general of Twiggs' division. Capt. E. R. S. Canby, Riley's adjutant general, testified before the Court of Inquiry that the order was given by Colonel Riley in General Twiggs' name.

Colonel Riley testified before the same Court of Inquiry that General Pillow rode up to him, gave him two or three orders to move a little to the right or a little to the left, and finally to move forward. Riley seems not to have moved forward, but after remaining at a halt for some time was ordered by Pillow to cross the *pedrigal*, to turn to the enemy's left, and he would support him. Capt. George Deas, assistant-adjutant-general of Cadwalader's brigade, Pillow's division, a witness before the Court of Inquiry, testified that he was sent by General Pillow with an order to Colonel Riley, who had advanced some distance on the *pedrigal*, to return and report to Brig-Gen. P. F. Smith, who was in the advance on the *pedrigal*, in front of Valencia's position; the enemy's skirmishers had been driven in, and Smith's men were within 300 yards of their batteries.

Captain Deas in the execution of his orders had gone beyond a cornfield as far as he could go on horseback, and

* It is probable that the troops referred to as reinforcements at this hour were the reserves posted by Valencia near Auzaldo the day before.

there met Lieutenant Brooks, of Twiggs' Staff, but at the time acting on Riley's; Deas informed him of the order for Riley's countermarch. Brooks told Deas he could not reach Riley on horseback, who was too far advanced to be overtaken on foot. Brooks, who was on a high point, called Deas to him, the latter dismounted and joined Brooks, who then pointed out to him the good open field beyond the *pedrigal*, on which Riley could operate on the enemy's left. Deas returned, not having given the order to Riley, and reported to Pillow that the *pedrigal* could be crossed by infantry. Pillow then ordered Cadwalader's brigade to move over and support Riley. These two officers (Riley and Cadwalader) received no further orders from Pillow that day, nor was General Pillow with these troops until after the battle next morning.

General Scott arrived on the field after Riley and Cadwalader had been ordered to cross the *pedrigal*, approved the order, directed Col. G. W. Morgan, Fifteenth Infantry, Pierce's brigade, to cross the *pedrigal*, and sent back to San Augustin for Quitman to send Shields' brigade (New York and South Carolina regiments) to him, and when this force reached the field it was ordered to move on and join the troops already across the *pedrigal*. General Smith's brigade, Twiggs' division, moved before Shields' over the *pedrigal*. Pillow gave no orders for the movement of Smith's brigade, which crossed the *pedrigal* after dark.

General Scott returned to San Augustin about dusk ; later both generals (Pillow and Twiggs) arrived and repaired to army headquarters, then in a hotel. It was a rainy, disagreeably cold night. General Scott invited the two generals to be his guests during the inclement night. Pillow accepted the invitation ; General Twiggs did not, but bade General Scott good night, saying "He could not cross the *pedrigal* and get to his command, but he would sleep as near it as he could."

Mr. Trist, the peace commissioner, testified before the Court of Inquiry that General Pillow, in his (Trist's) room that night, August 19th, said, "This is going to be a failure," meaning the attack upon Contreras the following morning, "and I call upon you now to remember and bear me witness hereafter that I have nothing to do with it."

Contreras was assaulted by P. F. Smith a little after sunrise the next (20th) morning, and in seventeen minutes the position was carried, twenty-two guns captured (every piece Valencia had), many prisoners, three generals, one an ex-President, and one aid of Valencia taken. The pursuit soon began under General Twiggs' orders,* Pillow rejoined more than half an hour after the battle ended, and General Scott, at Coyoacan, having previously by orders sent forward halted the pursuing columns † there, a little over a mile from Churubusco and two miles by a cross road from the rear of San Antonio.

To insure success at Contreras, General Worth had been ordered the night of the 19th to move with one of his brigades—his division was in front of San Antonio, three miles from San Augustin and six from Contreras—early the morning of the 20th for that field and Quitman to move with his remaining brigade to the same point. The assault had been made with entire success before these brigades came within sight of Contreras. Quitman was directed to return to San Augustin and Worth to San Antonio, which he was ordered to attack in front when approached in rear by Pillow and Twiggs.

When Pillow, Twiggs, and Shields were halted at Coyoacan, Captain Lee, escorted by Capt. Phil Kearny's company (First Dragoons), reinforced by the Rifle regiment under Major Loring, was sent to reconnoiter San Antonio, and Pillow was detached, with Cadwalader's brigade, to attack it in concert with Worth. On the direct road in front, at the same time, a reconnoissance was ordered of the Convent at Churubusco, about a mile distant, and Twiggs directed to attack it with all of Smith's brigade, except the Rifles. As the reconnoitering party under Lee approached the San Antonio and Churubusco road, Worth's division, which had turned the position, was encountered crossing the Coyoacan and San Antonio road. As the Rifle regiment, which was ordered back, began the re-

*Report of Gen. Persifor F. Smith. Captain Canby, acting adjutant general, testified before the Court of Inquiry that he saw Pillow enter the Mexican camp, Contreras, at from forty to sixty minutes after the camp had been captured.

† Stevens' campaigns on the Rio Grande and of Mexico, page 68.

turn march, firing was heard in the direction of the Convent of San Pablo, the attack of Worth on the *tete-de-pont* followed, the retreating enemy having been previously struck by Clarke's brigade in the flank on the causeway.

Next, and all within ten minutes, Pierce's brigade, conducted by Captain Lee, followed by Shields, was ordered to turn the enemy's right, thus forming the attack upon the *tete-de-pont* and convent and to cut off retreat towards the city. Pillow, in the meantime, joined Worth with three regiments of Cadwalader's brigade. The bridge head was taken first, then the convent, and Pierce and Shields reached the main highway in rear as the pursuing columns arrived opposite the Portales. If one statement be correct, General Pillow was not at Contreras on the 20th until after the battle, and at Churubusco commanded only Cadwalader's brigade.

It is seen that General Scott was not mistaken in his remarks submitted to the Court of Inquiry when organized, for it did adjourn to the United States to secure the attendance of witnesses, and it did adjourn *sine die*, having finished its labors only a few days before General Pillow ceased to be an officer of the army, and was therefore no longer amenable to trial by court martial, even had the findings and opinions of the court been adverse and accompanied with the recommendation to that effect.

General Scott, impatient at delays and anxious to forward to the Government his report of the operations in the Valley of Mexico, had returned to General Pillow his report to be corrected; the errors being cited, General Pillow addressed a private note, October 3d, to General Scott, saying: "I have altered my report, however, in all particulars suggested by you, except the last. * * * I have not changed the report in the last particular, indicated in your second note, and I do not see that that statement in my report can in any degree affect you." * * * "I ask your indulgence in permitting my report to stand unaltered as to that statement." The court disapproved of General Pillow's asking the indulgence of the commanding general to permit a mis-statement in his report, on the ground that it did not affect him, Scott.

The movements ordered by General Pillow at Contreras on the 19th may have been approved, but there were other

movements of the highest importance on that day that he did not order. The "other considerations" were, most probably, that, although he had violated the revised article of the army regulations, published by order of the President and the enforcement of which had been enjoined in orders and had claimed "a larger degree of participation in the merits of the movements appertaining to the battle of Contreras, than is substantiated by the evidence or he is entitled to," and also the language quoted above, in which that claim is referred to in a letter to General Scott, etc., "he could not be brought before a court martial for the reason that he would in a few days cease to be in the military profession, and no further action could be taken in the case."

With no disposition to find fault with the Court of Inquiry, and fully conceding their ability and without questioning their integrity, yet to many it would have been more satisfactory if they had explained in what the "other considerations" consisted; as, by the orders convening the court, they were required to inquire and examine into the charges and allegations preferred by Major General Winfield Scott against Maj.-Gen. Gideon J. Pillow, etc., and, after duly investigating the same, report the facts, together with its opinions thereon, for the information of the President. The following order closed official action in the case.

WAR DEPARTMENT, WASHINGTON, *July 7, 1848.*

The President has examined the record of the proceedings of the Court of Inquiry, of which Brevet Brig.-Gen. Nathan Towson is president, in the matter of certain charges and specifications preferred by Major-General Winfield Scott against Maj.-Gen. Gideon J. Pillow, both of the United States Army, which court convened at the City of Mexico on March 16, 1848, and reported its proceedings to the Secretary of War at Washington on July 1, 1848. The court expresses the opinion that no further proceedings against General Pillow in the case are called for by the interest of the public service.

It appears from the evidence as set forth in the record of the court, as well as by the official reports of the general-in-chief commanding the army, that the military conduct and services of Major-General Pillow in the war with Mexico have been gallant and "highly meritorious."

The President finding, on a careful review of the whole evidence, that there is nothing established to sustain the charge of "a violation of a general regulation or standing order for the army," nothing in

the conduct of General Pillow nor in his correspondence with the general-in chief of the army "unbecoming an officer and a gentleman," concurs with the Court of Inquiry in their conclusion that "no further proceedings against General Pillow in the case are called for by the interest of the public service," and he accordingly directs that no further proceedings be had in the case.

By order of the President.

W. L. MARCY,
Secretary of War.

ROSTER OF ARMY OFFICERS

Serving in the War Between Mexico and the United States
and, of the Survivors, Those Who Fought
in the War of 1861.

In the preparation of this Roster thanks are due, and are cordially extended, to Dr. W. S. McNairy, Register Clerk, Navy Department; Commodore F. M. Ramsay, U. S. N.; Asst. Adjt.-Gen. Theo. Schwann, U. S. A.; to the Adjutants-General Winfield S. Fletcher, New Mexico; W. H. Mabry, Texas; Thomas T. Dill, Ohio; J. Gary Watts, South Carolina; John McIntosh Kell, Georgia; Wm. Henry, Mississippi; J. N. Reece, Illinois; Kie Oldham, Arkansas; J. A. Wickham, Missouri, and William McClelland, Pennsylvania; to Capt. Jas. H. Smith, Secretary Ohio State Association, Mexican War Veterans; Col. Ira Grosvenor, Michigan; Col. N. H. R. Dawson, Alabama; Gen. S. S. Anderson, Kentucky; Gen. Geo. T. Anderson, Alabama; Capt. R. S. Collum, U. S. Marine Corps; Lieut. Charles Braden, Secretary Association West Point Graduates; Mr. Vinet Donelson, Tennessee; and to Mr. F. B. Heitman and Col. Wm. Hugh Roberts, whose historical registers have been consulted.

[The names of comrades killed, or mortally wounded, in battle, are printed in **heavy type**, and those who were cadets at the West Point Military Academy are marked, *.]

GENERAL OFFICERS.

MAJOR-GENERALS.

Winfield Scott, General-in-chief, Commander-in-chief, U. S. A. late war, died May 29, 1866, at Washington, D. C.
Zachary Taylor, Commander of the "Army of Occupation;" died July 9, 1850, at Washington, D. C., while President of the United States.

BRIGADIER-GENERALS.

Thomas S. Jesup; died June 10, 1860.
Stephen W. Kearny, Bvt. Maj.-Gen. Cal. and N. M.; twice wounded at San Pasqual, Cal.; died October 31, 1848, at Jefferson Barracks, Mo.;
Persifor F. Smith, Bvt. Maj.-Gen. Monterey, Contreras, and Churubusco; died May 17, 1858, at Fort Leavenworth, Kans.
Nathan Towson, Bvt. Maj.-Gen. Mexico; died July 20, 1854.

David E. Twiggs, Bvt. Maj. Gen. Monterey; Maj.-Gen. C. S. A. late war; died July 15, 1862.

John E. Wool, Bvt. Maj.-Gen. Buena Vista; died November 10, 1869.

William J. Worth, Bvt. Maj.-Gen. Monterey; died May, 7 1849.

ASSISTANT ADJUTANTS-GENERAL—(Brevet Rank of Majors).

*William W. S. Bliss, Bvt. Maj. and Lt.-Col. Palo Alto and Buena Vista; died August 5, 1853, at East Pascagoula, Miss.

*George A. McCall, Bvt. Lt.-Col. Palo Alto and Resaca de la Palma; Maj.-Gen. U. S. V. late war; died February 25, 1868, at West Chester, Pa.

*Lorenzo Thomas, Bvt. Lt.-Col. Monterey; Brig.-Gen. U. S. V. late war; died March 2, 1875, at Washington, D. C.

ASSISTANT ADJUTANTS-GENERAL—(Brevet Rank of Captains).

***Edward R. S. Canby**, Bvt. Maj. and Lt.-Col. Contreras, Churubusco, and Belen Garita; Maj.-Gen. U. S. V. late war; killed in action with Modoc Indians April 11, 1873, at Lava Beds, Oreg.

George Deas, Bvt. Maj. Contreras and Churubusco; Lt.-Col. C. S. A. late war; died May 21, 1870.

*Joseph Hooker, Bvt. Maj. and Lt.-Col. Monterey, National Bridge, and Chapultepec; Brig.-Gen. U. S. A. late war; died October 31, 1879, at Garden City, Long Island, N. Y.

George Lincoln, Bvt. Capt. Palo Alto and Resaca de la Palma; killed February 23, 1847, at the battle of Buena Vista, Mexico.

*William W. Mackall, Bvt. Capt. and Maj. Monterey, Contreras and Churubusco; Brig.-Gen. C. S. A. late war; died August 19, 1891, at Langley, Va.

*Irvin W. McDowell, Bvt. Capt. Buena Vista, Maj.-Gen. U. S. V. late war; died May 4, 1885, at San Francisco, Cal.

*Francis N. Page, Bvt. Capt. and Maj. Ft. Brown, Contreras and Churubusco; died March 25, 1860, at Fort Smith, Ark.

*James H. Prentiss; died September 22, 1848, at Fort Polk, Tex.

*Randolph Ridgely, Bvt. Capt. Palo Alto and Resaca de la Palma; died October 27, 1846, at Monterey, Mexico.

*Oscar F. Winship, Bvt. Capt. and Maj. Palo Alto, Resaca de la Palma and Churubusco, died December 13, 1855, at Troy, N. Y.

INSPECTORS-GENERAL—(Rank of Colonels).

Sylvester Churchill, Bvt. Brig.-Gen. Buena Vista; died December 7, 1862.

George Croghan; died January 8, 1849.

ASSISTANT QUARTERMASTERS-GENERAL—(Rank of Colonels).

Trueman Cross; killed April 21, 1846, by bandits, on the Rio Grande.

Thomas F. Hunt; died December 22, 1856.

Henry Whiting, Bvt. Brig.-Gen. Buena Vista; died September 16, 1851.

QUARTERMASTERS—(Rank of Majors).

*George H. Crosman, Bvt. Maj. Palo Alto, A. Q. M. G., U. S. A. late war; died May 28, 1882, at Philadelphia, Pa.

*Osborn Cross, A. Q. M. G., U. S. A. late war; died July 15, 1876, New York City.

*Samuel McRee, Bvt. Lt.-Col. Mexico; died July 15, 1849, at St. Louis, Mo.

*Henry Smith; died July 24, 1847, at Vera Cruz, Mexico.

- *Thomas Swords, Bvt. Lt.-Col. Mexico A. Q. M. G., U. S. A. late war; died March 2, 1886, at New York city.
- Charles Thomas, Bvt. Lt.-Col. Mexico; A. Q. M. G., U. S. A. late war; died February 1, 1878.
- *Daniel D. Tompkins, Bvt. Lt.-Col. Mexico; died February 26, 1863, at Brooklyn, N. Y.

ASSISTANT QUARTERMASTERS—(Rank of Captains).

- *Róbert Allen, Bvt. Maj. Cerro Gordo; Brig.-Gen. U. S. V. late war; died August 5, 1886, at Geneva, Switzerland.
- ***William Armstrong**; killed September 8, 1847, at the battle of Molino del Rey, Mexico.
- *Edwin B. Babbitt, Bvt. Maj. Mexico; Col. Q. M., U. S. A. late war; died December 10, 1881, at Fortress Monroe, Va.
- *Thomas L. Brent, Bvt. Capt. Buena Vista; died January 11, 1858, at Fort Leavenworth, Kans.
- *Leslie Chase, Bvt. Capt. Palo Alto, and Resaca de la Palma; died April 15, 1849, at Fort Johnston, N. C.
- *William W. Chapman, Bvt. Maj. Buena Vista; died September 27, 1859, at Fortress Monroe, Va.
- *William H. Churchill, Bvt. Capt. Palo Alto, and Resaca de la Palma; died October 19, 1847, at Point Isabel, Tex.
- *James L. Donaldson, Bvt. Capt. and Maj. Monterey and Buena Vista; Col. Q. M.; U. S. A. late war; died November 4, 1885, at Baltimore, Md.
- Edward G. Elliott; died January 3, 1849.
- Edward H. Fitzgerald, Bvt. Maj. Chapultepec; died January 9, 1860.
- *Joseph L. Folsom; died July 19, 1855, at San Jose, Cal.
- *Sewall L. Fremont, Col. C. S. A. late war; died May 1, 1886, at Memphis, Tenn.
- *Abner R. Hetzel; died July 20, 1847, at Louisville, Ky.
- *James M. Hill; died January 29, 1849, at Baltimore, Md.
- *James R. Irwin; died January 10, 1848, at City of Mexico.
- *Thomas Jordan, Brig.-Gen. C. S. A. late war.
- *Arthur B. Lansing; died February 9, 1880, at New York City.
- Albert Lowry, Bvt. Maj. Medelin.
- *James G. Martin, Bvt. Maj. Contreras and Churubusco; Brig.-Gen. C. S. A. late war; died October 4, 1878, at Asheville, N. C.
- Frederick H. Masten; died September 8, 1874.
- *Justus McKinstry, Bvt. Maj. Contreras and Churubusco; Brig.-Gen. U. S. V. late war.
- *William M. D. McKissack; died January 27, 1849, at Pittsburg, Pa.
- *Alexander Montgomery, Maj. Q. M., U. S. A. late war.
- *Abraham C. Myers, Bvt. Maj. and Lt.-Col. Palo Alto, Resaca de la Palma, and Churubusco; Q. M. G., C. S. A. late war; died June 20, 1889, at Washington, D. C.
- *John P. J. O'Brien, Bvt. Maj. and wounded at Buena Vista; died March 31, 1850, at Indianola, Tex.
- *Edmund A. Ogden; died August 3, 1855, at Fort Riley, Kans.
- William H. Shover. (See Third Artillery.)
- *Ebenezer S. Sibley, Bvt. Maj. Buena Vista; Lt.-Col. Q. M., U. S. A. late war; died August 14, 1884, at Detroit, Mich.
- Stewart Van Vliet. (See Third Artillery.)
- William Wall. (See Third Artillery.)

- *Henry C. Wayne, Bvt. Maj. Contreras, and Churubusco; Brig.-Gen. C. S. A. late war; died March 15, 1883, at Savannah, Ga.
 George W. F. Wood, Bvt. Maj. Contreras, and Churubusco; died November 8, 1854.

COMMISSARY OF SUBSISTENCE—(Rank of Major).

- *Richard B. Lee, Lt.-Col. C. S. A. late war; died August 2, 1875, at Alexandria, Va.

COMMISSARIES OF SUBSISTENCE—(Rank of Captains).

- *Amos B. Eaton, Bvt. Maj. Buena Vista; Brig.-Gen. Sub. U. S. A. late war; died February 21, 1877, at New Haven, Conn.
 *John B. Grayson, Bvt. Maj. and Lt.-Col., Contreras, Churubusco, and Chapultepec; Brig.-Gen. C. S. A. late war; died October 21, 1861.
 *George G. Waggaman, Bvt. Maj. Palo Alto and Resaca; died September 9, 1884, at St. Louis, Mo.

SURGEON-GENERAL—(Rank of Colonel).

- Thomas Lawson, Bvt. Brig.-Gen. Mexico; died May 15, 1861.

SURGEONS—(Rank of Majors).

- Presley H. Craig; died August 8, 1848.
 John M. Cuyler, Col. Med. Inspr. U. S. A. late war; died April 26, 1884.
 Samuel G. I. DeCamp; died September 8, 1871.
 Clement A. Finley; died September 8, 1879.
 Benjamin F. Harney, wounded in the march from Vera Cruz; died August 29, 1858.
 Hamilton S. Hawkins; died August 7, 1847.
 Nathan S. Jarvis; died May 12, 1862.
 Adam N. McLaren, Bvt. Lt.-Col. U. S. A. late war; died August 1, 1874.
 Madison Mills, Col. Med. Inspr. U. S. A. late war; died April 28, 1873.
 John B. Porter; died June 15, 1869.
 Burton Randall, Bvt. Lt.-Col. U. S. A. late war; died February 8, 1886.
 Richard S. Satterlee, Bvt. Brig.-Gen. U. S. A. late war; died November 10, 1880.
 Henry A. Stinnecke; died December 20, 1855.
 Charles S. Tripler, Bvt. Brig.-Gen. U. S. A. late war; October 20, 1866.
 John B. Wells; died July 24, 1853.
 William L. Wharton; died October 4, 1846.
 Robert C. Wood, Asst. Surg.-Gen. U. S. A. late war; died March 28, 1869.
 Joseph J. B. Wright, Bvt. Brig.-Gen. U. S. A. late war; died May 14, 1878.

ASSISTANT SURGEONS—(Rank of Captains).

- Eugene H. Abadie, Maj. Surg. U. S. A. late war; died December 22, 1874.
 Joseph K. Barnes, Surg.-Gen. U. S. A. late war; died April 5, 1883, at Washington, D. C.
 Bernard M. Byrne; died September 6, 1860.
 James R. Conrad.
 Henry E. Cruttenden.
 David C. DeLeon, Surg. C. S. A. late war; died September 8, 1872.
 John C. Glen; died February 14, 1848.

John S. Griffin.

Charles M. Hitchcock; died April 3, 1885.

Levi H. Holden, Bvt. Lt.-Col. U. S. A. late war; died May 12, 1874.

Alfred W. Kennedy; died June 3, 1851.

Charles W. Laub, Bvt. Lt.-Col. U. S. A. late war; died December 2, 1876.

William Levely; died November 24, 1848.

Thomas C. Madison, Surg. C. S. A. late war; died November 7, 1866.

Leonard C. McPhail; died March 23, 1867.

Samuel P. Moore, Surg.-Gen. C. S. A. late war; died May 31, 1889.

James W. Russell.

Josiah Simpson, Maj. Surg. U. S. A.; died March 3, 1874.

James Simons, wounded at Molino del Rey, Maj. Surg. U. S. A. late war;
died November 11, 1885.

Richard F. Simpson; died July 4, 1861.

Henry H. Steiner, Surg. C. S. A. late war.

Alexander F. Suter; died December 17, 1847.

ASSISTANT SURGEONS—(Rank of First Lieutenants).

Elisha J. Baily, Maj. Surg. U. S. A. late war.

Samuel L. Barbour.

Nicholas L. Campbell.

George E. Cooper, Col. Med. Dir. U. S. A. late war; died April 13, 1881.

Charles P. Deyerle; died October 30, 1853.

Lewis A. Edwards, Maj. Surg. U. S. A. late war; died November 8, 1877.

John F. Hammond, Maj. Surg. U. S. A. late war; died September 29, 1886.

John F. Head, Maj. Surg. U. S. A. late war.

PAYMASTERS—(Rank of Majors).

Timothy P. Andrews. (See Voltigeur Regiment).

*Lloyd J. Beall, Col. Marine Corps, C. S. N. late war; died November 10
1887, at Richmond, Va.

Albert G. Bennett, Bvt. Lt.-Col. National Bridge; died February 23, 1857.

Felix G. Bosworth; died June 9, 1847.

*Andrew J. Coffee, Bvt. Lt.-Col. Buena Vista.

*St. Clair Denny; died August 18, 1858, at Pittsburgh, Pa.

*Roger S. Dix, Bvt. Lt.-Col. Buena Vista; died January 7, 1849, at Hills-
boro, Pa.

*Robert A. Forsyth; died October 21, 1849.

Robert H. Hammond; died June 2, 1847.

*David Hunter, Maj.-Gen. U. S. V. late war; died February 2, 1886, at
Washington, D. C.

Edmund Kirby, Bvt. Lt.-Col. and Col. Contreras, Churubusco and Chapul-
tepec; died August 20, 1849.

Robert B. Reynolds.

*George H. Ringgold, Lt.-Col. P. M. G., U. S. A. late war; died April 4,
1864, at San Francisco, Cal.

Adam D. Steuart, Maj. P. M. U. S. A. late war; died October 17, 1867.

*Abraham Van Buren, Bvt. Lt.-Col. Contreras and Churubusco; died March
15, 1873, at New York City.

*Benjamin Walker; died March 28, 1858, at St. Louis, Mo.

ENGINEER CORPS.

COLONEL.

- *Joseph G. Totten, Bvt. Brig.-Gen. Vera Cruz, Chief of Engineers U. S. A. late war; died April 22, 1864, at Washington, D. C.

MAJOR.

- John Lind Smith, Bvt. Lt.-Col. and Col. Cerro Gordo, Contreras and Churubusco; died October 13, 1858.

CAPTAINS.

- *John G. Barnard, Brig.-Gen. U. S. V. late war; died May 14, 1882, at Detroit, Mich.
 *William D. Fraser; died July 27, 1856, at Key West, Fla.
 *Robert E. Lee, Bvt. Maj., Lt.-Col. and Col. Cerro Gordo, Contreras, Churubusco and Chapultepec; wounded at Chapultepec; General-in-Chief C. S. A. late war; died October 12, 1870, at Lexington, Va.
 ***Joseph K. F. Mansfield**, Bvt. Maj., Lt.-Col. and Col. Fort Brown, Monterey and Buena Vista; severely wounded at Monterey; Maj.-Gen. U. S. V. late war; died September 18, 1862, of wounds received at the battle of Antietam, Md.
 *James L. Mason, Bvt. Maj. and Lt.-Col. Contreras, Churubusco and Molino del Rey; severely wounded at Molino del Rey; died September 5, 1853, at San Francisco, Cal.
 *John Sanders, Bvt. Maj. Monterey; died July 29, 1858, at Fort Delaware, Del.
 *Alexander J. Swift; died April 24, 1847, at New Orleans, La.

FIRST LIEUTENANTS.

- *Peter G. T. Beauregard, Bvt. Capt. and Maj. Contreras, Churubusco and Chapultepec; twice wounded at Chapultepec; Gen. C. S. A. late war.
 *Henry W. Benham, Bvt. Capt. and wounded at Buena Vista; Brig.-Gen. U. S. V. late war; died June 1, 1884, at New York City.
 *Jeremy F. Gilmer, Maj.-Gen. C. S. A. late war; died December 1, 1883, at Savannah, Ga.
 *Henry W. Halleck, Bvt. Capt. California; Commander U. S. A. late war; died January 9, 1872, at Louisville, Ky.
 *Jeremiah M. Scarritt, Bvt. Capt. Monterey; died June 22, 1854, at Key West, Fla.
 ***Isaac I. Stevens**, Bvt. Capt. and Maj. Contreras, Churubusco and Chapultepec; severely wounded at San Cosme Gate; Maj.-Gen. U. S. V. late war; killed Sept. 1, 1862, at the battle of Chantilly, Va.
 *Zealous B. Tower, Bvt. Capt. Cerro Gordo, Contreras, Churubusco and Chapultepec; wounded at Chapultepec; Brig.-Gen. U. S. V. late war.

SECOND LIEUTENANTS.

- *John G. Foster, Bvt. 1st Lt. and Capt. Contreras, Churubusco, Molino del Rey; severely wounded at Molino del Rey; Maj.-Gen. U. S. V. late war; died September 2, 1874, at Nashua, N. H.
 *George B. McClellan, Bvt. 1st Lt. and Capt. Contreras, Churubusco, and Chapultepec; Commander U. S. A. late war; died October 19, 1885, at Orange, N. J.
 *Gustavus W. Smith, Bvt. 1st Lt. and Capt. Cerro Gordo and Contreras; Maj.-Gen. C. S. A. late war.

TOPOGRAPHICAL ENGINEERS.

MAJOR.

- *William Turnbull, Bvt. Lt.-Col. and Col. Contreras, Churubusco, and Chapultepec; died December 9, 1857, at Wilmington, N. C.

CAPTAINS.

- *George W. Hughes, Bvt. Maj. and Lt.-Col. Cerro Gordo; died December 4, 1870.
- *Joseph E. Johnston, Bvt. Maj., Lt.-Col., and Col. Cerro Gordo and Chapultepec; wounded near Cerro Gordo and at City of Mexico; Gen. C. S. A. late war; died March 21, 1891, at Washington, D. C.
- *Thomas B. Linnard, Bvt. Maj. Buena Vista; died April 24, 1851, at Philadelphia, Pa.
- *John McClellan, Bvt. Maj. and Lt.-Col. Contreras, Churubusco, and City of Mexico; died September 1, 1854, at Knoxville, Tenn.
- ***William G. Williams**; killed September 21, 1846, at battle of Monterey, Mexico.

FIRST LIEUTENANTS.

- *Jacob E. Blake; accidentally killed May 9, 1846, at Palo Alto, Tex.
- *William H. Emory, Bvt. Capt. and Maj. San Pasqual, San Gabriel, and Plains of Mesa, Cal; Maj.-Gen. U. S. V. late war; died December 1, 1887, at Washington, D. C.
- *Charles N. Hagner; died July 14, 1849.
- *Eliakim P. Scammon, Brig.-Gen. U. S. V. late war.
- *Lorenzo Sitgreaves, Bvt. Capt. Buena Vista; Lt.-Col. U. S. A. late war; died May, 14, 1888, at Washington, D. C.

FIRST LIEUTENANT.

- ***William H. Warner**, Bvt. Capt., San Pasqual; thrice wounded at San Pasqual, Cal.; killed September 26, 1849, by Indians, in the Sierra Nevada.

SECOND LIEUTENANTS.

- *Francis T. Bryan, Bvt. 1st Lt. and wounded at Buena Vista.
- *George H. Derby, Bvt. 1st Lt. and severely wounded at Cerro Gordo; died May 15, 1861, at New York City.
- *William B. Franklin, Bvt. 1st Lt. Buena Vista; Maj.-Gen. U. S. V. late war.
- John C. Fremont, Maj.-Gen. U. S. A. late war; died July 13, 1890, at Los Angeles, Cal.
- *Edmund L. F. Hardcastle, Bvt. 1st Lt. and Capt., Contreras, Churubusco, and Molino del Rey.
- George G. Meade, Bvt. 1st Lt. Monterey; Maj.-Gen. U. S. A. late war; died November 6, 1872, at Philadelphia, Pa.
- *William G. Peck.
- *John Pope, Bvt. 1st Lt. and Capt. Monterey and Buena Vista; Maj.-Gen. U. S. V. late war.
- *Martin L. Smith, Bvt. 1st Lt. Mexico; Maj.-Gen. C. S. A. late war; died July 29, 1866, at Savannah, Ga.
- *George Thom, Col. U. S. A. late war; died June 29, 1891, at Washington, D. C.
- Joseph D. Webster, Brig.-Gen. U. S. V. late war; died March 12, 1876.
- *Thomas J. Wood, Bvt. 1st Lt. Buena Vista; Maj.-Gen. U. S. V. late war.

ORDNANCE DEPARTMENT.**MAJOR.**

Henry K. Craig, Bvt. Lt.-Col. Monterey; died December 7, 1869.

CAPTAINS.

- *William H. Bell; died December 20, 1865, at St. Louis, Mo.
- *Benjamin Huger, Bvt. Maj., Lt.-Col. and Col. Vera Cruz, Molino del Rey, and Chapultepec; Maj.-Gen. C. S. A. late war; died December 7, 1877, at Charleston, S. C.
- *James McC. Morgan; died September 20, 1853, at Baton Rouge, La.
- *George D. Ramsay, Bvt. Maj. Monterey; Brig.-Gen. U. S. A. late war; died May 23, 1882, at Washington, D. C.
- *George H. Talcott, Bvt. Maj. and Lt.-Col. Molino del Rey; died June 8, 1854, at Indian Springs, Ga.

FIRST LIEUTENANTS.

- *Franklin D. Callender, Bvt. Capt. Contreras and Churubusco; severely wounded at Contreras; Lt.-Col. U. S. A. late war; died December 13, 1882, at Daysville, Ill.
- *Alexander B. Dyer, Bvt. Capt. Santa Cruz de Rosales; Brig.-Gen. U. S. A. late war; died May 20, 1874, at Washington, D. C.
- *Josiah Gorgas, Brig.-Gen. C. S. A. late war; died May 15, 1883, at Tuscaloosa Ala.
- *Peter V. Hagner, Bvt. Capt. and Maj. Cerro Gordo and Chapultepec; wounded at Chapultepec Lt.-Col. U. S. A. late war,
- *Theodore T. S. Laidley, Bvt. Capt. and Maj. Cerro Gordo and Puebla; Maj. U. S. A. late war; died April 4, 1886, at Palatka, Fla.
- *John McNutt, Maj. U. S. A. late war; died March 28, 1881, at Paris, France.
- *Robert A. Wainwright, Lt.-Col. U. S. A. late war; died December 22, 1866, at Benicia Arsenal, Cal.

SECOND LIEUTENANTS.

- *Thomas J. Brereton, Bvt. 1st Lt. Palo Alto and Resaca de la Palma; died September 18, 1870, at Yonkers, N. Y.
- *Charles P. Kingsbury, Bvt. 1st Lt. Buena Vista; Maj. U. S. A. late war; died December 25, 1879, at Brooklyn, N. Y.
- ***Jesse L. Reno**, Bvt. 1st Lt. and Capt. Cerro Gordo and Chapultepec; severely wounded at Chapultepec; Maj.-Gen. U. S. A. late war; killed September 14, 1862, at the battle of South Mountain, Md.
- *Charles P. Stone, Bvt. 1st Lt. and Capt. Molino del Rey and Chapultepec; Brig.-Gen. U. S. V. late war; died January 24, 1887, at New York City.

FIRST REGIMENT OF DRAGOONS.**COLONEL.**

Richard B. Mason, Bvt. Brig.-Gen. Mexico; died July 25, 1850.

MAJOR.

- *Benjamin L. Beall, Bvt. Lt.-Col. Santa Cruz de Rosales; died August 16, 1863.

CAPTAINS.

- *James Allen; died August 23, 1846, at Fort Leavenworth, Kans.
- ***John H. K. Burgwin** • killed February 7, 1847, in action at Pueblo de Taos, N. Mex.

James H. Carleton, Bvt. Maj. Buena Vista; Brig.-Gen. U. S. V. late war; died January 7, 1873.

*Robert H. Chilton, Bvt. Maj. Buena Vista; Brig.-Gen. C. S. A. late war; died February 18, 1879, at Columbus, Ga.

*William Eustis.

*William N. Grier, Bvt. Maj. Santa Cruz de Rosales; Lt.-Col. U. S. A. late war; died July 8, 1885, at Napa, Cal.

***Abraham R. Johnston**; killed December 6, 1846, in action at San Pasqual, Cal.

Philip Kearny, Bvt. Maj. Contreras, and Churubusco; severely wounded at Churubusco; Maj.-Gen. U. S. V. late war; killed September 1, 1862, at the battle of Chantilly, Va;

Benjamin D. Moore; killed December 6, 1846, in action at San Pasqual, Cal.

*Daniel H. Rucker, Bvt. Maj. Buena Vista; Brig.-Gen. U. S. V. late war.

*Andrew J. Smith, Maj.-Gen. U. S. V. late war.

*Enoch Steen, Bvt. Maj. and wounded at Buena Vista; Lt.-Col. U. S. A. late war; died January 22, 1880.

*Philip R. Thompson, Bvt. Maj. Sacramento, Mexico; died June 24, 1857, on the Gulf of Mexico.

*Henry S. Turner, Bvt. Maj. San Pasqual, San Gabriel, and Plains of Mesa; died December 16, 1881, at St. Louis, Mo.

FIRST LIEUTENANTS.

*Abraham Buford, Bvt. Capt. Buena Vista; Brig.-Gen., C. S. A. late war; died June 9, 1884, at Danville, Ill.

*Richard S. Ewell, Bvt. Capt. Contreras and Churubusco; Lt.-Gen. C. S. A. late war; died January 25, 1872, at Spring Hill, Tenn.

***Thomas C. Hammond**; killed December 6, 1846, in action at San Pasqual, Cal.

*Leonidas Jenkins; died October 18, 1847, at Vera Cruz, Mexico.

*John Love, Bvt. Capt. Santa Cruz de Rosales; Maj. U. S. V. late war; died January 29, 1881, at Indianapolis, Ind.

SECOND LIEUTENANTS.

***John Adams**, Bvt. 1st Lt. Santa Cruz de Rosales; Brig.-Gen. C. S. A. late war; killed November 30, 1864, at the battle of Franklin, Tenn.

*Thomas F. Castor; died September 8, 1855, at Fort Tejon, Cal.

*Orren Chapman, Bvt. 1st Lt. Medelin; died January 6, 1859, at St. Louis, Mo.

*John W. Davidson, Brig.-Gen. U. S. V. late war; died June 26, 1881, at St. Paul, Minn.

*George F. Evans, Bvt. 1st Lt. Buena Vista; died March 29, 1859, at Augusta, Me.

Lorimer Graham. (See Tenth Infantry.)

*Rufus Ingalls, Bvt. 1st Lt., Embudo and Taos, N. M.; Brig.-Gen. U. S. V. late war.

*Joseph McElvain; accidentally killed July 12, 1847, at Albuquerque, N. M.

*Richard C. W. Radford, Col. C. S. A. late war; died November 2, 1885.

*Delos B. Sackett, Bvt. 1st Lt. Palo Alto and Resaca de la Palma; Col. U. S. A. late war; died March 18, 1885, at Washington, D. C.

*George Stoneman, Maj.-Gen. U. S. V. late war.

*Samuel D. Sturgis, Brig.-Gen. U. S. V. late war; died September 28, 1889, at St. Paul, Minn.

- ***Oliver H. P. Taylor**, Bvt. 1st Lt. and Capt., Embudo and Taos, N. M., and Santa Cruz de Rosales, Mexico; killed March 17, 1858, on the Colville Trail, Utah.
- *Joseph H. Whittlesey, Bvt. 1st Lt. Buena Vista; died August 1, 1886, at Seattle, Wash.
- *Clarendon J. L. Wilson, Bvt. 1st Lt. Embudo and Taos, N. M.; died February 21, 1853, at Albuquerque, N. M.

SECOND REGIMENT OF DRAGOONS.

COLONEL.

William S. Harney, Bvt. Brig.-Gen. Cerro Gordo; Brig. Gen. U. S. A. late war; died May 9, 1889.

MAJORS.

- *Philip St. George Cooke, Bvt. Lt.-Col. California; Brig.-Gen. U. S. A. late war.
- Edwin V. Sumner, Bvt. Lt.-Col. and Col. Cerro Gordo and Molino del Rey; severely wounded at Cerro Gordo; Maj.-Gen. U. S. V. late war; died March 21, 1863.

CAPTAINS.

- *Ripley A. Arnold, Bvt. Maj. Palo Alto and Resaca de la Palma; murdered September 6, 1853, at Fort Graham, Texas.
- George A. H. Blake, Bvt. Maj. San Augustin; Col. U. S. A. late war; died October 27, 1884.
- Lawrence P. Graham, Bvt. Maj. Palo Alto and Resaca de la Palma; Brig.-Gen. U. S. V. late war.
- *William J. Hardee, Bvt. Maj. and Lt.-Col. Medelin and San Augustin; Lt.-Gen. C. S. A. late war; died November 6, 1873, at Wytheville, Va.
- *Nathaniel W. Hunter; died April 25, 1849, at Charleston, S. C.
- Croghan Ker; severely wounded at Molino del Rey.
- Charles A. May, Bvt. Maj., Lt.-Col. and Col. Palo Alto, Resaca de la Palma and Buena Vista; died December 24, 1864.
- *Hamilton W. Merrill, Bvt. Maj. Molino del Rey.
- *Henry H. Sibley, Bvt. Maj. Medelin; Brig.-Gen. C. S. A. late war; died August 23, 1886, at Fredricksburg, Va.
- Seth B. Thornton**; severely wounded on the Rio Grande; killed August 18, 1847, in action at San Antonio, Valley of Mexico.

FIRST LIEUTENANTS.

- Reuben P. Campbell**, Bvt. Capt. Buena Vista; Col. C. S. A. late war; killed June 27, 1862, at the battle of Gaines' Mills, Va.
- *Fowler Hamilton; died August 8, 1851, San Saba River, Tex.
- *John H. Hill; died July 29, 1847, at Puebla, Mex.
- ***Zebulon M. P. Inge**; killed May 9, 1846, at the battle of Resaca de la Palma.
- *Elias K. Kane; died July 9, 1853, at Belleville, Ill.
- *Philip W. McDonald, Bvt. Capt. and Maj. Contreras, Churubusco, and Chapultepec; died October 11, 1851, at New Orleans, La.
- Washington I. Newton; died February 6, 1876.
- *Daniel G. Rogers; died July 21, 1848, at Vera Cruz, Mexico.
- William H. Saunders; died July 6, 1857.
- *William Steele, Bvt. Capt. Contreras and Churubusco; Brig.-Gen. C. S. A.

late war; died January 12, 1885, at San Antonio, Tex.

*Oscar F. Winship. (See Assistant Adjutants-General.)

SECOND LIEUTENANTS.

*Richard H. Anderson, Bvt. 1st. Lt. San Augustin; Lt.-Gen. C. S. A. late war; died June 26, 1879, at Charleston, S. C.

*John Y. Bicknell; died November 11, 1849, at Maryville, Tenn.

*Newton C. Givens, Bvt. 1st Lt. Buena Vista; died March 9, 1859, at San Antonio, Tex.

*James M. Hawes, Bvt. 1st Lt. San Juan de los Llanos, Mexico; Brig.-Gen. C. S. A. late war; died November 22, 1889, at Covington, Ky.

*George S. Humphreys; died November 9, 1847, Carlisle Barracks, Pa.

***George T. Mason**; killed April 25, 1846, in action near Ft. Brown, Tex.

*Lewis Neill, severely wounded at Medelin; died January 13, 1850, at Ft. Croghan, Tex.

*James Oakes, Bvt. 1st Lt. and Capt. Medelin and Molino del Rey; Col. U. S. A. late war.

*Alfred Pleasanton, Bvt. 1st Lt. Palo Alto and Resaca; Maj.-Gen. U. S. V. late war.

*William D. Smith, severely wounded at Molino del Rey; Brig.-Gen. C. S. A. late war; died October 4, 1862, Charleston, S. C.

Samuel H. Starr, Maj. U. S. A. late war.

*George Stevens; drowned May 18, 1846, Rio Grande.

Arthur D. Tree, Bvt. 1st Lt. Contreras, and Churubusco; died February 2, 1857.

Thomas J. Wood. (See Topographical Engineers.)

THIRD REGIMENT OF DRAGOONS.

[Raised by act of Congress for one year.]

COLONEL.

*Edward G. W. Butler; died September 6, 1883, at St. Louis, Mo.

LIEUTENANT-COLONEL.

Thomas P. Moore; died July 21, 1853.

MAJORS.

Lewis Cass, Jr.

William H. Polk; died December 16, 1862.

SURGEON.

E. H. Burton.

ASSISTANT-SURGEONS.

Corydon S. Abell.

Francis J. Robertson.

CAPTAINS.

John Butler; died December 23, 1847.

Greene W. Caldwell.

Alphonse M. Duperru.

Lemuel Ford, Bvt. Major Atlixco.

*Edgar B. Gaither; died September 18, 1855, at Columbia, Ky.

James Hogan.

*Walter H. Jenifer, Col. C. S. A. late war; died April 9, 1878.

Andrew T. McReynolds, Bvt. Maj. Contreras and Churubusco, Col. U. S. V.
late war.

Richard T. Merrick; died June 23, 1885.

John S. Sitgreaves.

FIRST LIEUTENANTS.

George J. Adde.

John T Brown.

William B. Cooke.

Edward C. Davidson.

Joseph A. Divver; died October 9, 1851.

George E. Maney, Brig.-Gen. C. S. A. late war.

Daniel Petigru.

Rodolphus Schoonover.

Samuel B. H. Vance.

William Walker.

SECOND LIEUTENANTS

William Blood.

Elisha E. Camp, Capt. A. Q. M., U. S. A. late war: died August 4, 1867.

Andrew J. Dorn. (See Missouri Volunteers.)

Francis Y. Gaines. Maj. C. S. A. late war.

John K. Harrison.

Robert E. Haslitt.

John V. S. Haviland.

Francis Henry.

Langdon C. Johnson.

William J. McGill.

Edward McPherson; killed March 16, 1848, in a duel.

Joseph H. Maddox.

John W. Martin, Bvt. 1st. Lt. Atlixco; died June 18, 1848.

William Merrihew.

James J. Moore; died February 19, 1850.

William G. Moseley.

Charles Radziminski; died August 18, 1858.

Hermann Thorn, Bvt. 1st Lt. and Capt. Churubusco, and Molino Del Rey;
wounded at Molino del Rey; drowned October 16, 1849.

William C; Wagley.

James D. C. Williams.

REGIMENT OF MOUNTED RIFLES.

COLONEL.

Persifor Smith. (See General Officers.)

LIEUTENANT-COLONEL.

John C. Fremont. (See Topographical Engineers.)

MAJOR.

William W. Loring, Bvt. Lt. Col. and Col. Contreras, Churubusco, and Chapultepec; Maj.-Gen. C. S. A. late war; died December 30, 1886.

CAPTAINS.

Jacob B. Backenstos, Bvt. Maj. and Lt.-Col. Contreras, Churubusco, and Chapultepec; wounded at Chapultepec; died September 25, 1857.

*George B. Crittenden, Bvt. Maj. Contreras and Churubusco; Maj.-Gen. C. S. A. late war; died November 27, 1880, at Danville, Ky.

Thomas Ewell; killed April 18, 1847, at the battle of Cerro Gordo, Mexico.

Stevens T. Mason; died May 15, 1847, of wounds received at the battle of Cerro Gordo, Mexico.

Henry C. Pope; killed in a duel, May, 1848.

*Andrew Porter, Bvt. Maj. and Lt.-Col. Contreras, Churubusco and Chapultepec; Brig.-Gen. U. S. V. late war; died January 4, 1872.

*Benjamin S. Roberts, Bvt.-Maj. and Lt.-Col., Chapultepec and Pass Guadajajara; Brig.-Gen. U. S. V. late war; died January 29, 1875, at Washington, D. C.

*Charles F. Ruff, Bvt. Maj. San Juan de los Llanos; Col. U. S. A. late war; died October 1, 1885, at Philadelphia, Pa.

Winslow F. Sanderson, Bvt. Maj. Contreras and Churubusco; died September 16, 1853.

John S. Simonson, Bvt.-Maj. and wounded at Chapultepec; died December 5, 1881.

Stephen S. Tucker, Bvt.-Maj. and wounded at Chapultepec.

Samuel H. Walker; killed October 9, 1847, in action at Huamantla, Mexico.

FIRST LIEUTENANTS.

Thomas Claiborne, Jr., Bvt. Capt. Huamantla; Col. C. S. A. late war.

*Charles L. Denman.

*Llewellyn Jones, Maj. U. S. A. late war; died July 17, 1873.

*Andrew J. Lindsay, Bvt. Capt. Mexico; Col. C. S. A. late war.

Noah Newton; died August 30, 1853.

*Thomas G. Rhett, Bvt. Capt. Puebla; Maj. C. S. A. late war; died July 28 1878, at Baltimore, Md.

William W. Taylor.

Spear S. Tipton, died July 20, 1847.

Michael E. Van Buren, Bvt. Capt. Contreras and Churubusco; died July 20, 1854, of wounds received in action with Indians near San Diego, Tex.

John G. Walker, Bvt. Capt. San Juan de los Llanos; severely wounded at Molino del Rey; Maj.-Gen. C. S. A. late war.

SECOND LIEUTENANTS.

Thomas Davis; died April 20, 1847 of wounds received at the battle of Cerro Gordo, Mexico.

*Daniel M. Frost, Bvt. 1st Lt. Cerro Gordo; Brig.-Gen. C. S. A. late war.

*Alfred Gibbs, Bvt. 1st Lt. and Capt. Cerro Gordo and Belen Gate; wounded before Cerro Gordo; Brig.-Gen. U. S. V. late war; died December 26, 1868, at Fort Leavenworth, Kans.

*George H. Gordon, Bvt. 1st Lt. and wounded at Cerro Gordo; Brig.-Gen. U. S. V. late war; died August 30, 1886, at Farmingham, Mass.

*Gordon Granger, Bvt. 1st Lt. and Capt. Contreras, Churubusco, and Chapultepec; Maj.-Gen. U. S. V. late war; died January 10, 1876, at Santa Fe, N. M.

*John P. Hatch, Bvt. 1st Lt. and Capt. Contreras, Churubusco, and Chapultepec; Brig.-Gen. U. S. V. late war.

Caleb E. Irvine.

William B. Lane, Maj. U. S. A. late war.

George McLane, Bvt. 1st Lt. and Capt. Contreras, Churubusco, and Chapultepec; killed October 13, 1860, in action with Navajo Indians, at Black Rock, N. M.

*Dabney H. Maury, Bvt. 1st Lt. and severely wounded before Cerro Gordo; Maj.-Gen. C. S. A. late war.

Julian May, Bvt. 1st Lt. Contreras and Churubusco; died November 22, 1859.

*Robert M. Morris, Bvt. 1st Lt. and Capt. Contreras and Chapultepec; Maj. U. S. A. late war.

*Innis N. Palmer, Bvt. 1st Lt. and Capt. Contreras, Churubusco and Chapultepec; wounded at Chapultepec; Brig.-Gen. U. S. V. late war.

*Francis S. K. Russell, Bvt. 1st Lt. and wounded at Chapultepec; died January 31, 1857.

James Stuart, Bvt. 1st Lt. and Capt. Contreras and Chapultepec; died June 18, 1851 of wounds received in action with Indians, at Rogue River, Oreg.

FIRST REGIMENT OF ARTILLERY.

LIEUTENANT-COLONEL.

Benjamin K. Pierce; died April 1, 1850.

MAJORS.

*Thomas Childs, Bvt. Col. and Brig.-Gen. Palo Alto, Resaca de la Palma and Puebla; died October 8, 1853, at Fort Brook, Fla.

Levi Whiting; died August 3, 1852.

CAPTAINS.

***Martin J. Burke**; killed August 20, 1847, at the Battle of Churubusco, Mexico.

***Erastus A. Capron**; killed August 20, 1847, at the battle of Churubusco, Mexico.

*Justin Dimick, Bvt. Lt.-Col. and Col. Contreras, Churubusco and Chapultepec; died October 13, 1871, at Philadelphia, Pa.

*John S. Hatheway, Bvt. Maj. Contreras and Churubusco; wounded before Contreras; died March 31, 1853, at New York city.

*Minor Knowlton; died December 24, 1870, at Burlington, N. J.

*John B. Magruder, Bvt. Maj. and Lt.-Col. Cerro Gordo and Chapultepec; wounded at Chapultepec; Maj.-Gen. C. S. A. late war; died February 19, 1871, at Houston, Tex.

*George Nauman, Bvt. Maj. and Lt.-Col. Cerro Gordo, Contreras and Churubusco; wounded at Chapultepec; Col. U. S. A. late war; died August 11, 1863, at Philadelphia, Pa.

James H. Prentiss. (See Assistant Adjutants-General.)

*Francis Taylor, Bvt. Maj. and Lt.-Col. Cerro Gordo and Churubusco; died October 12, 1858, at Fort Brown, Tex.

*Lucien B. Webster, Bvt. Maj. and Lt.-Col. Monterey and Buena Vista; died November 4, 1853, at Fort Brown, Tex.

*John H. Winder, Bvt. Major and Lt.-Col. Contreras, Churubusco and City of Mexico; Brig.-Gen. C. S. A. late war; died February 7, 1865, at Branchville, S. C.

FIRST LIEUTENANTS.

*Edward C. Boynton, Bvt. Capt. Contreras and Churubusco; severely wounded at Churubusco; Capt. U. S. A. late war.

- *John M. Brannan, Bvt. Capt. Contreras, and Churubusco; severely wounded at Chapultepec; Brig.-Gen. U. S. V. late war.
- *Henry Coppee, Bvt. Capt. Contreras, and Churubusco.
- *Samuel K. Dawson, Bvt. Capt. Cerro Gordo; Lt.-Col. U. S. A. late war; died April 17, 1889, at Orange, N. J.
- *James L. Donaldson. (See Assistant Quartermasters.)
- *Abner Doubleday, Maj.-Gen. U. S. V. late war.
- *William H. Fowler; died September 4, 1851, at Fort Myers, Fla.
- *William H. French. Bvt. Capt. and Maj. Cerro Gordo, Contreras, and Churubusco; Maj.-Gen. U. S. V. late war; died May 20, 1881, at Washington, D. C.
- *Henry D. Grafton, Bvt. Capt. Contreras and Churubusco; died April 13, 1855, at Davenport, Iowa.
- *Joseph A. Haskin, Bvt. Capt. and Maj. Cerro Gordo and Chapultepec; wounded at Chapultepec; Lt.-Col. U. S. A. late war; died August 3, 1874, at Oswego, N. Y.
- Joseph Hooker. (See Assistant Adjutants-General.)
- ***Joseph F. Irons**; died August 26, 1847, of wounds received at the battle of Churubusco, Mexico.
- ***Thomas J. Jackson**, Bvt. Capt. and Maj. Contreras, Churubusco, and Chapultepec; Lt.-Gen. C. S. A. late war; died May 10, 1863, of wounds received at the battle of Chancellorsville, Va.
- ***John P. Johnstone**; killed August 19, 1847, at the battle of Contreras, Mexico.
- William W. Mackall. (See Assistant Adjutants-General.)
- James G. Martin. (See Assistant Quartermasters.)
- Irwin McDowell. (See Assistant Adjutants-General.)
- *James B. Ricketts, Brig.-Gen. U. S. V. late war; died September 22, 1887, at Washington, D. C.
- *William S. Smith; died November 6, 1849, at Kingsbridge, N. Y.
- *Seth Williams, Bvt. Capt. Cerro Gordo; Brig.-Gen. U. S. V. late war; died March 23, 1866, at Boston, Mass.

SECOND LIEUTENANTS.

- *Isaac Bowen, Bvt. 1st Lt. and Capt. Monterey and Buena Vista; died October 3, 1858, at Pass Christian, Miss.
- ***Ambrose P. Hill**, Lt.-Gen. C. S. A. late war; killed April 2, 1865, at the battle of Petersburg, Va.
- Satterlee Hoffman**; killed August 20, 1847, at the battle of Churubusco, Mexico.
- Truman Seymour, Bvt. 1st Lt. and Capt. Cerro Gordo, Contreras and Churubusco; Brig.-Gen. U. S. V. late war; died October 31, 1891, at Florence, Italy.
- Theodore Talbot, Capt. U. S. A. late war; died April 22, 1862.

SECOND REGIMENT OF ARTILLERY.

COLONEL.

- James Bankhead, Bvt. Brig.-Gen. Vera Cruz; died November 11, 1856.

MAJORS.

- Patrick H. Galt, Bvt. Lt.-Col. Contreras and Churubusco; died January 9, 1851.
- *John Munroe, Bvt. Lt.-Col. and Col. Monterey and Buena Vista, died April 28, 1861, at New Brunswick, N. J.

CAPTAINS.

- *Horace Brooks, Bvt. Maj. and Lt.-Col. Contreras, Churubusco and Molino del Rey; Col. U. S. A. late war.
- *William C. DeHart; died April 21, 1848, at Elizabethtown, N. J.
- *James Duncan, Bvt. Maj. Lt.-Col. and Col. Palo Alto, Resaca de la Palma and Monterey; died July 3, 1849, at Mobile, Ala.
- *Henry L. Kendrick, Bvt. Maj. Puebla; died May 24, 1891, at New York city.
- Allen Lowd, Bvt. Maj. Fort Brown; died November 25, 1854.
- *Roland A. Luther, Bvt. Maj. Fort Brown, wounded at Palo Alto; died July 9, 1853, at New Holland, Pa.
- *Samuel Mackenzie; died October 19, 1847, at City of Mexico.
- *Charles F. Smith, Bvt. Maj. Lt.-Col. and Col. Palo Alto, Monterey and Contreras; Maj.-Gen. U. S. V. late war; died April 25, 1862 at Savannah, Tenn.
- *Henry Swartwout; died July 1, 1852, at Fort Meade, Fla.

FIRST LIEUTENANTS.

- *Harvey A. Allen, Bvt. Capt. Molino del Rey; Maj. U. S. A. late war; died September 20, 1882, at Schraalenburgh, N. J.
- *Samuel S. Anderson, Bvt. Capt. and Maj. Molino del Rey and Chapultepec, Col. C. S. A. late war.
- William Armstrong. (See Assistant Quartermasters.)
- *Lewis G. Arnold, Bvt. Capt. and Maj. Contreras, Churubusco, and Chapultepec; Lt.-Col. U. S. A. late war; died September 22, 1871, at South Boston, Mass.
- *William F. Barry, Brig.-Gen. U. S. V. late war; died July 18, 1879, at Fort McHenry, Md.
- *William B. Blair, Bvt. Capt. Cerro Gordo; Maj. C. S. A. late war; died March 23, 1883, at Lexington, Va.
- Leslie Chase. (See Assistant Quartermaster.)
- *Henry F. Clark, Bvt. Capt. Chapultepec; wounded at Molino del Rey; Col. U. S. A. late war; died May 10, 1887, at Washington, D. C.
- ***Charles B. Daniels**; died October 27, 1847, of wounds received at the battle of Molino del Rey, Mexico.
- *Arnold Elzey, Bvt. Capt. Contreras and Churubusco; Maj.-Gen. C. S. A. late war; died February 21, 1871, at Baltimore, Md.
- *Augustus A. Gibson, Maj. U. S. A. late war.
- *William Hays, Bvt. Capt. and Maj. Contreras, Churubusco, and Chapultepec; wounded at Molino del Rey; Brig.-Gen. U. S. V. late war; died February 7, 1875, at Fort Independence, Boston, Mass.
- *Henry J. Hunt, Bvt. Capt. and Maj. Contreras, Churubusco, and Chapultepec; wounded at Molino del Rey; Brig.-Gen. U. S. V. late war; died February 11, 1889, at Soldiers' Home, Washington, D. C.
- *William A. Nichols, Bvt. Capt. and Maj. Monterey and Molino del Rey; Col. U. S. A. late war; died April 8, 1869, at St. Louis, Mo.
- *John J. Peck, Bvt. Capt. and Maj. Contreras, Churubusco, and Molino del Rey; Maj.-Gen. U. S. V. late war; died April 21, 1878, at Syracuse, N. Y.
- *Henry C. Pratt, Bvt. Capt. Atlixco; Maj. U. S. A. late war; died February 14, 1884, at Detroit, Mich.
- *Roswell S. Ripley, Bvt. Capt. and Maj. Cerro Gordo and Chapultepec; Brig.-Gen. C. S. A. late war; died March 26, 1887, at New York city.

- *John F. Roland, Bvt. Capt. and Maj. Palo Alto, Resaca de la Palma and Monterey; died September 28, 1852, at Castle Pinckney, S. C.
- *John Sedgwick. Bvt. Capt. and Maj. Churubusco and Chapultepec; Maj.-Gen. U. S. V. late war; killed May 9, 1864, at the battle of Spottsylvania, Va.
- *Muscoe L. Shackelford; died October 12, 1847, of wounds received at the battle of Molino del Rey, Mexico.
- *James Totten, Brig.-Gen. U. S. V. late war; died October 2, 1871, at Sedalia, Mo.
- *Francis Woodbridge, Bvt. Capt. and Maj. Contreras, Churubusco and Molino del Rey; died October 20, 1855, at Bar Barracks, Fla.

SECOND LIEUTENANTS.

- *Josiah H. Carlisle, Capt. U. S. A. late war; died December 16, 1866, at Aberdeen, Md.
- Julius A. deLaguel, Brig.-Gen. C. S. A. late war.
- *George Edwards, Bvt. 1st Lt. and wounded at Puebla.
- *Julian McAllister, Capt. U. S. A. late war; died January 3, 1887, at Governor's Island, N. Y.
- *Richard H. Rush, Col. U. S. V. late war.
- *Henry B. Sears, Bvt. 1st Lt. National Bridge and Cerro Gordo; died February 12, 1880, at Liverpool, England.
- *Marcus D. L. Simpson, Bvt. 1st Lt. and Capt. Contreras, Churubusco and Chapultepec; Lt.-Col. U. S. A. late war.
- *Joseph S. Totten; died May 10, 1853.
- *Thomas B. J. Weld; died September 10, 1850, at Fort Moultrie, S. C.

THIRD REGIMENT OF ARTILLERY.

COLONEL.

- *William Gates; died October 7, 1868, at New York City.

LIEUTENANT-COLONEL.

- Francis S. Belton, Bvt. Col. Contreras, and Churubusco; died September 10, 1861.

MAJOR.

- *John M. Washington, Bvt. Lt.-Col. Buena Vista; drowned December 24, 1853, in the wreck of steamer San Francisco.

CAPTAINS.

- *Robert Anderson, Bvt. Maj. and severely wounded at Molino del Rey; Brig.-Gen. U. S. A. late war; died October 26, 1871, at Nice, France.
- *William Austine, Bvt. Maj. Contreras and Churubusco.
- *Braxton Bragg, Bvt. Maj. and Lt.-Col. Monterey and Buena Vista; Lt.-Gen. C. S. A. late war; died September 27, 1876, at Galveston, Tex.
- Martin Burke, Bvt. Maj. and Lt.-Col. Contreras, Churubusco, and Molino del Rey; Col. U. S. V. late war; died April 24, 1882.
- Thomas Childs. (See First Artillery.)
- Randolph Ridgely. (See Assistant Adjutants-General.)
- *Samuel Ringgold; died May 11, 1846, of wounds received at the battle of Palo Alto, Tex.

- ***Thomas W. Sherman**, Bvt. Maj. Buena Vista; Brig.-Gen. U. S. V. late war; died March 16, 1879, at Newport, R. I.
- ***William H. Shover**, Bvt. Capt. and Maj. Monterey and Buena Vista; died September 7, 1850, at West Point, N. Y.
- ***Edward J. Steptoe**, Bvt. Maj. and Lt.-Col. Cerro Gordo and Chapultepec; died April 1, 1865, at Lynchburg, Va.
- ***George Taylor**, Bvt. Maj. Huamantla; drowned December 24, 1853, in the wreck of steamer San Francisco.
- ***Christopher Q. Tompkins**; died May 28, 1877, at Richmond, Va.
- ***John R. Vinton**, Bvt. Maj. Monterey; killed March 22, 1847, at the siege of Vera Cruz, Mexico.
- Richard D. A. Wade**, Bvt. Lt.-Col. Molino del Rey: severely wounded at Churubusco; died February 13, 1850.
- William Wall**; died August 13, 1847.
- ***Francis O. Wyse**, Bvt. Maj. Calabosa River, Mexico; Lt.-Col. U. S. A. late war.

FIRST LIEUTENANTS.

- ***George P. Andrews**, Bvt. Capt. and Maj. Molino del Rey and Chapultepec; wounded at Molino del Rey; Maj. U. S. A. late war; died July 2, 1887, at Fort Winfield Scott, Cal.
- ***George W. Ayers**, Bvt. Capt. Monterey; killed September 8, 1847, at the battle of Molino del Rey.
- ***Hachaliah Brown**, Bvt. Capt. Medelin; died August 22, 1853, at Jefferson Barracks, Mo.
- ***Henry S. Burton**, Col. U. S. A. late war; died April 4, 1869, at Newport, R. I.
- William H. Churchill**. (See Assistant Quartermasters.)
- ***Joseph F. Farry**; killed September 8, 1847, at the battle of Molino del Rey.
- ***Horace B. Field**, Bvt. Capt. Huamantla; drowned December 24, 1853, in the wreck of steamer San Francisco.
- Sewall L. Fremont**. (See Assistant Quartermasters.)
- ***William Gilham**, Col. C. S. A. late war; died November 16, 1872, at Richmond, Va.
- ***Richard P. Hammond**, Bvt. Capt. and Maj. Cerro Gordo, Contreras, and Churubusco.
- ***James A. Hardie**, Col. U. S. A. late war; died December 14, 1876, at Washington, D. C.
- ***Richard W. Johnston**; died January 25, 1854, at Jacksonville, Fla.
- ***Henry B. Judd**, Bvt. Capt. Medelin; Col. U. S. A. late war.
- ***Lucien Loeser**, Lt.-Col. U. S. V. late war.
- ***Edward O. C. Ord**, Maj.-Gen. U. S. V. late war; died July 22, 1883, at Havana, Cuba.
- ***John F. Reynolds**, Bvt. Capt. and Maj. Monterey and Buena Vista; Maj.-Gen. U. S. V. late war; killed July 1, 1863, at the battle of Gettysburg, Pa.
- ***William T. Sherman**, Bvt. Capt. California; Commander U. S. A. late war; died February 14, 1891, at New York City.
- ***Francis J. Thomas**, Col. C. S. A. late war; killed July 21, 1861, at the first battle of Bull Run, Va.
- ***George H. Thomas**, Bvt. Capt. and Maj. Monterey and Buena Vista; Maj.-Gen. U. S. A. late war; died March 28, 1870, at San Francisco, Cal.

- *Stewart Van Vleit, Brig.-Gen. U. S. V. late war.
- *Louis D. Welch; died March 24, 1848, at St. Augustine, Fla.

SECOND LIEUTENANTS.

- *Ambrose E. Burnside, Maj.-Gen. U. S. V. late war; died September 13, 1881, at Bristol, R. I.
- *Samuel G. French, Bvt. 1st Lt. and Capt. Monterey and Buena Vista; Maj.-Gen. C. S. A. late war.
- *Horatio G. Gibson, Col. U. S. V. late war.
- *Charles L. Kilburn, Bvt. 1st Lt. and Capt. Monterey and Buena Vista; Col. U. S. A. late war.
- John H. Lendrum, Bvt. 1st Lt. and Capt. Contreras, Churubusco and Chapultepec; died October 26, 1861.
- Bedney F. McDonald, Bvt. 1st Lt. Huamantla.
- *John S. Mason, Brig.-Gen. U. S. V. late war.
- *Colville J. Minor; died August 17, 1847, at Monterey, Cal.
- *George Patten, Capt. U. S. V. late war.
- *Hamilton L. Shields, Bvt. 1st Lt. and Capt. Contreras, Churubusco and Molino del Rey; died November 23, 1889, at Bennington, Vt.

FOURTH REGIMENT OF ARTILLERY.

LIEUTENANT-COLONEL.

- Matthew M. Payne, Bvt. Col. Palo Alto and Resaca de la Palma; severely wounded at Resaca de la Palma; died August 1, 1862.

MAJORS.

- John L. Gardner, Bvt. Lt.-Col. and Col. Cerro Gordo and Contreras; died February 19, 1869.
- *Giles Porter; died May 31, 1878, at Albany, N. Y.

CAPTAINS.

- *William P. Bainbridge, Bvt. Maj. Cerro Gordo; died September 16, 1850, at West Point, N. Y.
- *Harvey Brown, Col. U. S. A. late war; died March 31, 1874, at Clifton, N. Y.
- *Edward Deas; drowned May 16, 1849, in the Rio Grande.
- *Simon H. Drum; killed September 13, 1847, in action at Belen Gate, City of Mexico.
- Patrick H. Galt. (See Second Artillery.)
- *Franklin E. Hunt, Maj. P. M., U. S. A. late war; died February 2, 1881, at Leavenworth, Kans.
- *John H. Miller, Bvt. Maj. Puebla; died September 12, 1850, at Cooksville, Pa.
- *William W. Morris, Col. U. S. A. late war; died December 11, 1865, at Fort McHenry, Md.
- John Munroe. (See Second Artillery.)
- *Samuel C. Ridgely, Bvt. Maj. Contreras and Churubusco; died July 6, 1859, at Georgetown, D. C.
- *John B. Scott, Bvt. Maj. Palo Alto and Resaca de la Palma; died November 22, 1860, at San Francisco, Cal.
- *Raphael C. Smead; died August 20, 1848, at Fortress Monroe, Va.
- John M. Washington. (See Third Artillery.)

FIRST LIEUTENANTS.

- ***Calvin Benjamin**; killed September 13, 1847, in action at Belen Gate, City of Mexico.
- *Edmund Bradford, Maj. C. S. A. late war; died April 26, 1889, at Norfolk Va.
- *Thomas L. Brent, Bvt. Capt. Buena Vista; died January 11, 1858, at Fort Leavenworth, Kans.
- *Thomas J. Curd; died February 12, 1850, at Frederick, Md.
- *Simon S. Fahnestock; died June 15, 1876, at Washington, D. C.
- ***Julius P. Garesche**, Lt.-Col. U. S. A. late war; killed December 31, 1862, at the battle of Murfreesboro, Tenn.
- ***Robert S. Garnett**, Bvt. Capt. and Maj. Monterey and Buena Vista; Brig.-Gen. C. S. A.; killed July 13, 1861, at the battle of Carrick's Ford, Va.
- *George W. Getty, Bvt. Capt. Contreras and Churubusco; Brig.-Gen. U. S. V. late war.
- *Samuel Gill; died January 18, 1876, at Cincinnati, Ohio.
- *Daniel H. Hill, Bvt. Capt. and Maj. Contreras, Churubusco, and Chapultepec; Lt.-Gen. C. S. A. late war; died September 25, 1889, at Charlotte, N. C.
- *Albion P. Howe, Bvt. Capt. Contreras and Churubusco; Maj. U. S. A. late war.
- *Mansfield Lovell, Bvt. Capt. Chapultepec; wounded at Belen Gate; Maj.-Gen. C. S. A. late war; died June 1, 1884, at New York City.
- *John P. McCown, Bvt. Capt. Cerro Gordo; Maj.-Gen. C. S. A. late war; died January 22, 1879, at Little Rock, Ark.
- John P. J. O'Brien. (See Assistant Quartermasters.)
- *John C. Pemberton, Bvt. Capt. and Maj. Monterey and Molino del Rey; wounded at City of Mexico; Lt.-Gen. C. S. A. late war; died July 13, 1881, at Penlynn, Pa.
- *John W. Phelps, Brig.-Gen. U. S. V. late war; died February 2, 1885, at Brattleboro. Vt.
- *Fitz-John Porter, Bvt. Capt. Molino del Rey; wounded at Belen Gate; Maj.-Gen. U. S. V. late war.
- *George W. Rains, Bvt. Capt. and Maj. Contreras, Churubusco, and Chapultepec; Lt.-Col. C. S. A. late war.
- ***Thomas Williams**, Bvt. Capt. and Maj. Contreras, Churubusco, and Chapultepec; Brig.-Gen. U. S. V. late war; killed August 5, 1862, at the battle of Baton Rouge, La.
- *Charles F. Wooster, Bvt. Capt. Sacramento, Mexico; died February 14, 1856, at Fort Brown, Tex.

SECOND LIEUTENANTS.

- *John A. Brown, Col. C. S. A. late war; died October 8, 1877, at Washington, D. C.
- *Francis Collins, Bvt. 1st Lt. Contreras and Churubusco; wounded at Contreras; died August 31, 1882, at Columbus, Ohio.
- *Darius N. Couch, Bvt. 1st Lt. Buena Vista; Maj.-Gen. U. S. V. late war.
- *Gustavus A. DeRussy, Bvt. 1st Lt. and Capt. Contreras, Churubusco, and Chapultepec; Brig.-Gen. U. S. V. late war.
- Richard C. Drum. (See Ninth Infantry.)
- *Henry A. Ehninger.

John S. Garland.

*John Gibbon, Maj.-Gen. U. S. V. late war.

Samuel L. Gouverneur, Bvt. 1st Lt. Contreras and Churubusco; died April 5, 1880, at Washington, D. C.

*Albert L. Magilton, Bvt. 1st Lt. Contreras and Churubusco; Col. U. S. V. late war; died December 28, 1875, at Philadelphia, Pa.

*Henry M. Whiting, Bvt. 1st Lt. Buena Vista; died October 8, 1853, at Fort Brown, Tex.

FIRST REGIMENT OF INFANTRY.

COLONEL.

William Davenport; died April 12, 1853.

LIEUTENANT-COLONEL.

Henry Wilson, Bvt. Col. Monterey; died February 21, 1872.

MAJORS.

John B. Clark; died August 23, 1847.

*Edgar S. Hawkins, Bvt. Maj. Fort Brown; died November 5, 1865, at Flatbush, N. Y.

CAPTAINS.

John J. Abercrombie. (See Fifth Infantry.)

*Electus Backus, Bvt. Maj. Monterey; Col. U. S. A. late war; died June 7, 1862, at Detroit, Mich.

*John R. B. Gardenier; died June 26, 1850, at Dardanelle Springs, Ark.

John H. King, Col. U. S. A. late war; died April 7, 1888.

*Joseph H. La Motte, Bvt. Maj. and wounded at Monterey; died November 15, 1888, at Ferguson, Mo.

*Albert L. Miller, Bvt. Maj. Monterey; died December 7, 1852, at Benicia, Cal.

*Samuel M. Plummer; died October 17, 1851, at Fort Merrill, Tex.

*John M. Scott, Bvt. Maj. Monterey; died October 26, 1850, at Frankfort, Ky.

FIRST LIEUTENANTS.

Benjamin H. Arthur; died February 11, 1856.

***Stephen D. Carpenter**, Maj. U. S. A. late war; killed December 31, 1862, at the battle of Murfreesboro, Tenn.

*Ferdinand S. Mumford; died October 1, 1872, at San Francisco, Cal.

William E. Prince, Bvt. Capt. Santa Cruz de Rosales; Maj. U. S. A. late war.

John C. Terrett; killed September 21, 1846, at the battle of Monterey, Mexico.

George W. F. Wood. (See Assistant Quartermasters.)

SECOND LIEUTENANTS.

George D. Brewerton.

*William L. Crittenden; shot August 16, 1851, by Spanish authorities at Havanna, Cuba.

*Frederick J. Denman; died March 2, 1853, at Fort Terrett, Texas.

***Rankin Dilworth**; died September 27, 1846, of wounds received at the battle of Monterey, Mexico.

*Charles C. Gilbert, Brig.-Gen. U. S. V. late war.

- *Schuyler Hamilton, Bvt. 1st Lt. and Capt. Monterey and Mill Flores; Maj.-Gen. U. S. V. late war.
- *Eugene E. McLean, Maj. C. S. A. late war.
- *Joseph B. Plummer, Brig.-Gen. U. S. V. late war; died August 9, 1862, at Corinth, Miss.
- *Parmenas T. Turnley.
- *Egbert L. Viele, Brig.-Gen. U. S. V. late war.

SECOND REGIMENT OF INFANTRY.

LIEUTENANT-COLONEL.

Bennet Riley, Bvt Brig. and Maj.-Gen. Cerro Gordo and Contreras; died June 9, 1853.

MAJORS.

George W. Allen, Bvt. Lt.-Col. Palo Alto and Resaca de la Palma; died March 15, 1848.
 William M. Graham. (See Eleventh Infantry.)
 Washington Seawell; died January 9, 1888, at San Francisco, Cal.

CAPTAINS.

- ***James W. Anderson**; died August 22, 1847, of wounds received at the battle of Churubusco, Mexico.
- *Silas Casey, Bvt. Maj. and Lt.-Col. Contreras, Churubusco and Chapultepec; severely wounded at Chapultepec; Maj.-Gen. U. S. V. late war; died January 22, 1882, at Brooklyn, N. Y.
- *Hannibal Day; died March 26, 1891, at Morristown, N. J.
- *Samuel P. Heintzelman, Bvt. Maj. Huamantla; Maj.-Gen. U. S. V. late war; died May 1, 1880, at Washington, D. C.
- *Julius J. B. Kingsbury, Bvt. Maj. Contreras and Churubusco; died June 26, 1856, at Washington, D. C.
- *Thompson Morris, Bvt. Maj. and Lt.-Col. Cerro Gordo, Contreras and Churubusco; died February 13, 1870, at Cincinnati, Ohio.
- *George W. Patten, Bvt. Maj. and severely wounded at Cerro Gordo; Lt.-Col. U. S. A. late war; died April 28, 1882, at Houlton, Me.
- *Marsena R. Patrick, Bvt. Maj. Mexico; Brig.-Gen. U. S. V. late war; died July 27, 1888, at Dayton, Ohio.
- *James W. Penrose, Bvt. Maj. Cerro Gordo; died January 1, 1849, at Plattsburg, N. Y.
- *Joseph R. Smith, Bvt. Maj. and Lt.-Col. Cerro Gordo, Contreras and Churubusco; twice wounded at Churubusco; Col. U. S. A. late war; died September 3, 1868, at Monroe, Mich.
- Carlos A. Waite. (See Eighth Infantry.)
- *Henry W. Wessells, Bvt. Maj. Contreras and Churubusco; severely wounded at Contreras; Brig.-Gen. U. S. V. late war; died January 12, 1889, at Dover, Del.

FIRST LIEUTENANTS.

William Alburtis; killed March 11, 1847, at the siege of Vera Cruz, Mexico.
 Edward R. S. Canby. (See Assistant Adjutants-General.)
 Delozier Davidson, Bvt. Capt. Contreras and Churubusco; wounded at Vera Cruz; died July 17, 1888.

Julius Hayden, Bvt. Capt. Contreras and Churubusco; wounded at Churubusco; Lt.-Col. U. S. A. late war; died October 29, 1878.

Christopher S. Lovell, Bvt. Capt. Contreras and Churubusco; twice wounded at Churubusco; died August 16, 1868.

***Nathaniel Lyon**, Bvt. Capt. Contreras and Churubusco; wounded at Belen Gate; Brig.-Gen. U. S. V. late war; killed August 10, 1861. at the battle of Wilson's Creek, Mo.

Justus McKinstry, (See Assistant Quartermasters.)

*Bryant P. Tilden, wounded at Contreras; died December 27, 1859, at Olean, N. Y.

George C. Westcott, Bvt. Capt. Chapultepec; died January 8, 1853.

SECOND LIEUTENANTS.

Edward D. Blake (See Eighth Infantry.)

John R. Butler, Col. C. S. A. late war.

*Nelson H. Davis, Bvt. 1st Lt. Contreras and Churubusco; Col. U. S. A. late war; died May 15, 1890, at Governor's Island, N. Y.

***Thomas Easley**; killed August 20, 1847, at the battle of Churubusco, Mexico.

*William M. Gardner, Bvt. 1st Lt. and wounded at Contreras and Churubusco; Brig.-Gen. C. S. A. late war.

*James M. L. Henry; died July 4, 1881, at Washington, D. C.

*Charles E. Jarvis, Bvt. 1st Lt. Contreras and Churubusco; wounded at Cerro Gordo; died June 8, 1849, at Sonoma, Cal.

*David R. Jones, Bvt. 1st Lt. Contreras and Churubusco; Maj.-Gen. C. S. A. late war; died June 16, 1863, at Richmond, Va.

*Tredwell Moore, Lt. Col. U. S. A. late war; died May 29, 1876, at Fort Gibson, Ind. T.

*James W. Schureman, Bvt. 1st Lt. Contreras and Churubusco; died January 30, 1852, at San Francisco, Cal.

*Frederick Steele, Bvt. 1st Lt. and Capt. Contreras and Chapultepec; Maj.-Gen. U. S. V. late war; died January 12, 1868, at San Mateo, Cal.

Thomas W. Sweeney, severely wounded at Churubusco; Brig.-Gen. U. S. V. late war.

Hermann Thorn. (See Third Dragoons.)

***James S. Woods**, Bvt. 1st Lt. Palo Alto and Resaca de la Palma; killed September 21, 1846, at the battle of Monterey, Mexico.

THIRD REGIMENT OF INFANTRY.

LIEUTENANT-COLONEL.

*Ethan A. Hitchcock, Bvt. Col. and Brig.-Gen. Contreras, Churubusco and Molino del Rey; Maj.-Gen. U. S. V. late war; died August 5, 1870, at Sparta, Ga.

MAJOR.

William W. Lear; died October 31, 1846, of wounds received at the battle of Monterey, Mexico.

CAPTAINS.

*Edmund B. Alexander, Bvt. Maj. and Lt.-Col. Cerro Gordo, Contreras and Churubusco; Col. U. S. A. late war; died January 3, 1888, at Washington, D. C.

Henry Bainbridge. (See Seventh United States Infantry.)

***Philip N. Barbour**, Bvt. Maj. Palo Alto and Resaca de la Palma; killed September 21, 1846, at the battle of Monterey, Mexico.

Daniel T. Chandler, Bvt. Maj. and Lt.-Col. Monterey, Contreras and Churubusco; wounded at Contreras; Lt.-Col. C. S. A. late war; died October 14, 1877.

Lewis S. Craig, Bvt. Maj. and Lt.-Col. Monterey, Contreras and Churubusco; severely wounded at Churubusco; killed June 6, 1852, by deserters.

Stephen D. Dobbins; wounded at Resaca de la Palma.

*Joseph H. Eaton, Bvt. Maj. and Lt.-Col. Monterey and Buena Vista; Maj.-Paymaster U. S. A. late war.

***George P. Field**; killed September 21, 1846, at the battle of Monterey, Mexico.

William H. Gordon, Bvt. Maj. Churubusco; died December 7, 1865.

*William S. Henry, Bvt. Maj. Monterey; died March 5, 1851, at New York City.

***Lewis N. Morris**, Bvt. Maj. Palo Alto and Resaca de la Palma; killed September 21, 1846, at the battle of Monterey, Mexico.

James M. Smith; died December 4, 1847.

*Jefferson Van Horne, Bvt. Maj. Contreras and Churubusco; died September 28, 1857, at Albuquerque, N. Mex.

FIRST LIEUTENANTS.

*Andrew W. Bowman, Bvt. Capt. Cerro Gordo; Maj. U. S. A. late war; died July 17, 1869, at Omaha, Nebr.

*William T. H. Brooks, Bvt. Capt. and Maj. Monterey, Contreras and Churubusco; Maj.-Gen. U. S. V. late war; died July 19, 1870, at Huntsville, Ala.

*Don Carlos Buell, Bvt. Capt. and Maj. Monterey, Contreras and Churubusco; severely wounded at Churubusco; Maj.-Gen. U. S. V. late war.

***Douglass S. Irwin**; killed September 21, 1846, at the battle of Monterey, Mexico.

*William B. Johns, Bvt. Capt. Cerro Gordo.

*Bushrod R. Johnson, Maj.-Gen. C. S. A. late war; died September 7, 1880, at Brighton, Ill.

Thomas Jordan. (See Assistant Quartermasters.)

***Israel B. Richardson**, Bvt. Capt. and Maj. Contreras, Churubusco and Chapultepec; Maj.-Gen. U. S. V. late war; died November 3, 1862, of wounds received at the battle of Antietam, Md.

*Oliver L. Shepherd, Bvt. Capt. and Maj. Contreras, Churubusco and Chapultepec; Col. U. S. A. late war.

*George Sykes, Bvt. Capt. Cerro Gordo; Maj.-Gen. U. S. V. late war; died February 8, 1880, at Fort Brown, Texas.

*Andrew J. Williamson.

SECOND LIEUTENANTS.

***Barnard E. Bee**, Bvt. 1st Lt. and Capt. Cerro Gordo and Chapultepec; Brig.-Gen. C. S. A. late war; killed July 21, 1861, at the first battle of Bull Run, Va.

*John J. C. Bibb; died September 29, 1854, at Washington, D. C.
Charles B. Brower.

- *Henry B. Clitz, Bvt. 1st Lt. Cerro Gordo; Lt.-Col. U. S. A. late war; supposed to have been drowned October 30, 1888, in Detroit river, Mich.
- John P. Hatch. (See Mounted Rifles.)
- *Robert Hazlitt; killed September 21, 1846, at the battle of Monterey, Mexico.
- *John C. McFerran, Col. U. S. A. late war; died April 25, 1872, at Louisville, Ky.
- Michael O'Sullivan.
- *William Rhea; died January 7, 1847, at Monterey, Mexico.
- *Henry B. Schroeder, Bvt. 1st Lt. Contreras and Churubusco.
- *John Trevitt.
- *James N. Ward, Bvt. 1st Lt. and wounded at Cerro Gordo; died December 6, 1858, at St. Anthony, Minn.
- *Joseph N. G. Whistler, Bvt. 1st Lt. Contreras and Churubusco; Col. U. S. V. late war.
- *John D. Wilkins, Bvt. 1st Lt. Contreras and Churubusco; Maj. U. S. V. late war.
- *William H. Wood, Lt.-Col. U. S. A. late war; died January 1, 1887, at Pass Christian, Miss.

FOURTH REGIMENT OF INFANTRY.

LIEUTENANT-COLONEL.

John Garland, Bvt. Col. and Brig.-Gen. Palo Alto, Resaca de la Palma, Contreras and Churubusco; died June 5, 1861.

MAJORS.

*Francis Lee, Bvt. Lt.-Col. and Col. Contreras, Churubusco and Molino del Rey; died January 19, 1859, at St. Louis, Mo.

George Wright. (See Eighth Infantry.)

CAPTAINS.

George W. Allen. (See Second Infantry.)

*Benjamin Alvord, Bvt. Capt. and Maj. Palo Alto, Resaca de la Palma and Paso Ovejas; Brig.-Gen. U. S. V. late war; died October 16, 1884, at Washington, D. C.

*Robert C. Buchanan, Bvt. Maj. and Lt.-Col. Palo Alto, Resaca de la Palma and Molino del Rey; Brig.-Gen. U. S. V. late war; died November 29, 1878, at Washington, D. C.

William M. Graham. (See Eleventh Infantry.)

Charles H. Larnard, Bvt. Maj. Palo Alto and Resaca de la Palma; drowned May 27, 1854, in Puget Sound.

George A. McCall. (See Assistant Adjutants-General.)

*Gouverneur Morris, Bvt. Maj. Palo Alto and Resaca de la Palma; died October, 18, 1868.

Pitcairn Morrison, Bvt. Maj. Palo Alto and Resaca de la Palma; died October 5, 1887.

John Page; died July 12, 1846, of wounds received at the battle of Palo Alto, Tex.

*Henry L. Scott, Bvt. Maj. and Lt.-Col. Contreras, Churubusco and Chapultepec; died January 6, 1886, at New York City.

FIRST LIEUTENANTS.

*Jenks Beaman; died May 6, 1848, at Tampico, Mexico.

Richard E. Cochrane; killed May 9, 1846, at the battle of Resaca de la Palma.

John H. Gore, Bvt. Capt. and Maj. Contreras, Churubusco and Molino del Rey; died August 1, 1852.

***Richard H. Graham**; died October 12, 1846, of wounds received at the battle of Monterey, Mexico.

Granville O. Haller, Bvt. Capt. and Maj. Molino del Rey and Chapultepec; Col. U. S. A. late war.

***Charles Hoskins**; killed September 21, 1846, at the battle of Monterey, Mexico.

***Theodric H. Porter**; killed April 19, 1846, near the Rio Grande.

*Henry Prince, Bvt. Capt. and Maj. Contreras, Churubusco and Molino del Rey; severely wounded at Molino del Rey; Brig.-Gen. U. S. V. late war.

Henderson Ridgely; killed November 24, 1847, in action at the Pass Guadalupe, Mexico.

Sidney Smith; wounded at Molino del Rey; died September 16, 1847, of wounds received in action at the City of Mexico.

*Henry D. Wallen, Lt.-Col. U. S. A. late war; died December 2, 1886, at New York City.

SECOND LIEUTENANTS.

*Christopher C. Augur, Maj.-Gen. U. S. V. late war.

*Archibald B. Botts; died January 1, 1847, at Camargo, Mexico.

*Delancey Floyd-Jones, Bvt. 1st Lt. Molino del Rey; Col. U. S. A. late war.

*Ulysses S. Grant, Bvt. 1st Lt. and Capt. Molino del Rey and Chapultepec; Commander U. S. A. late war; died July 23, 1885, at Mt. McGregor, N. Y.

***Alexander Hays**, Bvt. 1st Lt. Palo Alto and Resaca de la Palma; Brig.-Gen. U. S. V. late war; killed May 5, 1864, at the battle of the Wilderness, Va.

*Henry M. Judah, Bvt. 1st Lt. and Capt. Molino del Rey and Chapultepec; Brig.-Gen. U. S. V. late war; died January 14, 1866, at Plattsburg, N. Y.

*Abram B. Lincoln, Bvt. 1st Lt. and wounded at Molino del Rey; died April 15, 1852, at Palatka, Fla.

Maurice Maloney, Bvt. 1st Lt. and Capt. Molino del Rey and Chapultepec; wounded at San Cosme Gate; Maj. U. S. A. late war; died January 8, 1872.

*Thomas R. McConnell, Bvt. 1st Lt. and Capt. Molino del Rey and Chapultepec; died April 20, 1861, at Mobile, Ala.

*Thomas J. Montgomery; died November 22, 1854, at Fort Steilacoom, Wyo.

*Christopher R. Perry; died October 8, 1848, at sea.

***Alexander P. Rodgers**; killed September 13, 1847, at the battle of Chapultepec, Mexico.

***David A. Russell**, Bvt. 1st Lt. National Bridge and Cerro Gordo; Brig.-Gen. U. S. V. late war; killed September 19, 1864, at the battle of Opequan, Va.

***Edmund Russell**, Bvt. 1st Lt. Molino del Rey; wounded at Churubusco; killed March 24, 1853, in action with Indians at Red Bluff, Cal.

Cadmus M. Wilcox. (See Seventh Infantry.)

James S. Woods. (See Second Infantry.)

FIFTH REGIMENT OF INFANTRY.

LIEUTENANT-COLONELS.

- ***William G. Belknap**, Bvt. Col. and Brig.-Gen. Palo Alto, Resaca de la Palma and Buena Vista; died November 10, 1851.
- James S. McIntosh**, Bvt. Col. Palo Alto and Resaca de la Palma; wounded at Resaca de la Palma; died September 26, 1847, of wounds received at the battle of Molino del Rey.

MAJORS.

- ***John J. Abercrombie**, Bvt. Lt.-Col. and wounded at Monterey; died January 3, 1877, at Roslyn, L. I., N. Y.
- ***Dixon S. Miles**, Bvt. Lt.-Col. Monterey; Col. U. S. A. late war; died September 16, 1862, of wounds received at the battle of Harper's Ferry, Va.
- Martin Scott**, Bvt. Lt.-Col. Monterey; killed September 8, 1847, at the battle of Molino del Rey, Mexico.
- Thomas Staniford. (See Eighth Infantry.)

CAPTAINS.

- ***William Chapman**, Bvt. Maj. and Lt.-Col. Contreras, Churubusco and Molino del Rey; wounded at San Antonio, Mexico; Lt.-Col. U. S. A. late war; died December 17, 1837, at Green Bay, Wis.
- ***Alexander S. Hooe**, Bvt. Maj. Palo Alto and Resaca de la Palma; severely wounded at Resaca de la Palma; died December 9, 1847, at Baton Rouge, La.
- ***Randolph B. Marcy**, Brig.-Gen. U. S. V. late war; died November 21, 1837, at Orange, N. J.
- Daniel H. McPhail**, Bvt. Maj. Contreras and Churubusco; wounded at Churubusco; Paymaster U. S. V. late war; died January 30, 1884.
- ***Moses E. Merrill**; killed September 8, 1847, at the battle Molino del Rey, Mexico.
- Nathan B. Rossell**, Bvt. Maj. Molino del Rey; Col. U. S. A. late war; killed June 27, 1862, at the battle of Gaines' Mill, Va.
- ***Daniel Ruggles**, Bvt. Maj. and Lt.-Col. Contreras, Churubusco and Chapultepec; Brig.-Gen. C. S. A. late war.
- ***Ephraim Kirby Smith**; died September 11, 1847 of wounds received at the battle of Molino del Rey, Mexico.
- ***Carter L. Stevenson**, Maj.-Gen. C. S. A. late war.
- ***Joseph H. Whipple**; died June 30, 1847, at Perote, Mexico.

FIRST LIEUTENANTS.

- George Deas. (See Assistant Adjutants-General.)
- Joseph L. Folsom. (See Assistant Quartermasters.)
- Sterne H. Fowler**, Bvt. Capt. and Maj. Contreras, Churubusco and Molino del Rey; wounded at Resaca de la Palma.
- ***Charles S. Hamilton**, Bvt. Capt. Contreras and Churubusco; severely wounded at Molino del Rey; Maj.-Gen. U. S. V. late war.
- ***Pinkney Lugenbeel**, Bvt. Capt. and Maj. Contreras, Churubusco and Chapultepec; Maj. U. S. A. late war; died March 18, 1836, at Detroit, Mich.
- Spencer Norvell**; died August 12, 1850.

John C. Robinson, Brig.-Gen. U. S. V. late war.

*Mortimer Rosecrants, Bvt. Capt. Contreras and Churubusco; died October 7, 1848, at Ypsilanti, Mich.

*Henry R. Selden, Col. U. S. V. late war; died February 2, 1865, at Fort Union, N. Mex.

John A. Whittall, Bvt. Capt. Palo Alto and Resaca de la Palma; Maj. U. S. A. late war; died March 31, 1866.

SECOND LIEUTENANTS.

***William T. Burwell**; killed September 8, 1847, at the battle of Molino del Rey, Mexico.

*Frederick T. Dent, Bvt. 1st Lt. and Capt. Contreras, Churubusco and Molino del Rey; severely wounded at Molino del Rey; Brig.-Gen. U. S. V. late war.

*Patrick A. Farrelly, Bvt. 1st Lt. Contreras and Churubusco; severely wounded at Churubusco; died August 4, 1851, at Fort Washita, Ind. T. Clinton W. Lear, Bvt. 1st Lt. National Bridge and Cerro Gordo; died October 26, 1854.

*William Read; died April 29, 1834, at Washington, D. C.

***John A. Richey**; assassinated January 13, 1847, by Mexicans, near Villa Grande, Mexico.

***Joseph P. Smith**; killed September 13, 1847, at the battle of Chapultepec, Mexico.

***Erastus B. Strong**; killed September 8, 1847, at the battle of Molino del Rey, Mexico.

SIXTH REGIMENT OF INFANTRY.

COLONEL.

Newman S. Clarke, Bvt. Brig.-Gen. Vera Cruz; died October 17, 1860.

MAJORS.

*Benjamin L. E. Bonneville, Bvt. Lt.-Col. Contreras and Churubusco; wounded at Churubusco; died June 12, 1878, at Fort Smith, Ark.

Thomas P. Gwynne; died February 26, 1861.

CAPTAINS.

Thomas L. Alexander, Bvt. Maj. Contreras and Churubusco; died March 11, 1881, at Louisville, Ky.

*Albemarle Cady, Bvt. Maj. and wounded at Molino del Rey; Col. U. S. A. late war; died March 14, 1888, at New Haven, Conn.

*William Hoffman, Bvt. Maj. and Lt.-Col. Contreras, Churubusco and Molino del Rey; wounded at Churubusco; Col. U. S. A. late war; died August 12, 1884, at Rock Island, Ill.

George C. Hutter, Col. C. S. A. late war; died July 31, 1879.

Charles S. Lovell, Col. U. S. A. late war; died January 3, 1871.

James Monroe, Jr.

*John B. S. Todd, Brig.-Gen. U. S. V. late war; died January 5, 1872, at Yankton, Dak.

***William H. T. Walker**, Bvt. Maj. and Lt.-Col. Contreras, Churubusco and Molino del Rey; severely wounded at Molino del Rey; Maj.-Gen. C. S. A. late war; killed July 22, 1864, at the battle of Atlanta, Ga.

*Samuel Woods, Bvt. Maj. and Lt.-Col. Chapultepec; Lt.-Col. U. S. A. late war; died September 22, 1887, at Oakland, Cal.

FIRST LIEUTENANTS.

- ***Lewis A. Armistead**, Bvt. Capt. and Maj. Contreras, Churubusco and Molino del Rey; wounded at Chapultepec; Brig.-Gen. C. S. A. late war; killed July 3, 1863, at the battle of Gettysburg, Pa.
- ***John D. Bacon**; died October 12, 1847, of wounds received at the battle of Churubusco, Mexico.
- Edward H. Fitzgerald. (See Assistant Quartermasters.)
- Thomas Hendrickson, Bvt. Capt. Contreras and Churubusco; severely wounded at Churubusco; Maj. U. S. A. late war; died October 24, 1878.
- ***Edward Johnson**, Bvt. Capt. and Maj. Molino del Rey and Chapultepec; Maj.-Gen. C. S. A. late war; died February 22, 1873, at Richmond, Va.
- Alexander Morrow, Bvt. Capt. Chapultepec; died January 7, 1851.
- Leonidas Wetmore, Bvt. Capt. Molino del Rey; died November 18, 1849.

SECOND LIEUTENANTS.

- ***Simon B. Buckner**, Bvt. 1st Lt. and Capt. Contreras, Churubusco and Molino del Rey; Lt.-Gen. C. S. A. late war.
- ***Rudolph F. Ernst**; died September 22, 1847, of wounds received at the battle of Molino del Rey, Mexico.
- ***Winfield S. Hancock**, Bvt. 1st.-Lt. Contreras and Churubusco; Brig.-Gen. U. S. A. late war; died February 9, 1886, at Governor's Island, N. Y.
- ***Edwin Howe**, Bvt. 1st Lt. Molino del Rey; died March 31, 1850, at Fort Leavenworth, Kans.
- ***Ralph W. Kirkham**, Bvt. 1st Lt. and Capt. Contreras, Churubusco and Chapultepec; Maj. Q. M., U. S. A. late war.
- ***George W. Lay**, Bvt. 1st Lt. and Capt. Monterey, Contreras and Churubusco; Col. C. S. A. late war; died May 7, 1867, at New Orleans, La.
- ***Anderson D. Nelson**, Maj. U. S. A. late war; died December 30, 1885, at Thomasville, Ga.
- William Rhea. (See Third Infantry.)
- George T. Shackelford; died September 28, 1848.

SEVENTH REGIMENT OF INFANTRY.

LIEUTENANT-COLONEL.

- Joseph Plympton, Bvt. Col. Cerro Gordo; died June 5, 1860.

MAJORS.

- ***Henry Bainbridge**, Bvt. Lt.-Col. Contreras and Churubusco; wounded at Monterey; died May 31, 1857, in the burning of the steamer *Louisiana*, Galveston Bay, Tex.
- ***Jacob Brown**; died May 9, 1846, of wounds received in defense of Fort Brown, Tex.

CAPTAINS.

- ***Forbes Britton**; died February 14, 1861, at Austin, Tex.
- ***Richard C. Gatlin**, Bvt. Maj. and wounded at Monterey; Brig.-Gen. C. S. A. late war.
- ***Charles Hanson**; killed August 20, 1847, at the battle of Contreras, Mexico.
- Edgar S. Hawkins. (See First Infantry.)

John C. Henshaw, Bvt. Maj. Contreras and Churubusco.

***Theophilus H. Holmes**, Bvt. Maj. Monterey; Lt.-Gen. C. S. A. late war; died June 20, 1880, at Fayetteville, N. C.

Francis Lee. (See Fourth Infantry.)

Dixon S. Miles. (See Fifth Infantry.)

***Gabriel R. Paul**, Bvt. Maj. Chapultepec; Brig.-Gen. U. S. V. late war; died May 5, 1886, at Washington, D. C.

***Gabriel J. Rains**, Brig.-Gen. C. S. A. late war; died August 6, 1881, at Aiken, S. C.

***Richard H. Ross**, Bvt. Maj. and Lt.-Col. Monterey and Contreras; severely wounded at Contreras; died August 24, 1851, at Boston, Mass.

Washington Seawell. (See Second Infantry.)

***Seneca G. Simmons**, Col. U. S. V. late war; killed June 30, 1862, at the battle of Glendale, Va.

***Daniel P. Whiting**, Bvt. Maj. Cerro Gordo; Lt.-Col. U. S. A. late war.

FIRST LIEUTENANTS.

***Napoleon J. T. Dana**, Bvt. Capt. and severely wounded at Cerro Gordo; Maj.-Gen. U. S. V. late war.

***Levi Gantt**; killed September 13, 1847, at the battle of Chapultepec, Mexico.

***Samuel B. Hayman**, Maj. U. S. A. late war.

***Nevil Hopson**; died in 1847, in Texas.

***Charles H. Humber**, Bvt. Capt. Cerro Gordo; severely wounded at San Geronimo; died January 2, 1858, at Fort Smith, Ark.

Lewis H. Little, Bvt. Capt. Monterey; Brig.-Gen. C. S. A. late war; killed September 19, 1862, at the battle of Iuka, Miss.

***Lafayette McLaws**, Maj.-Gen. C. S. A. late war.

Francis N. Page. (See Assistant Adjutants-General.)

***Earl Van Dorn**, Bvt. Capt. and Maj. Cerro Gordo, Contreras and Churubusco; wounded at Churubusco; Maj.-Gen. C. S. A. late war; assassinated May 8, 1863, in Maury Co., Tenn.

SECOND LIEUTENANTS.

***Franklin Gardner**, Bvt. 1st Lt. and Capt. Monterey and Cerro Gordo; Maj.-Gen. C. S. A. late war; died April 29, 1873, at Vermillionville, La.

Thomas Henry, Bvt. 1st Lt. Contreras and Churubusco.

***Samuel B. Maxey**, Bvt. 1st Lt. Contreras and Churubusco; Maj.-Gen. C. S. A. late war.

***Joseph H. Potter**, Bvt. 1st Lt. and severely wounded at Monterey; Brig.-Gen. U. S. V. late war.

***Edmund Kirby Smith**, Bvt. 1st Lt. and Capt. Cerro Gordo and Contreras; Gen. C. S. A. late war.

***Mathew R. Stevenson**; died January 2, 1863, at Sackett's Harbor, N. Y.

***William H. Tyler**, Bvt. 1st Lt. Contreras and Churubusco; died October 24, 1853, in Prince William Co., Va.

***William K. Van Bokelen**, Bvt. 1st Lt. Contreras and Churubusco.

***Cadmus M. Wilcox**, Bvt. 1st Lt., Chapultepec; Maj.-Gen. C. S. A. late war; died December 2, 1890, at Washington, D. C.

EIGHTH REGIMENT OF INFANTRY.

LIEUTENANT-COLONEL.

Thomas Staniford, Bvt. Col. Palo Alto, Resaca de la Palma and Monterey; died February 3, 1855.

MAJORS

William G. Belknap. (See Fifth Infantry.)

Carlos A. Waite, Bvt. Lt.-Col. and Col. Contreras, Churubusco and Molino del Rey; Col. U. S. A. late war; died May 7, 1866.

CAPTAINS.

*James V. Bomford, Bvt. Maj. and Lt.-Col. Contreras, Churubusco and Molino del Rey; Col. U. S. A. late war.

George Lincoln. (See Assistant Adjutants-General.)

***Henry McKavett**; killed September 21, 1846, at the battle of Monterey, Mexico.

*William R. Montgomery, Bvt. Maj. and Lt.-Col. Palo Alto, Resaca de la Palma and Molino del Rey; wounded at Resaca and Molino; Brig.-Gen. U. S. V. late war; died May 31, 1871, at Bristol, Pa.

*Isaac V. D. Reeve, Bvt. Maj. and Lt.-Col. Contreras, Churubusco and Molino del Rey; Col. U. S. A. late war; died December 31, 1890, at New York City.

*Richard B. Screven, Bvt. Maj. and Lt.-Col. Monterey and Molino del Rey; died May 15, 1851, at New Orleans, La.

Augustus L. Sheppard; died January 22, 1849.

*Larkin Smith, Bvt. Maj. Contreras and Churubusco; severely wounded at Molino del Rey; Lt.-Col. C. S. A. late war; died December 3, 1884, at San Antonio, Tex.

*George Wright, Bvt. Maj., Lt.-Col. and Col. Contreras, Churubusco and Molino del Rey; wounded at Molino del Rey; Brig.-Gen. U. S. V. late war; drowned July 30, 1864, in the wreck of steamer Brother Jonathan.

FIRST LIEUTENANTS.

*John Beardsley, Bvt. Capt. and severely wounded at Molino del Rey; Col. U. S. V. late war.

***John G. Burbank**; wounded at Resaca de la Palma; died September 10, 1847 of wounds received at the battle of Molino del Rey, Mexico.

*John D. Clark, Bvt. Capt. and severely wounded at Molino del Rey; drowned September 2, 1848, near Helena, Ark.

*Collinson R. Gates, Bvt. Capt. and Maj. Palo Alto, Resaca de la Palma and Molino del Rey; wounded at Resaca de la Palma; died June 28, 1849, at Fredericksburg, Tex.

Arthur T. Lee, Maj. U. S. A. late war; died December 29, 1879.

*James Longstreet, Bvt. Capt. and Maj. Contreras, Churubusco and Molino del Rey; severely wounded at Chapultepec; Lt.-Gen. C. S. A. late war.

*Robert P. Maclay; wounded at Resaca de la Palma; Brig.-Gen. C. S. A. late war.

***Charles F. Morris**; wounded at Resaca de la Palma; died September 17, 1847, of wounds received at the battle of Molino del Rey, Mexico.

Joseph Selden, Bvt. Capt. and Maj. Contreras, Churubusco and Chapultepec; severely wounded at Chapultepec; Col. C. S. A. late war.

SECOND LIEUTENANTS.

- *Edward D. Blake, Lt.-Col. C. S. A. late war; died November 29, 1882, at Charleston, S. C.
- *Jacob J. Booker; died June 26, 1849, at San Antonio, Tex.
- ***Theodore L. Chadbourne**; killed May 9, 1846, at the battle of Resaca de la Palma.
- *Alfred St. A. Crozet; died April 23, 1855, at Cincinnati, Ohio.
- Alexander Hays. (See Fourth Infantry.)
- ***Edmunds B. Holloway**, Bvt. 1st Lt. Contreras and Churubusco; severely wounded at Churubusco; Col. C. S. A. late war; died May 16, 1861, at Independence, Mo., of wounds received from his own men.
- *Charles D. Jordan, Bvt. 1st Lt. Palo Alto and Resaca de la Palma; wounded at Resaca de la Palma; Maj. U. S. A. late war; died January 5, 1876, at Canton, Mass.
- *George E. Pickett, Bvt. 1st Lt. and Capt. Contreras, Churubusco and Chapultepec; Maj.-Gen. C. S. A. late war; died July 30, 1875, at Norfolk, Va.
- *Thomas G. Pitcher, Bvt. 1st Lt. Contreras and Churubusco; Brig.-Gen. U. S. V. late war.
- *James G. S. Snelling, Bvt. 1st Lt. and Capt. Contreras, Churubusco and Molino del Rey; severely wounded at Molino del Rey; died August 25, 1855, at Cincinnati, Ohio.
- *George Wainwright; severely wounded at Monterey and Molino; died August 2, 1848, at Brooklyn, N. Y.
- *Lafayette B. Wood, Bvt. 1st Lt. and Capt. Monterey, Contreras and Churubusco; died August 19, 1858, at Washington, D. C.

NINTH REGIMENT OF INFANTRY.

[Raised for one year by act of Congress.]

COLONELS.

- *Jones M. Withers, Maj.-Gen. C. S. A. late war; died March 13, 1890, at Mobile, Ala.
- Trueman B. Ransom**; killed September 13, 1847, at the battle of Chapultepec, Mexico.

LIEUTENANT-COLONEL.

Jeremiah Clemens; died May 21, 1865.

MAJORS.

Folliot T. Lally, Bvt. Lt.-Col. Paso Ovejas, National Bridge and Cerro Gordo.
 William B. Taliaferro, Maj.-Gen. C. S. A. late war.
 Thomas H. Seymour. (See Twelfth Infantry.)

SURGEON.

Justin E. Stevens.

ASSISTANT SURGEONS.

Robert T. Spence.
 Francis L. Wheaton, Surgeon U. S. V. late war.

CAPTAINS.

Daniel Bachelder.
 Charles N. Bodfish, Bvt. Maj. Contreras and Churubusco; died March 16, 1865.

Lorenzo Johnson.

Edgar A. Kimball, Bvt. Maj. Contreras and Churubusco; Lt.-Col. U. S. V. late war; killed by Gen. Michael Corcoran April 12, 1863.

Andrew T. Palmer. (See Fourteenth Infantry.)

Joseph S. Pitman, Bvt. Lt.-Col. U. S. V. late war; died September 15, 1883.

Theodore F. Rowe, Bvt. Maj. Puebla; died April 20, 1868.

James W. Thompson; died September 25, 1847.

Nathaniel S. Webb, Bvt. Maj. Chapultepec.

Stephen Woodman.

FIRST LIEUTENANTS.

Lyman Bissell, Maj. U. S. A. late war; died November 22, 1888.

George Bowers, Bvt. Capt. Contreras and Churubusco; Lt.-Col. U. S. V. late war; died February 14, 1883.

James F. Bragg.

Justin Hodge, A. Q. M., U. S. V. late war.

John H. Jackson, Bvt. Capt. Contreras and Churubusco; Col. U. S. V. late war.

Alexander Morrow. (See Sixth Infantry.)

John S. Slocum, Bvt. Capt. Churubusco; Col. U. S. V. late war; killed July 21, 1861, at the first battle of Bull Run, Va.

*Charles J. Sprague, Bvt. Capt. Contreras and Churubusco; Paymaster, U. S. V. late war.

Albert Tracy, Bvt. Capt. Chapultepec; Col. U. S. A. late war.

Thomas J. Whipple, Col. U. S. V. late war; died December 21, 1889.

SECOND LIEUTENANTS.

James P. Archer.

Josiah P. Chadbourne.

Daniel H. Cram.

Thompson H. Crosby, Bvt. 1st Lt. Chapultepec.

Henry De Walbe.

Richard C. Drum, Bvt. 1st Lt. Chapultepec; Lt.-Col. U. S. A. late war.

John Glackin, Bvt. 1st Lt. Chapultepec.

Jesse A. Gove, Col. U. S. V. late war; killed June 27, 1862, at the battle of Gaines' Mill, Va.

John M. Hatheway, Bvt. 1st Lt. Chapultepec; died January 17, 1890.

Robert Hopkins.

Charles F. Low; drowned January 16, 1874.

George W. May.

John McNabb, Capt. U. S. A. late war.

William A. Newman, Bvt. 1st Lt. Contreras and Churubusco; died March 5, 1870.

Alpheus T. Palmer, Bvt. 1st Lt. Contreras and Churubusco; died February 15, 1890.

Thomas P. Pierce, Bvt. 1st Lt. Contreras and Churubusco; Col. U. S. V. late war; died October 14, 1887.

Charles Simmons.

Asa A. Stoddard, Bvt. 1st Lt. Chapultepec.

Nathaniel F. Swett, 1st Lt. U. S. A. late war; died April 25, 1862.

Levi Woodhouse, Bvt. 1st Lt. Chapultepec; Col. U. S. V. late war.

TENTH REGIMENT OF INFANTRY

[Raised for one year by act of Congress.]

COLONEL.

*Robert E. Temple ; died July 20, 1854, at Albany, N. Y.

LIEUTENANT-COLONELS.

John J. Fay. (See Thirteenth Infantry.)

Ralph G. Norvell.

MAJORS.

Fowler Hamilton. (See Second Dragoons.)

Justus I. McCarty ; died June 8, 1881.

SURGEON.

Thomas Spencer ; died May 30, 1857.

ASSISTANT SURGEONS.

William L. Booth.

John Cauger.

CAPTAINS.

William R. Andrews ; died August 2, 1858.

Joshua W. Collett ; killed January 21, 1848, in a duel.

Samuel Dickinson.

Matthew S. Pitcher ; died September 17, 1858,

Thomas Postley ; killed May 8, 1848, by a soldier.

William W. Tompkins ; died February 7, 1882.

William L. Walradt.

Caleb Wilder.

Alexander Wilkins, Col. U. S. V. late war ; killed July 14, 1864, at the battle of Tupelo. Miss.

Joseph A. Yard.

FIRST LIEUTENANTS.

Robert A. Bouton.

Francis M. Cummins, Col. U. S. V. late war ; died March 26, 1884.

Samuel R. Dummer.

Joseph H. Howard.

Samuel Lea.

William C. M. Lewis ; died November 19, 1847.

Squire Moon.

Robert C. Morgan, A. Q. M., U. S. V. late war ; died January 26, 1884.

Stephen Powers.

George W. Taylor ; Brig.-Gen. U. S. V. late war ; died August 31, 1862, of wounds received at the battle of Cub Run, Va.

SECOND LIEUTENANTS.

Charles Bennett.

Peter H. Bruyere.

De Witt Clinton, Maj. U. S. A. late war ; died August 14, 1873.

Lorimer Graham, Bvt. 1st Lt. and Capt. Mill Flores and Churubusco ; severely wounded at Churubusco.

Thomas S. Griffing, A. A. G., U. S. V. late war; died March 20, 1877.
Gaylord H. Griswold.
Edward Harte.
Charles A. Johnson, Col. U. S. V. late war.
Ira S. Konover.
John Magee.
Edward McGarry, Col. U. S. V. late war; died December 31, 1867.
James McKown, Maj. U. S. V. late war.
Calvin J. Mills.
Gershom Mott, Maj.-Gen. U. S. V. late war; died November 29, 1884.
John S. Nevins.
*Hiram Russell.
Abraham Scouten.
Charles Van Alen.
Benjamin Yard; died October 21, 1847.

ELEVENTH REGIMENT OF INFANTRY.

[Raised for one year by act of Congress.]

COLONEL.

Albert C. Ramsey; died March 9, 1869.

LIEUTENANT-COLONELS.

***William M. Graham**; killed September 8, 1847, at the battle of
Molino del Rey, Mexico.
John H. Savage, Col. C. S. A. late war.

MAJORS.

John F. Hunter, Bvt. Lt.-Col. Contreras and Churubusco.
*Edwin W. Morgan; died April 16, 1869, at Bethlehem, Pa.

SURGEON.

William J. Barry.

ASSISTANT SURGEONS.

Samuel D. Scott.
John H. Weir.

CAPTAINS.

Charles T. Campbell, Brig.-Gen. U. S. V. late war.
Lewis Carr; died September 6, 1886.
George W. Chaytor.
Arthur C. Cummings, Bvt. Maj. National Bridge and Cerro Gordo; Col.
C. S. A. late war.
Presley N. Guthrie, Bvt. Maj. Contreras and Churubusco; died December
29, 1857.
William H. Irwin, Bvt. Maj. Contreras and Churubusco; Col. U. S. V.
late war; died January 17, 1886.
Elisha W. McComas.
John Motz, Bvt. Maj. Contreras and Churubusco.
Arnold Syberg.
*Pemberton Waddell; died September 25, 1847.

FIRST LIEUTENANTS.

George Davidson.

Columbus P. Evans, Bvt. Capt. Contreras and Chapultepec; died February 19, 1854.

William H. Gray, Col. U. S. V. late war.

John I. Gregg, Col. U. S. V. late war.

Marshall Hannon; died December 6, 1847.

Benjamin F. Harley, Bvt. Capt. Contreras and Churubusco.

Joseph S. Hedges.

Daniel S. Lee, Bvt. Capt. Contreras and Churubusco; died August 15, 1857.

Thomas F. McCoy, Bvt. Capt. Contreras and Churubusco; Col. U. S. V. late war.

Joseph Samuels; died December 9, 1847.

SECOND LIEUTENANTS.

John A. Bayard, 2d Lt. U. S. V. late war; died August 3, 1863, of wounds received at the battle of Gettysburg, Pa.

Jacob Brua; died July 3, 1847.

James Elder, Capt. U. S. A. late war.

George B. Fitzgerald.

Weidman Forster.

Horace Haldeman; died September 10, 1883.

Richard H. L. Johnston; killed September 8, 1847, at the battle of Molino del Rey, Mexico.

SECOND LIEUTENANTS.

James Keenan, Jr.

Purnell Lofland.

Alonzo Loring, Bvt. 1st Lt. National Bridge and Cerro Gordo.

George C. McClelland; died October 26, 1888, at Waterloo, Pa.

Washington Meads; died August 26, 1847.

William G. Murray, Col. U. S. V. late war; killed March 23 1862, at the battle of Winchester, Va.

James W. Rhey.

William H. Scott, Bvt. 1st Lt. Contreras and Churubusco.

Nicholas Spear.

Mitchell Stever.

Joseph P. Thom, Capt. C. S. A. late war.

Andrew H. Tippin, Bvt. 1st Lt. Contreras and Churubusco; Col. U. S. V. late war; died February, 1870.

*Junius B. Wheeler, Capt. U. S. A. late war; died July 15, 1886, at Lenoir, N. C.

TWELFTH REGIMENT OF INFANTRY.

[Raised for one year by act of Congress.]

COLONEL.

Milledge L. Bonham, Brig.-Gen. C. S. A. late war; died August 27, 1890, at Columbia, S. C.

LIEUTENANT-COLONEL.

Thomas H. Seymour, Bvt. Col. Chapultepec; died September 3, 1868.

Roster of Army Officers.

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MAJORS.

*Albert G. Blanchard, Brig.-Gen. C. S. A. late war; died ——— 1891, at New Orleans, La.

Maxey Gregg, Brig.-Gen. C. S. A. late war; killed December 13, 1862, at the battle of Fredericksburg, Va.

SURGEON.

Robert R. Ritchie.

ASSISTANT SURGEONS.

John B. Butler.

Alfred G. Howard.

CAPTAINS.

Joseph B. Anthony.

William J. Clark, Bvt. Maj. National Bridge and Cerro Gordo; Col. C. S. A. late war.

James W. Denver, Brig.-Gen. U. S. V. late war.

Oliver P. Hamilton.

John F. Hoke, Col. C. S. A. late war

Nathaniel B. Holden, Bvt. Maj. Contreras and Churubusco; murdered September 21, 1863.

Charles C. Hornsby.

Charles R. Jones.

*James M. Wells; died in 1853.

Allen Wood, Bvt. Maj. Contreras and Churubusco.

FIRST LIEUTENANTS.

Charles M. Creanor, Bvt. Capt. National Bridge and Cerro Gordo.

John H. H. Felch; died March 4, 1851.

William B. Giles, Bvt. Capt. Contreras and Churubusco.

John C. Howard; died December 23, 1885.

John J. Martin.

Daniel M. Short, Capt. C. S. A. late war.

John C. Simkins, Bvt. Capt. Contreras and Churubusco; Lt.-Col. C. S.

A. late war; killed July 18, 1863, Battery Wagner, Morris Island, S. C.

Charles Taplin, Bvt. Capt. Contreras and Churubusco.

Washington L. Wilson.

Oscar D. Wyche.

SECOND LIEUTENANTS.

Henry Almstedt, Col. U. S. V. late war; died November 24, 1884.

Ormsby Blanding, Maj. C. S. A. late war.

Whitfield B. Brooks; died October 2, 1847, of wounds received at the battle of Churubusco, Mexico.

John M. Bronaugh, Bvt. 1st Lt. Contreras and Churubusco; died March 23, 1889.

Christopher R. P. Butler; died November 1, 1853.

Edward Cantwell, Lt.-Col. C. S. A. late war.

William I. Coleman.

Thomas T. Conway.

Henry R. Crosby, Capt. U. S. V. late war.

William A. Linn.

Lloyd Magruder.

James P. Miller.

John D. Otterson; died December 26, 1847.

Isaac W. Patton, Col. C. S. A. late war; died February 8, 1890.

Robert Patton, Jr.; died November 1847.

Abner M. Perrin. Brig.-Gen. C. S. A. late war; killed May 12, 1864, at the battle of Spottsylvania, Va.

E. N. Saunders.

Alexander E. Steen, Bvt. 1st Lt. Contreras and Churubusco; Brig.-Gen. C. S. A. late war; killed November 27, 1862, at the battle of Kane Hill, Ark.

James F. Waddell, Lt.-Col. C. S. A. late war.

John J. Wheeden; died January 14, 1848.

Alden M. Woodruff

THIRTEENTH REGIMENT OF INFANTRY.

[Raised for one year by act of Congress.]

COLONELS.

Robert M. Echols; died December 3, 1847.

John J. Fay.

LIEUTENANT-COLONEL.

Jones M. Withers. (See Ninth Infantry.)

MAJORS.

Allen G. Johnson.

Edward Manigault, Maj. C. S. A. late war.

CAPTAINS.

John B. Campbell.

Henry E. W. Clark.

Hugh L. Clay, Lt.-Col. C. S. A. late war.

Duncan L. Clinch, Jr., Col. C. S. A. late war.

Walton Ector, Col. C. S. A. late war; died February 1, 1862.

Adam Hawk,

Hiram H. Higgins, Maj. C. S. A. late war.

Ely P. Howell.

Egbert I. Jones, Col. C. S. A. late war.

John W. Rice.

FIRST LIEUTENANTS.

Henry C. Bradford, Lt.-Col. C. S. A. late war; died April 3, 1879.

George W. Chilter.

Nicholas Davis, Jr.; died November 3, 1875.

James M. Dye.

John S. Hale.

Robert S. Hayward.

John C. Marrast, Lt.-Col. C. S. A. late war.

Powhatan R. Page, Lt.-Col. C. S. A. late war.

Fitz H. Ripley, Capt. C. S. A. late war.

Joseph A. White.

SECOND LIEUTENANTS.

Samuel H. Crump, Maj. C. S. A. late war; died September 19, 1883.
Edward J. Dummett; died October 1, 1855.
Nathaniel Grant; died February 1, 1865.
William D. Grey; died April 7, 1848.
Isaac Hulse, Jr.
Mann P. Hunter, Capt. C. S. A. late war.
Daniel Kirkpatrick.
Charles McClung.
Marcus L. McMillion.
John C. Mangham, Jr.
William A. Morrison.
John N. Perkins. Capt. C. S. A. late war.
John C. Reese.
William F. Reeves.
John L. Sims.
Reuben T. Thom; Capt. C. S. A. late war.
John P. Wallace.
John C. Wellborn.
David G. Wilds.
John J. Witherspoon; died October 22, 1847.

FOURTEENTH REGIMENT OF INFANTRY.

[Raised for one year by act of Congress.]

COLONEL.

William Trousdale, Bvt. Brig.-Gen. Chapultepec; died March 27, 1872.

LIEUTENANT-COLONEL.

Paul O. Hebert, Bvt. Col. Molino del Rey; Brig.-Gen. C. S. A. late war;
died August 29, 1880, at New Orleans, La.

MAJORS.

Andrew T. Palmer; died June 20, 1858.
John H. Savage. (See Eleventh United States Infantry.)
John D. Wood.

SURGEON.

Lewis W. Jordan.

ASSISTANT-SURGEONS.

Robert H. McGinniss; died September 1, 1847.
Edward B. Price.

CAPTAINS.

***Pierce B. Anderson**, Capt. C. S. A. late war; killed December 13,
1861, at the battle of Buffalo Mt., W. Va.
Robert G. Beale.
Edgar Bogardus.
Julien P. Breedlove; died August 12, 1848.
Benjamin F. Fulton.
Christopher M. Gaile.
Thomas Glenn, Bvt. Maj. Chapultepec.

Creed T. Huddleston; died October 1, 1847.

Joseph W. Perkins; died October 22, 1847.

James M. Scantland, Bvt. Maj. Chapultepec; died July 22, 1849.

FIRST LIEUTENANTS.

James Blackburn, Bvt. Capt. Chapultepec.

Preston G. Haynes.

Philander A. Hickman.

Robert Humphreys.

Henry B. Kelly, Col. C. S. A. late war.

Andrew J. McAllon.

Nelson McClannahan.

George W. Morgan, Maj. C. S. A. late war.

Thomas Shields, Lt.-Col. C. S. A. late war.

Thomas Smith, Col. C. S. A. late war.

SECOND LIEUTENANTS.

Robert W. Bedford; died June 13, 1848.

George W. Cheney.

John Chester, Col. C. S. A. late war.

*Samuel B. Davis, Bvt. 1st Lt. Contreras and Churubuseo; Maj. C. S. A. late war.

Richard T. Eastin.

James G. Fitzgerald.

Thomas Hart.

James C. C. Hays.

Andrew J. Hudson.

Andrew J. Isaacks, Bvt. 1st Lt. Chapultepec.

Alexander C. Layne.

Samuel T. Love, Maj. C. S. A. late war.

Samuel H. Martin.

Benjamin S. Mudd; died January 29, 1848.

Hugh C. Murray.

John T. Sanford.

William H. Seawell, Lt.-Col. C. S. A. late war; died May 29, 1875.

Richard Steele.

Perrin Watson; died January 3, 1848.

Joseph Q. Wilbar.

FIFTEENTH REGIMENT OF INFANTRY.

[Raised for one year by act of Congress.]

COLONEL.

*George W. Morgan, Bvt. Brig.-Gen. Contreras and Churubuseo; Brig.-Gen. U. S. V. late war.

LIEUTENANT-COLONEL.

Joshua Howard, Bvt. Col. Chapultepec; Paymaster U. S. V. late war; died July 12, 1868.

MAJORS.

Leslie H. McKenney.

Frederick D. Mills; killed August 20, 1847, in action at San Antonio, Mexico.

Samuel Woods. (See Sixth United States Infantry.)

SURGEON.

James B. Slade; died November 30, 1847.

ASSISTANT SURGEON.

William D. Carlin, Surgeon U. S. V. late war; December 26, 1862.

CAPTAINS.

John S. Berry.

Daniel Chase, Bvt. Maj. Contreras and Churubusco; Maj. U. S. A. late war; died June 24, 1877.

Edwin Guthrie; died July 20, 1847, of wounds received in action at La Hoya, Mexico.

Moses Hoagland, Bvt. Maj. Contreras and Churubusco.

James A. Jones, Bvt. Maj. Contreras and Churubusco; Lt.-Col. U. S. V. late war.

Edward A. King, Col. U. S. A. late war; killed September 20, 1863, at the battle of Chickamauga, Ga.

Augustus Quarles; killed August 20, 1847, at the battle of Churubusco, Mexico.

Isaac D. Toll.

Eugene Van de Venter.

Frazey M. Winans, Bvt. Maj. National Bridge and Cerro Gordo; Lt.-Col. U. S. V. late war; died March 5, 1864, at Monroe, Mich.

FIRST LIEUTENANTS.

George W. Bowie, Bvt. Capt. and Maj. Contreras and Churubusco; Col. U. S. V. late war.

Thornton F. Broadhead, Bvt. Capt. Contreras and Churubusco; Col. U. S. V. late war; died September 2, 1862, of wounds received at the second battle of Bull Run, Va.

Thomas H. Freelon, Bvt. Capt. Chapultepec; died March 5, 1885.

John B. Goodman; killed August 20, 1847, at the battle of Churubusco, Mexico.

Edward C. Marshall, Bvt. Capt. Chapultepec.

John B. Miller, Capt. U. S. A. late war; died January 4, 1877.

William R. Stafford.

Albert G. Sutton, Bvt. Capt. Chapultepec.

William S. Tanneyhill; died April, 1863.

Diedrich Upmann.

SECOND LIEUTENANTS.

Samuel E. Beach, Bvt. 1st Lt. Contreras and Churubusco; Col. U. S. V. late war.

Francis O. Beckett, Bvt. 1st Lt. Contreras and Churubusco.

John R. Bennett, Bvt. 1st Lt. Chapultepec; Capt. U. S. V. late war.

Llewellyn Boyle.

Michael P. Boyle; died October 23, 1847.

Heman M. Cady, Capt. U. S. A. late war.

Daniel French, Bvt. 1st Lt. and Capt. Chapultepec; Col. U. S. V. late war.

William H. H. Goodloe.

Henry H. Green.

George F. Hooper.

Cornelius Ketcham.
 Edwin R. Merrifield.
 Charles Peternell, Bvt. 1st Lt. and Capt. Chapultepec.
 Samuel D. Stuart.
 Lewis W. Templeton.
 Thomas B. Tilton.
 Platt S. Titus, Bvt. 1st Lt. Chapultepec; Capt. U. S. V. late war.
 James W. Wiley, Bvt. 1st Lt. Contreras and Churubusco.
 William D. Wilkins, Bvt. 1st Lt. National Bridge and Cerro Gordo; Capt.
 U. S. V. late war; died March 31, 1882.
 Abel W. Wright.

SIXTEENTH REGIMENT OF INFANTRY.

[Raised for one year by act of Congress.]

COLONEL.

John W. Tibbatts; died July 5, 1852.

LIEUTENANT-COLONELS.

Fowler Hamilton. (See Second Dragoons.)
 Henry L. Webb.

MAJORS.

Ralph G. Norvell. (See Tenth Infantry.)
 James M. Talbott; died June 15, 1848.

SURGEON.

George Berry.

ASSISTANT SURGEONS.

Alexander C. Hensley.
 James D. Stuart.

CAPTAINS.

Thomas F. Bethell, Capt. U. S. V. late war; died March 25, 1873.
 Edmund B. Bill; died October 12, 1847.
 James W. Brannon.
 Edward Curd.
 Theophilus T. Garrard; Brig.-Gen. U. S. V. late war;
 Edward A. Graves.
 Patrick H. Harris.
 Leslie H. McKenney. (See Fifteenth Infantry.)
 Richard Owen, Col. U. S. V. late war; died March 24, 1890.
 Joseph P. Smith.
 ***Charles Wickliffe**, Col. C. S. A. late war; died April 27, 1862, of wounds
 received at the battle of Shiloh, Tenn.

FIRST LIEUTENANTS.

William Hamer.
 Charles J. Helm.
 James Hughes.
 John T. Hughes.
 Joseph Kellogg, Capt. U. S. V. late war.
 Henry K. Ramsey; died September 9, 1855.
 David W. Scott.

George W. Singleton.

Joab Wilkinson, Capt. U. S. A. late war; died November 9, 1887.

SECOND LIEUTENANTS.

Marcellus M. Anderson.

Edward C. Berry.

William W. Carr.

William Cooper.

Oliver Dieffendorf.

Alexander Evans, Maj. C. S. A. late war.

Bernard H. Garrett.

Orlando B. Griffith, Capt. U. S. V. late war; died June 6, 1877.

Thomas T. Hawkins, Maj. C. S. A. late war.

John C. How.

Burwell B. Irvan.

Francis McMordie.

John A. Markley.

Daniel O. May.

Samuel V. Niles; died October 12, 1887, at Washington, D. C.

William H. Slade.

James M. Smith.

Frederick A. Snyder.

Samuel N. Whitcomb, Pr. U. S. V. late war.

Thomas M. Winston, Maj. U. S. A. late war.

REGIMENT OF VOLTIGEURS AND FOOT RIFLEMEN.

[Raised for one year by act of Congress.]

COLONEL.

Timothy P. Andrews, Bvt. Brig.-Gen. Chapultepec; died March 11, 1868.

LIEUTENANT-COLONEL.

Joseph E. Johnston. (See Topographical Engineers.)

MAJORS.

George A. Caldwell, Bvt. Lt.-Col. Chapultepec.

George H. Talcott. (See Ordnance.)

SURGEON.

John W. Tyler.

ASSISTANT SURGEONS.

Archibald B. Campbell, Surgeon U. S. V. late war; died September 1, 1878.

James L. Clarke.

CAPTAINS.

James J. Archer, Bvt. Maj. Chapultepec; Brig.-Gen. C. S. A. late war; died October, 24, 1864.

Moses J. Barnard, Bvt. Maj. Chapultepec.

Charles J. Biddle, Bvt. Maj. Chapultepec; Col. U. S. V. late war; died September 28, 1873, at Philadelphia, Pa.

James D. Blair.

*James N. Caldwell, Maj. U. S. A. late war; died March 12, 1886, at Carthage, Ohio.

Alexander P. Churchill.

Oscar E. Edwards, Bvt. Maj. Chapultepec, Col. U. S. A. late war.

John E. Howard, Bvt. Maj. Chapultepec.

John Jones.

James H. Walker.

FIRST LIEUTENANTS.

John M. Blakey.

Alexander H. Cross; died 1869.

Birkett D. Fry, Brig.-Gen. U. S. A. late war.

John W. Leigh, Bvt. Capt. National Bridge and Cerro Gordo; Maj. U. S. A. late war.

Henry C. Longnecker; Col. U. S. V. late war; died September 16, 1871.

Leonidas McIntosh.

James C. Marriott.

James Tilton; died November 24, 1878.

William S. Walker, Bvt. Capt. Chapultepec; Brig.-Gen. U. S. A. late war.

James H. Woolford; died May 15, 1888.

SECOND LIEUTENANTS.

Robert H. Archer; Lt.-Col. U. S. A. late war; died March 10, 1878.

George W. Carr; Col. U. S. A. late war.

Theodore D. Cochran; Capt. U. S. A. late war; died July 25, 1863.

Robert C. Forsyth, Bvt. 1st Lt. Chapultepec; Lt.-Col. U. S. A. late war.

James A. Frost.

Michael H. Hooper.

George R. Kiger.

Gustavus S. Kintzing; died December 6, 1884.

Frank H. Larned; Capt. U. S. A. late war.

Edwin C. Marvin.

James R. May.

Van Renssalaer Otey.

James E. Slaughter; Brig.-Gen. U. S. A. late war.

Isaac W. Smith; Capt. U. S. A. late war.

James H. Smythe.

Washington Terrett.

Charles F. Vernon.

Robert Swan.

James M. Winder; died September 6, 1847, of wounds received in action at National Bridge, Mexico.

VOLUNTEER OFFICERS

Serving in Mexico From 1846 to 1848.

GENERAL OFFICERS.

MAJOR-GENERALS.

Robert Patterson, Maj.-Gen. U. S. V. late war; died August 7, 1881, at Philadelphia, Pa.
William O. Butler; died August 6, 1880, in Kentucky.

BRIGADIER-GENERALS.

George Cadwalader, Bvt. Maj.-Gen. Chapultepec; Maj.-Gen. U. S. V. late war; died February 3, 1879.
Caleb Cushing; died January 2, 1879, in Massachusetts.
Thomas L. Hamer; died December 2, 1846, at Monterey, Mexico.
Joseph Lane, Bvt. Maj.-Gen. Huamantla; died April 19, 1881, in Oregon.
Thomas Marshall; died March 28, 1853, in Kentucky.
Franklin Pierce; died October 8, 1869, in New Hampshire.
Gideon J. Pillow, Brig.-Gen. C. S. A. late war; died October 8, 1878, at Memphis, Tenn.
Sterling Price, Maj.-Gen. C. S. A. late war; died September 29, 1867, in Missouri.
John A. Quitman, Bvt. Maj.-Gen. Monterey; died July 17, 1858, in Mississippi.
James Shields, Bvt. Maj.-Gen. Cerro Gordo; Brig.-Gen. U. S. V. late war; died June 1, 1879.
Persifor F. Smith, Bvt. Brig. and Maj.-Gen. Monterey, Contreras and Churubusco; died May 17, 1858, at Fort Leavenworth, Kan.

PAYMASTERS (Rank of Majors).

Alfred H. Colquitt, Brig.-Gen. C. S. A. late war.
Jeremiah Y. Dashiell, Col. C. S. A. late war; died March 14, 1888, at San Antonio, Texas.

ALABAMA.

BATTALION OF ALABAMA VOLUNTEERS.

Lieutenant-Colonel.

Philip H. Raiford.

Captains.

James M. Curtis.
Robert L. Downman.
Robert F. Ligon.

Assistant Surgeon.

A. McDonald.

First Lieutenants.

Thomas O. Glasscock.
Norflett Ivey.

Egbert B. Johnston.
John A. Strother.

Second Lieutenants.

Spencer Currell.
Thomas I. Holloway.
Richard H. Hutchinson.
John C. Parkman.

REGIMENT OF ALABAMA VOLUNTEERS.

Colonel.

John R. Coffey.

Lieutenant-Colonel.

Richard G. Earle.

ALABAMA—Continued.

Major.

*Goode Byran, Brig-Gen. C. S. A.
late war.

Surgeon.

John W. Moore.

Assistant Surgeon.

J. Courtney Clark.

Adjutant.

Hugh P. Watson.

Captains.

Drury P. Baldwin.
William G. Coleman.
Hugh M. Cunningham.
Richard M. Jones.
William H. Ketcham.
Sydenham Moore.
Andrew L. Pickens.
Jacob D. Shelley.
Eliphas T. Smith.
Zachariah Thomason.

First Lieutenants.

James A. Cox.
William H. Forney.
Stephen F. Hale.
William S. Hancock.
William M. Hill.
John L. May; died at Matamoros,
Mexico, September 26, 1846.
Nathaniel P. Murphy.
James H. Pitts.
Reuben P. Thom, Jr.
John F. Thompson.

Second Lieutenants.

John C. Anderson.
Daniel Cothran; died November 16,
1846.
William M. Ford.
John B. Fuller.
Edward Hoskins.
Joseph D. McCann.
Garner M. McConnico.
John M. McDuff.
George W. Malone.
George W. Monroe.
John H. Norwood.
James Pierce.
Albert H. Rippetoe.
Early Roe.
George D. Snedcor.
Stephen W. Snow.
Henry B. Turner.

BATTALION OF ALABAMA
VOLUNTEERS.*Major.*

John I. Seibels.

Adjutant.

Robert A. Hardaway.

Assistant Surgeon.

Anthony B. Green.

Captains.

John Gorham Barr.
Daniel Gibbs.
Thomas E. Irby.
Tennent Lomax.
Blanton McAlpine.

First Lieutenants.

James H. Bogle.
John W. Caddell.
McKay M. Copeland.
Alexander T. Hawthorne.
William L. Moon.

Second Lieutenants.

Andrew Bogle.
James Clark.
David B. Cleveland.
Elijah G. Hood.
Elijah King.
Peyton G. King.
William R. King; died at Orizaba,
Mexico, May 5, 1848.
George Lynch.
James R. Malone.
John Woods.

THREE INDEPENDENT COM-
PANIES OF ALABAMA VOL-
UNTEERS.*Captains.*

Robert Desha.
Rush Elmore.
William H. Platt.

First Lieutenants.

Thomas Adrien.
Algernon M. Cook.
John S. Garvin.

Second Lieutenants.

Lewis Dickenson.
Thomas P. Miller.
John N. Perkins.

INDEPENDENT COMPANY OF
ALABAMA MOUNTED VOL-
UNTEERS.*Captain.*

James McGee.

First Lieutenant.

Isaac Henry.

Second Lieutenants.

Granville H. Black.
David A. Malone.
Richard T. Malone.

ARKANSAS.

REGIMENT OF ARKANSAS
MOUNTED VOLUNTEERS.

Colonels.

John Selden Roane, Brig.-Gen. C. S.
A. late war; died April 7, 1867,
at Pine Bluff, Ark.
Archibald Yell; killed at the
battle of Buena Vista, Mexico,
February 23, 1847.

Lieutenant-Colonel.

Gaston Meares.

Majors.

Solon Borland; died January 1, 1864,
at Houston, Tex.

Adjutant.

Benjamin F. Ross; wounded at Bu-
ena Vista.

Surgeon.

Craven Peyton.

Assistant-Surgeon.

John W. Glenn.

Captains.

Christopher C. Danly.
Franklin W. Desha.
John J. Dillard.
Edward Hunter.
James S. Moffitt; died November 9,
1846.
George Washington Patrick.
Albert Pike, Brig.-Gen. C. S. A. late
war; died April 3, 1891, at Wash-
ington, D. C.
Andrew R. Porter; killed at
the battle of Buena Vista, Mexico,
February 23, 1847.

John Preston, Jr.
William G. Preston.
Hiram W. Taylor.

First Lieutenants.

Vachel S. Dillingham
George S. Foster
Nathaniel T. Gaines
John F. Hill
William K. McKean
Thomas A. Reeder; wounded at
Buena Vista.
Hamilton Reynolds
Jesse Searcy

Thomas C. Tomberlin
Cincinnatus Trousdale

Second Lieutenants.

William Calvert
Hiram Carr
William H. Causin
Addison Cochran; died January 8,
1847, at Patos, Mexico.
John Degraffenreid.
John C. Douglas.
James F. Fagan.
Josiah M. Giles.
Ezekiel H. Gilbert.
Allen McAfee.
Roger McGowan.
William A. McLain.
John C. Peay, Maj. C. S. A. late war.
Redmond B. Sagely.
Walter F. Scott.
Richard Searcy.
Alexander Stewart.
George C. Stewart; died October 28,
1846.
Davis Thompson.
Leonard Willhaff.

INDEPENDENT COMPANY OF
ARKANSAS MOUNTED VOL-
UNTEERS.

Captain.

Gaston Meares. (See Lt.-Col., Ark.
Mtd.)

First Lieutenant.

Benjamin F. Ross. (See Adj., Ark.
Mtd.)

Surgeon.

Ewing H. Roane.

Second Lieutenant.

Allan L. McAfee.
Daniel T. W. Morrison.

ADDITIONAL COMPANY OF
ARKANSAS VOLUNTEERS

Captain.

Stephen B. Enyart.

First Lieutenant.

James P. Neel.

Second Lieutenants.

Elijah O'Brien.
Joseph F. Rieff.

CALIFORNIA.

BATTALION OF CALIFORNIA
VOLUNTEERS.

Lieutenant-Colonel.

John Charles Fremont. (See Mtd.
Rifles, U. S. A.)

Majors.

Archibald H. Gillespie, Bvt. Maj.
San Pasqual.

Louis McLane.

Adjutants.

John C. Bonnycastle; died October
29, 1884.
William N. Loker.
Theodore Talbot. (See 1st U. S. Art.)

Paymaster.

F. B. Reading.

CALIFORNIA—Continued.

Ordnance Officer.
William H. Russell.

Quartermaster.
J. R. Snyder.

Surgeon.
Edward Gilchrist.

Assistant Surgeons.
David Thomason.
John Townsend.

Captains.
Santiago E. Arguello.
John Bidwell.
Charles Burroughs: killed by
Mexican Lancers, November 15,
1846.

William Findlay.
Henry S. Ford.
Samuel Gibson; wounded at San
Pasqual.
John Grigsby.
Lansford W. Hastings.
Samuel J. Hensley.
Benjamin N. Hudspeth.
Richard T. Jacobs.
Henry King.
William A. T. Maddox.
Richard Owens.

Miguel de Pedrorena.
John Sears.
Granville P. Swift.
B. K. Thompson.
John K. Wilson.

First Lieutenants.
William Baldrige.
James H. Barton.
William Blackburn.
E. Bryant.
William Bradshaw.
Felipe Butron.
D. A. Davis. •
A. Girard.
Archer C. Jessee.
Edward M. Kern.
Montgomery Martin.
John J. Myers.
Hiram Rhusaw.
H. M. Wembough.
Benjamin D. Wilson.

Second Lieutenants.
D. T. Bird.
Alexis Godey.
A. J. Grayson.
J. M. Hudspeth.
B. Lippincott.
James Rock.

FLORIDA.**INDEPENDENT COMPANY OF
FLORIDA VOLUNTEERS.**

Captain.
William W. I. Kelly.

First Lieutenant.
Hopewell Dorsey.

Second Lieutenants.
A. H. Bright.
John Parkhill.

**ADDITIONAL COMPANY OF
FLORIDA VOLUNTEERS.**

Captains.
George Holmes.
R. G. Livingston; died at Guada-
lupe, Mexico, February 9, 1848.

First Lieutenants.
D. M. Stewart; died at Vera Cruz,
Mexico, November 3, 1847.
Roman B. Sanchez.

Second Lieutenants.
William L. Scott.
Joseph Woodruff.

GEORGIA.**REGIMENT OF GEORGIA VOL-
UNTEERS.**

Colonel.
Henry R. Jackson.

Lieutenant-Colonel.
Thomas Y. Redd.

Major.
Charles J. Williams.

Surgeon.
Abram S. Hill.

Assistant Surgeon.
Joseph Glenn.

Adjutants.
Charles P. Hervey.
John Forsyth.

Captains.
Daniel H. Bird.
James S. Calhoun.
John E. Davis.
Daniel W. Dill.
Kennedy Gramling.
Isaac Holmes.
John Jones.
Allison Nelson.
Harrison J. Sargent.
Joseph A. S. Turner.

GEORGIA—Continued.

First Lieutenants.

George B. D. Alexander.
George Corlette.
James M. Dodds.
Edwin R. Goulding.
Orran C. Horne.
Allen Keith.
John Phinizy, Jr.
Elisha L. Shelton.
Leonidas W. Walton.

Second Lieutenants.

Henry C. Anderson.
John E. J. Cottle; died at Camargo,
Mexico, October 15, 1846.
John DeVaney.
Joseph Dismukes; died at Monterey,
Mexico, December 4, 1846.
Roswell Ellis.
William D. Griffin.
Henry B. Holliday.
John A. Hunter.
James Kellogg.
Zimmerman Lawton.
A. Hugener McLaws.
William J. Manahan.
William F. Mullens.
David O'Connor.
William Phillips.
Edmund C. Rodgers.
Absalom M. Sauls.
Joseph H. Shivers.
John Thompson.
Joseph H. Winters.

BATTALION OF GEORGIA VOL-
UNTEERS.

Lieutenant-Colonel.

Isaac G. Seymour.

Adjutant.

Francis M. Levison.

Surgeon.

John J. B. Hoxey.

Assistant Surgeon.

Hugh R. Rutledge.

Captains.

John S. Fain.
Albert J. Gaulden; murdered at
San Miguel, Mexico, May 28, 1848.
William B. Grant; died at Columbus,
Ga., October 9, 1847.
Charles P. Hervey; died at Colum-
bus, Ga.
William N. Nelson.
Benjamin J. Smith.

First Lieutenants.

Jonathan C. Holcomb.
Anderson A. Hunt.
Harvey Philips.
Robert F. Simmons; died at Jalapa,
Mexico, January 5, 1848.

Second Lieutenants.

Jackson L. Clay.

Francis Holden.
Eugene S. Hoole.
Andrew M. Hunter; died February
27, 1848.
Alfred Iverson, Jr, Brig.-Gen. C. S.
A. late war; died March 4, 1873.
Thomas Walker.
Amos S. Way.
James B. Wells.

BATTALION OF GEORGIA
MOUNTED VOLUNTEERS.

Lieutenant-Colonel.

James S. Calhoun.

Adjutants.

John C. Hateley.
George W. Knight.

Assistant Surgeon.

James F. Bozeman.

Captains.

William D. Fulton.
Edwin R. Goulding.
Charles A. Hamilton.
Henry Kendall; died at Cuernavaca,
Mexico, March, 9, 1848.
Charles H. Nelson.
William H. C. Renfro.
William T. Wofford.

First Lieutenants.

Charles T. Baker.
Thomas Berry.
Brice A. Hoxey.
William W. Rich.
Isaac Wallen.

Second Lieutenants.

John T. Allen.
George W. Anderson.
William C. Bogle.
Zachariah Booth.
Lewis W. Chandler.
Reuben C. Connor.
William E. Curtis.
Joseph C. Davis.
Elisha R. Forsyth.
James H. Hill.
Seth Jenkins; died at Crus Blanco,
Mexico, June 7, 1848.
John L. Parker.
Jonathan O. Reeder; died at Churu-
busco, Mexico, April 14, 1848.
William A. Young.

INDEPENDENT COMPANY OF
GEORGIA MOUNTED VOL-
UNTEERS.

Captain.

John Loyall.

First Lieutenant.

Francis McCurdy.

Second Lieutenants.

George T. Anderson, Brig.-Gen. C.
S. A. late war.
Edward L. Thomas.

ILLINOIS.

FIRST REGIMENT OF ILLINOIS
VOLUNTEERS.*Colonels.*

John J. Hardin; killed at the
battle of Buena Vista, Mexico,
February 23, 1847.
William Weatherford.

Lieutenant-Colonel.

William B. Warren.

Major.

William A. Richardson.

Surgeon.

Wm. B. Herrick.

Assistant Surgeon.

C. B. Zabriskie.

Adjutants.

Benjamin M. Prentiss, Maj.-Gen. U.
S. V. late war.

William H. L. Wallace, Brig.-
Gen. U. S. V. late war; died
April 10, 1862, of wounds received
in the battle of Shiloh, Tenn.

Captains.

Albion T. Crow.

Noah Fry.

John L. McConnell; wounded at
Buena Vista, Mexico.

Samuel Montgomery.

James D. Morgan, Brig.-Gen. U. S.
V. late war.

Lyman Mower.

George W. Robertson.

Michael P. Smith.

Jacob Zabriskie; killed at the
battle of Buena Vista, Mexico,
February 23, 1847.

William J. Wyatt, Lt.-Col. U. S. V.
late war.

First Lieutenants.

Samuel R. Black.

William Erwin, Lt.-Col. U. S. V. late
war.

Hezekiah Evans; wounded at Buena
Vista.

William Y. Henry.

Patrick Higgins.

Edmund S. Holbrook.

Bryan R. Houghton; killed at
the battle of Buena Vista, Mex-
ico, February 23, 1847.

Allen Persinger.

William C. Rainey.

John Scanland.

James H. Weatherford.

Second Lieutenants.

Robert C. Buzan.

Solomon C. Chester.

William A. Clark.

George T. M. Davis.

James E. Dunlap, Lt.-Col. U. S. V.
late war.

James Evans.

Thomas H. Flynn, Lt.-Col. U. S. V.
late war.

Nathan D. Hatfield.

John T. May.

Matthew Moran.

George S. Myers.

John Reddick.

Thomas R. Roberts.

Francis Ryan.

Joshua C. Winters, Lt.-Col. U. S. V.
late war.

James M. Wood.

Isaac S. Wright.

Elias B. Zabriskie.

SECOND REGIMENT OF ILLI-
NOIS VOLUNTEERS.*Colonel.*

William H. Bissell.

Lieutenant-Colonel.

James L. D. Morrison.

Major.

Xerxes F. Trail.

Surgeon.

Edward D. Price.

Assistant Surgeon.

Thomas M. Hope.

Adjutant.

Augustus H. Whitesides; wounded
at Buena Vista.

Captains.

Julius W. Baker; wounded at Buena
Vista.

Elzey C. Coffey; wounded at Buena
Vista.

Anderson P. Corder.

John S. Hacker.

Joseph K. Lemen, Maj. U. S. V. late
war.

Peter Lott.

Madison Miller.

Julius Raith, Col. U. S. V. late war.

Charles L. Starbuck.

Henry L. Webb. (See 16th U. S.
Inf.)

Erastus Wheeler.

William Woodard; killed at
the battle of Buena Vista, Mexico,
February 23, 1847.

First Lieutenants.

John Bartleson; killed at the
battle of Buena Vista, Mexico,
February 23, 1847.

Sidney S. Condon.

Turner R. DeButts.

Nathaniel B. Dilhorn.

ILLINOIS—Continued.

Edward F. Fletcher; killed at the battle of Buena Vista, Mexico, February 23, 1847.

Jacob C. Hinckley.

Harvey Nevill.

Nathaniel Niles, Col. U. S. V. late war.

George W. Prickett.

John A. Prickett; wounded at Buena Vista.

John W. Rigby.

Second Lieutenants.

Aaron Atherton; killed at the battle of Buena Vista, Mexico, February 23, 1847.

John Brown; wounded at Buena Vista.

Jackson Dennis.

Adolph Engelmann; wounded at Buena Vista; Col. U. S. V. late war.

Rodney Ferguson; killed at the battle of Buena Vista, Mexico, February 23, 1847.

Joel Foster.

James M. Gaunt.

Alfonso Grammer.

Timothy Kelly; killed at the battle of Buena Vista, Mexico, February 23, 1847.

Gilbert P. McFarland.

Aston Madeira.

Joseph Martin.

Andrew J. Miller.

William Price; killed at the battle of Buena Vista, Mexico, February 23, 1847.

John D. Rees, Lt.-Col. U. S. V. late war.

William B. Reynolds.

Lauriston Robbins; killed at the battle of Buena Vista, Mexico, February 23, 1847.

Allan B. Roundtree; killed at the battle of Buena Vista, Mexico, February 23, 1847.

William B. Roundtree.

Isaac N. Selby; died at San Antonio, December 7, 1846.

James Smith.

James C. Steel; killed at the battle of Buena Vista, Mexico, February 23, 1847.

Louis Stock.

William W. Tate.

James H. Waddle.

Nicodemus West; wounded at Buena Vista.

John L. Wilson, Maj. U. S. V. late war.

THIRD REGIMENT OF ILLINOIS VOLUNTEERS.

Colonel.

Ferris Foreman.

Lieutenant-Colonel.

William W. Willey.

Major.

Samuel D. Marshall.

Surgeon.

James Mahan.

Assistant Surgeon.

James Bucharty.

Adjutants.

Charles Everett.

James T. B. Stapp.

Captains.

William W. Bishop, Lt.-Col. U. S. V. late war.

John A. Campbell.

Jeduthin P. Hardy.

Stephen G. Hicks, Col. U. S. V. late war.

Michael K. Lawler, Brig.-Gen. U. S. V. late war; died July 26, 1882.

James C. McAdams; died at Matamoros, Mexico, January 4, 1847.

Theodore McGinniss.

Benjamin E. Sellers.

Philip Stout.

First Lieutenants.

John J. Adams.

James Boothe.

Samuel Hooper.

Jacob H. Love; died at Camargo, Mexico, October 5, 1846.

Samuel G. McAdams.

W. L. McNeil.

Samuel L. M. Proctor.

Thomas Rose; severely wounded at Cerro Gordo.

William A. Thomas.

George W. Walker.

Second Lieutenants.

John Burke.

John Corlew.

Henry C. Dunbar.

David Evey.

Green B. Field.

Cyrus Hall, Col. U. S. V. late war; died September 6, 1878.

Charles E. Jones; died at St. Louis, March 4, 1847.

Thomas J. Livingston.

James McDonald.

Isaac Redfern.

John I. Ritchie.

FOURTH REGIMENT OF ILLINOIS VOLUNTEERS.

Colonel.

Edward D. Baker. Maj.-Gen. U. S. V. late war; killed October 21, 1861, at the battle of Balls Bluff, Va.

ILLINOIS—Continued.

Lieutenant-Colonel.

John Moore.

Major.

Thomas L. Harris.

Adjutant.

William B. Fondey.

Surgeon.

William M. P. Quinn.

Assistant Surgeon.

John O'Neal.

Captains.

John C. Hurt.

Edward Jones.

John S. McConkey.

Achilles Morris; died at Tampico,
Mexico, February 15, 1847.

Daniel Newcomb.

Isaac C. Pugh, Col. U. S. V. late war.

Horatio E. Roberts.

Lewis W. Ross.

Asa D. Wright.

First Lieutenants.

William T. Barrett.

George W. Cowardan; killed
at the battle of Cerro Gordo,
Mexico, April 18, 1847.

Leonard A. Knott.

Richard Murphy; died April
20, 1847, of wounds received at
the battle of Cerro Gordo,
Mexico.Richard J. Oglesby, Maj.-Gen. U. S.
V. late war.Leonard F. Ross, Brig.-Gen. U. S.
V. late war.Robert C. Scott; severely wounded
at Cerro Gordo.Andrew J. Wallace; died at Ca-
margo, Mexico, October 6, 1846.*Second Lieutenants.*John W. S. Alexander, Col. U. S. V.
late war.

John S. Bradford.

David A. Brown.

Alfred C. Campbell.

William L. Duncan.

John D. Foster.

Anderson Froman; wounded at
Cerro Gordo; Lt.-Col. U. S. V.
late war.Benjamin Howard; wounded at
Cerro Gordo.Sheldon I. Johnson; severely
wounded at Cerro Gordo.Charles Maltby; wounded at Cerro
Gordo.

John P. Post, Col. U. S. V. late war.

Albert F. Shaw.

William A. Tinney.

(1) ADDITIONAL REGIMENT OF
ILLINOIS VOLUNTEERS.*Colonel.*Edward W. B. Newby, Maj. U. S. A.
late war; died March 29, 1870.*Lieutenant-Colonel.*

Henderson P. Boyakin.

Major.

Israel B. Donaldson.

Surgeon.

Daniel Turney.

Assistant Surgeon.

James D. Robinson.

Adjutant.

William H. Snyder.

Captains.

John H. Adams.

Thomas Bond.

John M. Cunningham.

James Hampton.

George W. Hook.

Thomas B. Kenny.

William Kinman, Lt.-Col. U. S. V.
late war.

John C. Moses.

Franklin Niles; died July 24, 1847.

Henry J. Reed.

Vantrump Turner.

First Lieutenants.

Manonah T. Bostwick.

William M. Eubanks.

Isham N. Haynie, Brig.-Gen. U. S.
V. late war; died May 22, 1868.

George A. Keith.

Riley Madison.

James I. Provost.

John B. Roper.

William H. Snyder.

Aaron D. Treadway.

Murray F. Tuley.

Second Lieutenants.

Samuel B. Alexander.

Robert Beer.

Jacob Brott.

John T. Damron; died at Santa Fe,
Mexico, December 24, 1847.

James H. Easley.

Levi Edmonds.

Richard M. Hamilton.

Robert M. Hundley, Col. U. S. V.
late war.

James M. Hunt.

Alexander H. Johnson.

John A. Logan, Maj.-Gen. U. S. V.
late war; died December 26, 1886,
at Washington, D. C.

Enoch Luckey.

Simon Lundry.

Thomas McDowell.

ILLINOIS—Continued.

Benjamin F. Marshall.
Daniel R. Pulley.
James Tebay.
James Willis.
Levin Wright.

(2) ADDITIONAL REGIMENT OF
ILLINOIS VOLUNTEERS.

Colonel.

James Collins.

Lieutenant-Colonel.

Stephen G. Hicks; Col. U. S. V. late
war.

Major.

Thomas S. Livingston

Surgeon

John L. Miller.

Assistant Surgeon.

Nathan H. Ash.

Adjutants.

Henry S. Fitch; Capt. U. S. V. late
war; died May 23, 1871.

James H. Sampson.

Captains.

David C. Berry.

James Bowman; died at Jalapa,
Mexico, December 28, 1847.

James Burnes.

John Ewing; died at Tampico,
Mexico, October 3, 1847.

Edward E. Harvey; died at Puebla,
Mexico, March 19, 1848.

Harvey Lee.

John M. Moore.

Thomas J. Mooneyham.

James R. Pierce; died at Puebla,
Mexico, March 28, 1848.

Levin H. Powell.

William Shephard.

Sewell W. Smith.

Calmes L. Wright.

First Lieutenants.

Eli D. Anderson; died at Vera Cruz,
Mexico, September 11, 1847.

John Bonney; died at San Juan,
Mexico, September 21, 1847.

Sylvanus M. Goetchis.

Henry W. Goode.

John H. Hart.

James B. Hinde.

Willis B. Holden; died at Jalapa,
Mexico, January 2, 1848.

Bushrod B. Howard.

Malachi Jenkins; died on the Gulf
of Mexico, June 26, 1848.

Edwards O. Melveney.

Daniel Mooneyham; Maj. U. S. V.
late war.

Lewis A. Norton.

Thomas Oates; died at San Juan,
Mexico, October 2, 1847.

Thomas D. Timony; died April 16,
1848.

Frank Wheeler.

Second Lieutenants.

Jabez J. Anderson; Col. U. S. V. late
war.

Thomas J. Andrews.

William Bates.

Marquis L. Burns.

Lorenzo E. Carter.

William G. Conkling; Maj. U. S. V.
late war.

Alonzo H. Cox.

Jesse W. Curlee.

Hugh Fullerton; Maj. U. S. V. late
war.

Richard M. Hawkins; died at Puebla,
Mexico, March 28, 1848.

William J. Hawkins.

William Haywood.

Spencer H. Hill.

Hampton Hunter.

Isaac B. Jack.

Thomas James, Jr.

Austin James.

Elisha Lewis.

James R. Lynch; died at Vera Cruz,
Mexico, September 12, 1847.

William Maddox; died at Puebla,
Mexico, March 20, 1848.

John H. Mulkey.

Hezekiah B. Newby; died at National
Bridge, Mexico, September 16,
1847.

William A. Poillon.

James H. Sampson.

INDEPENDENT COMPANIES OF
ILLINOIS MOUNTED VOL-
UNTEERS.

(First Company.)

Captain.

Adams Dunlap.

First Lieutenant.

Samuel Lambert.

Second Lieutenants.

Simon Doyle.

Calvin Jackson.

Surgeon.

W. R. Whitesides.

Assistant Surgeon.

A. R. Bexley,

(Second Company.)

Captain.

Wyatt B. Stapp.

First Lieutenant.

George C. Lamphere.

ILLINOIS—Continued.

Second Lieutenants.

John G. Fonda, Col. U. S. V. late war.
John M. Mitchell.

(Third Company.)

Captain.

Michael K. Lawler, Brig.-Gen. U. S. V. late war; died July 26, 1882.

First Lieutenant.

Walter S. Clark.

Second Lieutenants.

Samuel L. M. Proctor.
John G. Ridgeway.

(Fourth Company.)

Captain.

Josiah Littell.

First Lieutenant.

Thomas S. Buck.

Second Lieutenants.

Josiah Caswell, Jr.
Robert S. Green.

INDIANA.

FIRST REGIMENT OF INDIANA VOLUNTEERS.

Colonel.

James P. Drake.

Lieutenant-Colonels.

Henry S. Lane.
Christian C. Nave.

Major.

William Donaldson.

Surgeon.

Caleb V. Jones.

Assistant-Surgeon.

William Fosdick.

Adjutant.

William E. Pearsons.

Captains.

Stephen C. Crawford.
Robert M. Evans.
Daniel A. Farley.
Stanislaus Laselle.
David W. Lewis.
John McDougal.
John W. McLane.
Allen May.
Robert H. Milroy, Maj.-Gen. U. S. V. late war; died March 29, 1890.
Spear S. Tipton. (See Mtd Rifles U. S. A.)
John M. Wilson, Col. U. S. V. late war.

First Lieutenants.

William L. Brown, Col. U. S. V. late war.
John Volney Curtis.
William L. Farrow, Lt. Col. U. S. V. late war.
Wyatt A. George.
Thomas K. Lewis.
Finley L. Maddox.
James Owens.
Andrew L. Robinson.
Charles C. Smith.
Bradford B. Stevens.

Second Lieutenants.

George W. Blakemore.
Samuel H. Chapman.
Charles F. Colerick.
James W. Colvin.
David A. Dunn.
Romulus S. Hanks.
Charles L. Hansicker.
William V. Howard.
George Humphrey, Col. U. S. V. late war.
William Hunter.
Richard W. Jones.
James McManoney, Col. U. S. V. late war.
Samuel Meloque.
Abisha L. Morrison, Lt.-Col. U. S. V. late war.
Levi Shellenberger.
Lewis Wallace, Maj.-Gen. U. S. V. late war.
Gustavus A. Woods.

SECOND REGIMENT OF INDIANA VOLUNTEERS.

Colonels.

William A. Bowles.
Joseph Lane. (See Brig.-Gen. U. S. V. 1846.)

Lieutenant-Colonel.

William R. Haddon.

Major.

James A. Cravens.

Surgeon.

Daniel S. Lane.

Assistant Surgeon.

John T. Walker.

Adjutants.

Lucien Q. Hoggatt.
David C. Shanks.

Captains.

Joseph W. Briggs.
Henry Davis, Lt.-Col. U. S. V. late war.

INDIANA — Continued.

Abraham Dennis.
Nathan Kimball, Brig.-Gen. U. S.
V. late war.

Trustin B. Kinder; killed at
the battle of Buena Vista, Mex-
ico, February 23, 1847.

Franklin McKae.

John Osborn; wounded at Buena
Vista; Col. U. S. V. late war.

George W. Peck.

Lovell H. Rousseau, Maj.-Gen. U.
S. V. late war; died January 7,
1869.

William L. Sanderson; wounded at
Buena Vista; Col. U. S. V. late
war.

William T. Spicely, Col. U. S. V.
late war; died February 15, 1884.

William Walker; killed at the
battle of Buena Vista, Mexico,
February 23, 1847.

First Lieutenants.

Stewart W. Cayce; wounded at
Buena Vista.

Justus Davis; wounded at Buena
Vista.

John Murray.

Allen T. Rose.

William Schoonover.

Adam Stropes.

Travamon T. Teel.

Second Lieutenants.

John T. Alexander.

Israel Benefiel.

Josiah Burwell.

Jerome A. Epperson; wounded at
Buena Vista.

Josiah C. Foster.

John Gullett.

Thomas T. Hogan.

David Irwin.

Thomas S. Kunkle.

David S. Lewis; wounded at Buena
Vista

Solomon Loudermilk.

Joshua Moore; wounded at Buena
Vista.

Christian Painter.

William E. Panabaker.

Edward L. Pennington.

Henry Pennington; wounded at
Buena Vista.

Thomas C. Parr; killed at the
battle of Buena Vista, Mexico,
February 23, 1847.

Edmund W. Rice.

John Roach.

John W. Stevens.

Philip Zenor.

THIRD REGIMENT OF INDIANA
VOLUNTEERS.

Colonel.

James H. Lane, Brig.-Gen. U. S. V.
late war; died July 11, 1863.

Lieutenant-Colonel.

William M. McCarty.

Major.

Willis A. Gorman. (See Col. 4th
Ind.

Surgeon.

James S. Athon.

Assistant Surgeon

John G. Dunn.

Adjutants.

Herman H. Barbour.

Harrison Daily.

Captains.

Thomas M. Adams.

David Allen; died at Monterey,
Mexico, January 9, 1847.

Isaac S. Boardman.

Scott Carter, Col. U. S. V. late war.

Vorhees Conover; wounded at Buena
Vista.

George Dunn.

William Ford.

Thomas W. Gibson.

Horace Hull.

John Slater.

John M. Sluss; wounded at Buena
Vista.

James Taggart; killed at the
battle of Buena Vista, Mexico,
February 23, 1847.

First Lieutenants.

Samuel D. Cowden.

William L. Guard.

John Harrington.

Patterson C. Parker.

William Price.

David Province.

Henry R. Seall.

Second Lieutenants.

Charles Bolt.

Alfred J. Campbell.

Andrew J. Carr.

Silas Caulkins.

J. D. P. A. M. Chauncey.

Allen Crocker.

Smith Dumont.

Daniel L. Fouts.

Aaron C. Gibbs.

Nicholas Gilman.

George W. Harrington.

Americus Hough.

Jonathan Keith.

John M. Lord.

Harvey McCaslin.

Samuel McGuffin.

Thomas Rodgers.

Benjamin J. Spooner.

Williamson Wise.

INDIANA—Continued.

FOURTH REGIMENT OF INDIANA VOLUNTEERS.

Colonel.

Willis A. Gorman; wounded at Buena Vista; Brig.-Gen. U. S. V. late war; died May 21, 1876.

Lieutenant-Colonel.

Ebenezer Dumont, Brig.-Gen. U. S. V. late war; died April 16, 1871.

Major.

William W. McCoy.

Surgeon.

Isaac Finley.

Assistant Surgeon.

J. M. Brower.

Adjutants.

Edward Cole.

Martin M. Van Deusen.

Captains.

Jesse I. Alexander, Col. U. S. V. late war.

William T. Baldridge.

Landon Cochran.

John W. Dodd.

Michael Fitzgibbon.

Robert Fravel.

Christopher C. Graham.

Edward Lander.

Daniel Lunderman.

Alexander L. Mason.

Morgan L. Payne.

First Lieutenants.

Washington F. Allen.

Albert G. Brackett, Col. U. S. V. late war.

Jefferson D. S. D. Carey; died at Puebla, Mexico, March 21, 1848.

Oliver H. P. Carey, Col. U. S. V. late war.

Isaac Finley.

Abraham B. B. Lewis.

James C. Littell.

William M. McFetridge.

Gustavus H. Way.

Second Lieutenants.

Barton W. Acuff.

Luther S. Allard.

George W. Amsden.

Daniel S. Barbour.

Ninevah Berry.

John F. Britton.

Joseph Combs.

Caleb D. Davis.

James A. Graham.

L. Noble Hamilton.

Benjamin F. Hays, Col. U. S. V. late war.

Thomas J. Lucas, Brig.-Gen. U. S. V. late war.

William K. McClane.

Samuel Macon.

John R. Mills.

John W. Mullen.

Benjamin Pillbean.

Thomas A. Reynolds.

Charles Tansey; died at Puebla, Mexico, October 26, 1847.

James H. Thompson.

Samuel Yeakley.

FIFTH REGIMENT OF INDIANA INFANTRY.

Colonel.

James H. Lane. (See 3d Ind.)

Lieutenant-Colonel.

Allen May.

Major.

John M. Myers.

Assistant-Surgeons.

Philip G. Jones.

R. A. McClure.

Adjutant.

John M. Lord.

Captains.

James R. Bracken.

Ebenezer G. Carey; died January 14, 1848.

Robert M. Evans.

Aaron C. Gibbs.

George Greene.

Horace Hull.

David W. Lewis.

John McDougall.

Mahlon D. Manson, Brig.-Gen. U. S. V. late war.

Samuel M. McKenzey.

David Shunk, Col. U. S. V. late war; died February 21, 1865.

First Lieutenants.

Sylvester Crane.

Joseph W. Holliday.

John M. Lattimore.

Thomas K. Lewis.

Thomas McBaker.

Thomas I. Marshall; died January 25, 1848.

Lewis S. Moffatt.

Andrew M. Pattison.

De Witt C. Rich; died February 9, 1848, in City of Mexico.

Philip J. Roe.

Charles A. Shank.

John S. M. Vancleve.

Second Lieutenants.

James Baker.

Joel Barnes.

Patrick Curley.

James Hamilton.

Henry Hensley.

INDIANA—Continued.

Second Lieutenants.

Henry W. Jones.
William R. Keep.
Hugh J. Kelly.
John V. King.
William C. Kise, Col. U. S. V. late war.
John M. Lord.

Gerathwell Maxwell.
James V. Moore.
Zachariah Neely.
Columbus W. Osborn.
Thomas O'Neal.
Elias D. Pierce.
James M. Ross.
John B. Sawtelle.
Ira B. Williamson.

IOWA.

BATTALION OF IOWA MORMON VOLUNTEERS.

Lieutenant-Colonels.

James Allen. (See First U. S. Dragoons.
Philip St. George Cooke. (See Second Dragoons.)
Andrew J. Smith. (See First Dragoons.)

Adjutants

George P. Dykes.
Philemon C. Merrill.

Captains.

James Brown.
Daniel C. Davis.

Nelson Higgins.
Jefferson Hunt.
Jesse D. Hunter.

First Lieutenants.

Elim Ludington.
George W. Oman.
James Pace.
George W. Rosencrans.

Second Lieutenants.

Ruel Barrus.
Cyrus W. Canfield.
Lorenzo Clark.
Robert Clift.
Andrew Lytle.
Samuel Thompson.
William W. Willis.

KENTUCKY.

REGIMENT OF KENTUCKY CAVALRY VOLUNTEERS.

Colonel.

Humphrey Marshall, Brig.-Gen. C. S. A. late war; died March 28, 1872, at Louisville, Ky.

Lieutenant-Colonel.

Ezekiel Field.

Major.

John P. Gaines; died in 1853, in Oregon.

Adjutants.

Thomas H. Barnes, Maj. U. S. V. late war.

Edward M. Vaughn; killed at the battle of Buena Vista, Mexico February 23, 1847.

Captains.

Oliver P. Beard.
Cassius M. Clay, Maj.-Gen. U. S. V. late war.
William J. Heady.
Thomas F. Marshall.
Benjamin C. Milam.
Aaron Pennington.
Johnson Price; died in 1861.
John Shawhan; wounded at Buena Vista.
James C. Stone.

Surgeon.

Alexander E. Hensley.

First Lieutenants.

Thomas J. Churchill.
Lafayette Dunlap.
John Field.
Joseph H. D. McKee.
John H. Morgan.
Samuel F. Patterson.
William T. Torrence.
Jesse Woodruff.

Second Lieutenants.

John Allen.
Lowry J. Beard.
Randolph Brasfield.
George Mason Brown.
John M. Brown; wounded at Buena Vista; Col. U. S. V. late war.
Thomas K. Conn; wounded at Buena Vista.
George R. Davidson.
George W. Keene.
John W. Kimbrough.
John A. Merrifield; wounded at Buena Vista; died June 29, 1847.
Thomas J. Peak.
George F. Sartain.
Narbonne B. Scott.
Green Clay Smith, Brig.-Gen. U. S. V. late war.
George P. Swinford.

KENTUCKY—Continued.

FIRST REGIMENT OF KENTUCKY VOLUNTEERS.

Colonel.

Stephen Ormsby; died April 16, 1869.

Lieutenant-Colonel.

*Jason Rogers; died May, 1848, at Louisville, Ky.

Major.

John B. Shepherd.

Surgeon.

Thomas L. Caldwell.

Assistant Surgeon.

John J. Mathews.

Adjutants.

William P. Fisher.

William Riddle.

Captains.

William L. Ball; died July, 1846, near Matamoros, Mexico.

Charles W. Bullen.

John Fuller.

Charles H. Harper.

Ebenezer B. Howe.

Florian Kern.

William Minor.

Frank Saunders.

Conrad Schroeder.

Benjamin F. Stewart.

Francis F. C. Triplett.

First Lieutenants.

John L. Albrecht.

Joseph C. Baird.

William T. Barbour.

John J. Huff.

William Littrell.

Patrick McPike.

George W. Sigler.

Ephraim M. Stone.

William White.

Second Lieutenants

Lewis Becker.

David Black.

John R. Butler.

William Duerson.

John Harrigan.

Charles W. Hilton.

George D. Hooper.

Benedit Huebel.

William E. Jones.

Reuben F. Maury.

Jacob Pfalzer.

David G. Swinner.

Richard W. N. Taylor.

Levi White.

Lowry B. White.

Samuel Withington.

SECOND REGIMENT OF KENTUCKY VOLUNTEERS.

Colonel.

*William R. McKee; killed February 23, 1847, at the battle of Buena Vista Mexico.

Lieutenant-Colonel.

*Henry Clay, Jr.; killed February 23, 1847, at the battle of Buena Vista Mexico.

Major.

*Cary H. Fry, Lt.-Col. U. S. A. late war; died March 5, 1873, at San Francisco, Cal.

Assistant Surgeon.

John M. Lafon.

Adjutants.

George N. Cardwell.

Thomas S. Todd.

Captains.

Frank Chambers.

George W. Cutter.

William Dougherty.

Speed S. Fry, Brig.-Gen. U. S. V. late war.

James O. Hervey.

William N. Joyner.

John H. McBrayer.

James W. Moss.

Philip B. Thompson.

Wilkinson Turpin.

*William T. Willis; killed at the battle of Buena Vista, Mexico, February 23, 1847.

First Lieutenants.

John W. Cowan.

Andrew J. Galt.

Edward H. Hobson, Brig.-Gen. U. S. V. late war.

William R. Keene.

James E. Kelso.

William G. Kincaid.

Littleton T. Lacey.

James Monroe.

Joseph W. Powell; died at Monterey, Mexico, January 2, 1847.

David P. Wade.

Second Lieutenants.

William E. Akin.

George W. Ball.

Elias L. Barbee; wounded at Buena Vista.

Richard H. Clarke.

George M. Coleman.

Joseph C. Ewing.

Peter G. Flood.

John H. Lillard.

KENTUCKY—Continued.

Henry C. Long.
William C. Lowry.
William H. Moss.
Thomas W. Napier.
Thomas J. Proctor.
Lewis M. Reese.
William D. Robertson.
Alva C. Threlkeld.
James Wilson.
William T. Withers.

THIRD REGIMENT OF KENTUCKY VOLUNTEERS.

Colonel.

Manlius V. Thompson.

Lieutenant-Colonel.

Thomas L. Crittenden, Maj.-Gen.
U. S. V. late war.

Major.

John C. Breckinridge, Maj.-Gen.
C. S. A. late war; died at Lexington, Ky., in 1875.

Assistant Surgeon.

William Cromwell.

Adjutant.

Benjamin F. Bradley.

Captains.

Andrew F. Caldwell.
William P. Chiles.
Leander M. Coxé.
George S. Dodge.
James Ewing.
Leonidas Metcalfe, Col. U. S. V.
late war.
James A. Pritchard.
John R. Smith.
Thomas Todd.

First Lieutenants.

William C. Allen.
Enos H. Barry.
William P. Bramblett.
Jesse B. Davis; died March 19, 1848,
in City of Mexico.
Thomas C. Flournoy.
Walter I. Lacey.
John A. Logan.
Henry H. Mize.
William P. Morris.
Thomas H. Taylor.

Second Lieutenants.

Rigdon S. Barnhill.
John Brock; died March 19, 1848, in
City of Mexico.
Churchill G. Campbell.
James B. Casey.
James C. Dear.
William Edmonson.
William E. Fisher.
John M. Heddleson.
James H. Holladay.
William B. Holladay.

Eli Holtzelaw.
Marshall L. Howe.
James Kendall.
Benjamin D. Lacey.
William C. Merrick.
James H. Miller.
Ansel D. Powell.
Daniel Runyon.
John P. Thatcher.
Elisha B. Treadway; Maj. U. S. V.
late war.
Walter C. Whitaker, Brig.-Gen. U.
S. V. late war; died July 9, 1887.
James T. Young.

FOURTH REGIMENT OF KENTUCKY VOLUNTEERS.

Colonel.

John S. Williams, Brig.-Gen. C. S.
A. late war.

Lieutenant-Colonel.

William Preston, Maj.-Gen. C. S. A.
late war; died September, 1887,
at Lexington, Ky.

Major.

William T. Ward; Brig.-Gen. U. S.
V. late war; died October 12, 1878.

Adjutants.

Charles H. Creel.
Robert P. Trabue.

Surgeon.

Joseph G. Roberts.

Assistant Surgeon.

John R. Steele.

Captains.

Anthony W. Bartlett.
Joseph C. Conn.
George B. Cook.
Patrick H. Gardner.
Mark R. Hardin.
B. Rowan Hardin.
Timothy Keating.
John G. Lair.
Decius McCreery.
Thomas Mayfield.
Hamilton N. Owens; Maj. U. S. V.
late war.
John C. Squires; died March 20,
1848, in City of Mexico.

First Lieutenants.

Edgar D. Barbour.
William Bristow.
Jesse Davis.
John Donan.
Jeremiah F. Dorris.
Milford Elliott.
John W. Hughes.
William E. Woodruff, Col. U. S. V.
late war.

KENTUCKY—Continued.*Second Lieutenants.*

Titus P. A. Bibb.
 William P. D. Bush.
 Noah Z. Chapline.
 John D. Cosby.
 Samuel D. Cowan.
 Benjamin F. Egan.
 Cyrenius W. Gilmer.
 William G. Johnson.
 John M. Massey.
 Charles D. Pennebaker, Col. U. S.
 V. late war.
 William E. Russell.
 Cyrus A. Scott; died February 7,
 1848, in City of Mexico.
 John M. Snyder.
 James M. Shackelford, Brig.-Gen.
 U. S. V. late war.
 Presley Talbott.

Isaac P. Washburn.
 Noah N. Watkins.
 Levi White.
 Charles A. Wickliff.
 Harry J. Woodward.

**INDEPENDENT COMPANY OF
KENTUCKY VOLUNTEERS.***Captain.*

John S. Williams. (See Col. 4th Ky.)

First Lieutenant.

Roger W. Hanson.

Second Lieutenants.

William A. McConnell.
 George S. Sutherland; severely
 wounded at Cerro Gordo.

LOUISIANA.**LOUISIANA BATTALION OF
VOLUNTEER ARTILLERY.***Major.*

Louis Gally.

Adjutant.

William T. Lewis.

Surgeon.

Abner Hester.

Assistant Surgeon.

W. L. Gibson.

Captains.

Eusebe L. Bercier.
 Henry Forno.

First Lieutenants.

Joseph E. Ealer.
 Gustave Pereaux.
 Thomas Trelford.

Second Lieutenant.

David A. Bickell.

**SECOND BATTALION OF LOUIS-
IANA VOLUNTEER ARTIL-
LERY.***Major.*

Louis Gally.

Adjutant.

Eusebe L. Bercier.

Captains.

Maurice Grivot.
 Francis Mauberret.
 Juan Penas.

Assistant Surgeon.

Clement Remes.

First Lieutenants.

Leandre Bourgevis.
 Julius Victor Chaery.

Hubert Gerard.
 Ramond F. Henriquez.
 Honore Ruffier.
 Edouard Sayigne.

Second Lieutenants.

Edouard Dessommes.
 Antoine Jahan.
 Lezin Lamothe.

**BRIGADE OF LOUISIANA VOL-
UNTEERS, OF SIX REGI-
MENTS.***Brigadier-General.*

Persifor F. Smith. (See Brig.-Gen.
 U. S. V. 1846.)

Brigade Inspector. (Rank of Major.)

Henry A. Lyons.

*Brigade Quartermaster. (Rank of Cap-
tain.)*

Alexander Z. Trudeau.

Aide-de-Camp. (Rank of Captain.)

Eugene Musson.

**FIRST REGIMENT OF SMITH'S
BRIGADE OF LOUISIANA
VOLUNTEERS.***Colonel.*

James B. Walton.

Lieutenant-Colonel.

Henry Forno.

Major.

Julien P. Breedlove. (See 14th U. S.
 Inf.)

Adjutant.

George J. Adde. (See 3d U. S.
 Dragoons.)

Surgeon.

W. G. G. Wilson.

LOUISIANA—Continued.

Assistant Surgeon.

J. B. Clement.

Captains.

John W. Bryce.
Henry B. Chase.
Thomas Glenn.
George W. Shaw,
Peter Soniat.
Isaac F. Stockton.
R. C. Stockton.
George H. Tobin.
James M. Vandegriff.
George W. White.

**SECOND REGIMENT OF SMITH'S
BRIGADE OF LOUISIANA
VOLUNTEERS.**

Colonel.

James H. Dakin.

Lieutenant-Colonel.

Charles M. Emerson.

Major.

George W. Smith.

Assistant Surgeon.

John Felix.

Adjutant.

John Sedley Webb.

Captains.

Albert G. Blanchard. (See 12th U.
S. Inf.)
Edward Crevon.
John Freeland.
Warren A. Grice.
James W. McNamar.
George Price.
*Gustave S. Rousseau; died January
29, 1879, at Plaquemine, La.
A. Francis Rudler.
John Sewell.
James W. Woodland.

**THIRD REGIMENT OF SMITH'S
BRIGADE OF LOUISIANA
VOLUNTEERS.**

Colonel.

Samuel F. Marks.

Lieutenant-Colonel.

Theodore G. Hunt.

Paymaster.

Thomas Stringer.

Major.

Henry W. Fowler; died June 29,
1848.

Surgeon.

Anthony F. Axon.

Assistant-Surgeons.

Charles McManus.
Elisha Ragan.

Captains.

Robert G. Beale.
George E. Comstock.
H. C. Fountain.
George M. Graham.
Samuel C. Head.
Copeland S. Hunt.
John W. Keene.
Daniel I. Ricardo.
Richard A. Stewart.
Morris Willard.

**FOURTH REGIMENT OF
SMITH'S BRIGADE OF LOU-
ISIANA VOLUNTEERS.**

Colonel.

Horatio Davis; died October 27,
1857.

Lieutenant-Colonel.

Charles K. Johnson.

Major.

Charles Fiesca.

Surgeon.

James B. Slade.

Assistant-Surgeon

Joel K. Stevens.

Adjutant.

Ezra R. Price.

Captains.

Johann Boehler.
George Dippacher.
George Doane.
James D. Galbreath.
John F. Girault.
Isaac S. K. Ogier.
John R. Smith.
Solomon G. Staples.
Francis Warrington.
Christian Wirth.

**FIFTH REGIMENT OF SMITH'S
BRIGADE OF LOUISIANA
VOLUNTEERS.**

Colonel.

Baillie Peyton; died August 19, 1878,
at Nashville, Tenn.

Lieutenant-Colonel.

Hugh W. Dunlap.

Major.

John Waddell.

Surgeon.

James L. Satterfield.

Assistant-Surgeon.

John B. Henderson.

Adjutant.

William T. Forston.

LOUISIANA—Continued.

Captains.

James Blackburn.
L. P. Crain.
Joseph Dorlon.
S. M. Hyams.
R. I. Lawrence.
Charles B. McKiernan.
William Monaghan.
William Mosely.
William B. Robertson.
Robert W. Stewart.

SIXTH REGIMENT OF SMITH'S
BRIGADE OF LOUISIANA
VOLUNTEERS.*Colonel.*

Edward Featherstone.

Lieutenant-Colonel.

Samuel H. Peck.

Major.

George W. Wellington.

Surgeon.

John Q. Osborne,

Assistant Surgeon.

Robert B. Kennedy.

Adjutant.

William D. McCright.

Captains.

William R. Brasselman.
James C. Downer.
James O. Fuqua.
Joseph Hufty.
J. B. G. Kennedy.
Harman G. Mercer.
James C. McAllister.
John Purcell.
William B. Smith.
William W. Stewart.

INDEPENDENT COMPANY OF
LOUISIANA VOLUNTEERS.*Captain.*

Albert G. Blanchard. (See 12th U.
S. Inf.)

First Lieutenant.

William Tenbrink.

Second Lieutenants.

Edward F. Nicholls.
Samuel C. Scott.

REGIMENT OF LOUISIANA
VOLUNTEERS.*Colonel.*

*Lewis G. De Russey, Col. C. S. A.
late war; died December 17, 1864,
at Grand Ecure, La.

Lieutenant-Colonel.

Samuel F. Marks.

Major.

John F. Girault.

Surgeon.

Fairfax Dashiell.

Assistant Surgeon.

Benjamin Harwood.

Adjutants.

Charles T. Badger.
William H. Harrison.

Captains.

Robert Akins.
Peter Basterdes.
John W. Cole.
John Freeland.
Copeland S. Hunt.
Theodore Lewis, Capt. C. S. A. late
war.
Russell P. Mace.
Robert Pope.
Joseph Preg.
Born Seguin.
Christian Wirth; died April 12, 1847.
at Tampico, Mexico.

First Lieutenants.

Robert A. Crain.
Frederick O. Eicholz.
Vernon H. Lindenberger.
Frank McHenry.
Isaac S. K. Ogler.
Joseph Palezewski.
John Purcell.
William B. Smith.
William O. Whitman.

Second Lieutenants.

Jackson Anderson.
John S. Arnold.
John Campbell.
John Cooney.
Andrew Daley.
John H. Evans; died August 17, 1847,
at Tampico, Mexico.
William P. Gallagher.
Gustavus Heimberger; wounded at
Huajutla.
William H. Homer.
John D. A. Kirkland.
Ebenezer C. Ledyard.
Frederick Sevier.
Horatio N. Silliman.
William R. Simmons.
John H. Singleton.
James A. Stewart.
Peter M. Terbush.
Edward A. Trent; died September
4, 1847, at Tampico, Mexico.
Robert White.
Francis W. Yeager.

LOUISIANA—Continued.

BATTALION OF LOUISIANA VOLUNTEERS.

Lieutenant-Colonel.

Charles Fiesca.

Adjutants.

Yves Guyot; died August 9, 1847, at Vera Cruz, Mexico.

Joseph G. King.

Russee W. Rademacher; died April 29, 1848, at Vera Cruz, Mexico.

Assistant Surgeon.

Charles Hankel.

Captains.

James E. Featherstone.

William E. Millen.

Charles A. Seefield.

Francis Warrington; deceased.

George W. White.

First Lieutenants.

Conrad Gerbig.

John Jacobs.

James Linton.

Thomas Norma.

Henry C. Young.

Second Lieutenants.

Daniel Cronnan; died October 15, 1847.

David S. McDowell.

Peter J. Mancosos.

George Mayne.

David Nelligan.

John Reilly; died September 20, 1847.

Frederick Rhoe.

Henry A. Schaefer.

Joseph A. Steinacher; died September 8, 1847, at Vera Cruz, Mexico.

Julius Verbaum.

BATTALION OF LOUISIANA MOUNTED VOLUNTEERS.

Lieutenant-Colonel.

Walter F. Biscoe.

Adjutant.

Henry C. Foster.

Surgeon.

George P. Ogden.

Captains.

Lorenzo A. Besancon.

James J. Connolly.

Hiram Fairchild.

George Kerr.

Lorenzo Lewis.

First Lieutenants.

Lewis W. Barry.

Robert J. Kelly.

Christopher Lilly.

William Morralle; deceased.

Stanford W. Waters; deceased.

Second Lieutenants.

Patrick H. Curran.

Charles Foster.

John Harkins.

David Henderson: killed in action at Mata Cordario, February 19, 1848.

Winfield D. Hook.

Beverly E. Hunter.

John Kline: killed in action at Paso Ovejas, September 23, 1847.

William Mitchell.

James Pearson.

MARYLAND AND DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA.

BATTALION OF MARYLAND AND DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA VOLUNTEERS.

Lieutenant-Colonel.

William H. Watson; killed at the battle of Monterey, September 21, 1846.

Major.

Robert C. Buchanan. (See 4th U. S. Inf.)

Adjutant.

*William E. Aisquith; died June 29, 1856, at Washington, D. C.

Surgeon.

Smyth M. Miles.

Captains.

James Boyd.

Robert Bronaugh.

James S. Piper.

Francis B. Schaeffer.

James E. Stewart.

First Lieutenants.

Eugene Boyle; died at sea, January 6, 1847.

Benjamin F. Owen.

Joseph H. Ruddoch.

Marcellus K. Taylor.

Second Lieutenants.

Oden Bowie.

David P. Chapman.

Robert E. Haslett.

Jacob C. Hemmick.

Isaac H. Morrow.

Edward Murphy.

William O'Brien.

Samuel Wilt.

MARYLAND AND DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA—Continued.**REGIMENT OF MARYLAND
AND DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA VOLUNTEERS.***Colonel.*

George W. Hughes. (See Top. Engrs.)

Lieutenant-Colonel.

William H. Emory. (See Top. Engrs.)

Major.

John R. Kenley, Brig.-Gen. U. S. V. late war.

Assistant Surgeon.

Wakerman Bryerly.

Adjutant.

James Steele.

Captains.

Edmund Barry.

George W. Brown.

William H. Degges.

Lawrence Dolan.

Daniel D. Henrie.

Marcellus K. Taylor.

***Lloyd Tilghman.** Brig.-Gen. C. S. A. late war; killed May 16, 1863, at the battle of Baker's Creek, Miss.*First Lieutenants.*

Henry S. Addison.

William J. Coreoran.

Thomas M. Gleason; died July 16, 1848.

John Hooper.

Washington Hooper.

Jacob S. Klassen.

Frederick A. Klopfer.

Isaac H. Morrow.

John M. Thornton.

Frisby Tilghman.

Second Lieutenants.

William H. Baker.

John H. Ballman.

Robert C. Bell.

John Carr.

William J. Garey.

David A. Griffith, Lt.-Col. U. S. V. late war.

John H. Gronowell.

Richard P. Henry.

Ira Mabett.

Henry M. Milnor.

James O'Brien.

Arnold Tensfield.

Benjamin R. West.

[The following separate Companies were attached to the Regiment of Maryland and District of Columbia Volunteers.]

**TENNESSEE COMPANY OF
MOUNTED VOLUNTEERS.***Captain.*

C. Roberdeau Wheat. (See Tenn. Vols.)

First Lieutenant.

Charles McDonald.

Second Lieutenants.

Francis E. Smith.

Abner C. Steele.

PITTSBURG, (PA.) COMPANY.*Captain.*

Thomas A. Rowley; Brig.-Gen. U. S. V. late war.

First Lieutenant.

Andrew McClory.

Second Lieutenants.

James McLean.

Alexander Scott.

INDEPENDENT COMPANY.*Captains.***James Boyd;** killed in action at Rio Calaboso, July 12, 1847.

Joseph R. West, Brig.-Gen. U. S. V. late war.

*First Lieutenant.***James Tannehill;** died July 25, 1847, of wounds received in action at Rio Calaboso.*Second Lieutenants.*

George De Groote; died October 24, 1847, at Tampico, Mexico.

John A. Letten.

Franklin B. Nimocks.

MASSACHUSETTS.**REGIMENT OF MASSACHUSETTS VOLUNTEERS.***Colonels.*

Caleb Cushing, promoted Brig.-Gen. U. S. V., in 1846.

Isaac H. Wright.

Lieutenant-Colonel.

Edward W. Abbott.

Major.

Edward Webster; died January 23, 1848, at San Angel, Mexico.

Adjutant.

Benjamin R. Andrews.

Captains.

John S. Barker.

John H. Barry.

MASSACHUSETTS—Continued.

Captain.

Charles B. Crowninshield.
Stephen Curtis.
Otis W. Cutler.
John A. Felt: died October 10, 1847,
at Vera Cruz, Mexico.
Horace S. Howe.
William R. Huntoon.
George W. Kelly.
Edward A. Paul.

First Lieutenants.

Alfred W. Adams.
William W. H. Davis, Col. U. S. V.
late war.
Hiram Fogg.
Ellis B. Green: died at sea, June 10,
1848.
William Hurd.
Oliver H. Perry.
Daniel O. Regan.

Owen D. Robb.
David B. Storer.
Edward Thwing.
J. K. Tyler.

Second Lieutenants.

Edward H. Cook.
Charles Coy.
John C. Cremony.
John C. Crowninshield.
Caleb H. Emery.
John Esler.
Charles W. Fuller.
Gustavus F. Gardner: died March
16, 1848.
John Higgins.
Shadrach Keene.
Rufus Rand.
Charles W. Smith.
E. A. Tenny.
Joseph B. Wing.

MICHIGAN.

**REGIMENT OF MICHIGAN VOL-
UNTEERS.**

Colonel.

*Thomas B. W. Stockton, Col. U. S.
V. late war: died December 9,
1890, at Flint, Mich.

Lieutenant-Colonel.

Alpheus S. Williams, Brig.-Gen. U.
S. V. late war: died January 23,
1878.

Major.

John V. Rhule.

Surgeon.

Adrian R. Terry.

Assistant Surgeon.

Henry Lemike.

Adjutant.

James E. Pitman.

Captains.

John Van Arnam.
Grover N. Beuel.
Frederick W. Curtenius.
Walter W. Deane.
Nicholas Greusel, Jr.
Alfred H. Hanscom.
Daniel Hicks.
Isaac S. Rowland.
James M. Williams.
John Wittenmyer.

First Lieutenants.

John C. Denel.
Thomas H. Hunt.
James S. Kingsland.
John E. King.
Edward M. Pitcher.

Edmund Rice, Col. U. S. V. late
war.

Eli Snyder.
James M. Stewart.
William L. Whipple.

Second Lieutenants.

Benjamin Brownell, Jr.
Louis D. Clairoux.
Lorin L. Comstock.
Charles O. Conant.
Charles W. Cummings: died January
25, 1848, at New Orleans, La.
Thomas C. Goochins.
Andrew J. Hanscom.
Ebenezer Hawes.
Benjamin F. Luce.
Clement D. McNair.
James D. Pierce.
Paul W. H. Rawls.
Samuel A. Rice.
Horace S. Roberts.
John E. Schwartz, Jr.
Morse K. Taylor, Surg. U. S. V. late
war: died October 20, 1839.
Egbert Van Buren.
Isaac Warren.
Elisha Wright: died August, 1848, at
Clinton, Mich.

**INDEPENDENT COMPANY OF
MICHIGAN VOLUNTEERS.**

Captain.

Morgan L. Gage.

First Lieutenant.

Allen K. Howard.

Second Lieutenants.

William F. Chittenden.
Caleb F. Davis.

MISSISSIPPI.

FIRST REGIMENT OF MISSISSIPPI RIFLES.

Colonel.

*Jefferson Davis; severely wounded at Buena Vista; President C. S. A. (late war); died December 6, 1889, at New Orleans, La.

Lieutenant-Colonel.

Alexander K. McClung; dangerously wounded at Monterey; died in 1855 by suicide.

Major.

Alexander B. Bradford.

Adjutant.

Richard Griffith.

Surgeon.

Seymour Halsey.

Assistant Surgeon.

John Thompson.

Captains.

John S. Clendenin.

Douglass H. Cooper.

William Delay.

Reuben N. Downing; wounded at Monterey.

Bainbridge D. Howard.

Lohn L. McManus.

William P. Rogers, Col. C. S. A. late war; killed October 4, 1862, at the battle of Corinth, Miss.

John M. Sharp; severely wounded at Buena Vista.

James H. R. Taylor.

John Willis.

First Lieutenants.

William N. Brown.

Henry F. Cook; wounded at Monterey.

Amos B. Corwine; wounded at Buena Vista.

Crawford Fletcher; died September 4, 1876.

Samuel A. D. Greaves.

Robert L. Moore; killed at the battle of Buena Vista, Mexico, February 23, 1847.

Christopher H. Mott.

William H. H. Patterson.

Carnot Posey; wounded at Buena Vista.

Daniel R. Russell, Col. C. S. A. late war.

James E. Stewart.

Second Lieutenants.

Rufus K. Arthur; wounded at Monterey.

Charles M. Bradford.

James Colhoun.

Samuel H. Dill.

William E. Epps.

William H. Hampton.

Samuel R. Harrison.

E. W. Hollingsworth; wounded at Monterey.

Richard Hopkins.

Lewis T. Howard; wounded at Monterey.

James H. Hughes.

Thomas J. Kyle.

Hugh M. Markham.

Francis J. McNulty; killed at the battle of Buena Vista, Mexico, February 23, 1847.

S. M. Phillips.

John J. Poindexter.

Weekly W. Redding.

Thomas P. Stade.

John P. Stockard; wounded at Buena Vista.

Josephus J. Tatum; died January 20, 1847, near Monterey, Mexico.

Samuel H. Thomas.

William P. Townsend.

Leon Trousdale.

William B. Wade.

SECOND REGIMENT OF MISSISSIPPI VOLUNTEERS.

Colonels.

Charles Clark.

Reuben Davis.

Lieutenant-Colonel.

Joseph H. Kilpatrick.

John A. Wilcox, Member of C. S. Congress (late war); died February 7, 1864, at Richmond, Va.

Major.

Ezra R. Price.

Assistant Surgeon.

D. A. Kinchloe.

Adjutants.

Beverly Matthews.

Thomas S. Munce.

Captains.

Joel M. Acker.

Fleming Amyx.

Andrew K. Blythe.

Chesley S. Coffee.

William J. Daniel.

John B. Deason.

Enos Elder; died February 10, 1847, at New Orleans, La.

William M. Estelle.

Wilson Igames.

Alexander M. Jackson.

Phillip F. Liddell.

MISSISSIPPI—Continued.

First Lieutenants.

Christopher C. Chinn.
Everard Downing.
William C. Falkner.
Holland Middleton; died March 28,
1847, at Camargo, Mexico.
James M. McKinney.
Jesse G. Steele.
William Strother.
Alexander W. Weaver.
Martin S. White.

Second Lieutenants.

Jeremiah Alexander.
George Barrows.
Mark I. Biddle.
Thomas Y. Carter.
Robert Cleland.
Robert M. Cook; died August 27,
1847, at Saltillo, Mexico.
Richard S. Cromer.
Felix W. Goff.
Charles Gouveneaux.
Alston Gregory.
Francis M. Heckworth.
Eli G. Henry.
Thomas C. Hindman.
John A. Jackson.
William H. Jackson.
William C. Lauderdale.
James M. Liddell.
Metsalon A. Mann.
Robert Martin; died January, 1847,
at New Orleans, La.
Edward B. Shelton.
A. J. Trussell.

FIRST BATTALION OF MISSISSIPPI RIFLE VOLUNTEERS.

Lieutenant-Colonel.

James P. Anderson.

Adjutant.

John A. Anderson.

First Lieutenants.

Samuel C. Astin.
Ezekiel W. Evans.
Richard S. King.
William H. Landers.
Columbus M. Leland.

Captains.

Elisha Crowson.
Nathaniel R. Cary.
Hilliard P. Dorsey.
William M. Keyes.
George E. Stewart.

Second Lieutenants.

John A. Anderson.
William T. Cocke.
William H. Dillingham.
Hardeman C. Forrest.
Samuel Hunter.
Thomas Ivy.
Luke Lowe; died March 1, 1848, at
Tampico, Mexico.
Thomas J. Ramsay.
William T. Sharp.
John W. Stewart.
Thomas Washer.

MISSOURI.

REGIMENT OF MISSOURI VOLUNTEERS, ST. LOUIS LEGION.

Colonel.

Alton R. Easton.

Lieutenant-Colonel.

Ferdinand Kennett.

Major.

Gottfried Shoenthaler.

Surgeon.

George Johnson.

Assistant Surgeon.

Richard H. Stevens.

Adjutant.

Henry Almstedt, Col. U. S. V. late
war; died November 24, 1884.

Captains.

Stephen O. Coleman.
John Knapp.
Henry Koch.
Henry I. B. McKellops.
Nicholas Wochner.

Philander Salsbury.
Frederich Schafer.
John Watson, Jr.

FIRST REGIMENT OF MISSOURI MOUNTED VOLUNTEERS.

Colonel.

Alexander W. Doniphan; died in
1889.

Lieutenant Colonels.

Congreve Jackson.
Charles F. Ruff. (See Mtd. Rifles.)

Major.

William Gilpin.

Surgeon.

George Penn.

Assistant-Surgeon.

B. W. D. Moore.

Adjutants.

George M. Butler; died at Cuvarro,
N. Mex., November 25, 1846.
James A. De Courcey.

MISSOURI—Continued.*Captains.*

Horatio H. Hughes.
 Oliver P. Moss.
 Monroe M. Parsons, Brig.-Gen. U. S. A.; killed in Mexico, after late war, by guerrillas.
 John W. Reid; deceased.
 Charles B. Rodgers.
 John D. Stevenson, Brig. Gen. U. S. V. late war.
 David Waldo.
 William P. Walton.

First Lieutenants.

John B. Duncan.
 John Hinton.
 James Lea.
 Fenton G. McDonald.
 Calvin G. Miller.
 John Reid.
 Linnaeus B. Sublette.

Second Lieutenants.

Robert I. Barnett.
 Francis A. Bauche.
 John S. Campbell.
 Henry I. Chiles.
 David G. Clayton.
 George P. Gordon.
 D. B. Graves.
 Crockett Harrison; wounded at Sacramento.
 William P. Hicklin.
 Stephen Jackson; died at Mapini, Mexico, May 9, 1847.
 James H. Moss, Col. U. S. V. late war.
 Benjaham F. Murray.
 Henry F. Ogden.
 Scott Richardson.
 George B. Winston.
 Nicholas B. Wright.

SECOND REGIMENT OF MISSOURI VOLUNTEERS.*Colonel.*

Sterling Price. (See Brig.-Gen. U. S. V. 1846.)

Lieutenant-Colonel.

David D. Mitchell.

Surgeon.

Win S. Way.

Assistant-Surgeon.

R. F. Edmonson.

Major.

Benjamin B. Edmonson.

Adjutants.

Robert Walker. (See Santa Fe Battalion.)
 John J. Tisdale.

Captains.

Thomas Barber.
 John C. Dent.
 Napoleon B. Giddings, Lt.-Col. U. S. V. late war.
 William C. Halley.
 John Holloway.
 Thomas M. Horriner.
 Hancock Jackson.
 Thomas C. McKamey.
 Samuel H. McMillan; wounded at Taos.
William Y. Slack, Brig.-Gen. U. S. A. late war; killed March 7, 1862, at the battle of Pea Ridge, Ark.
 Benjamin F. White.

First Lieutenants.

James B. Black.
 Elias W. Boone.
 Robert T. Brown.
 Daniel Hereford.
 Clare Oxley.
 Francis L. Potter.
 William B. Royall, Maj. U. S. A. late war.
 Joseph Smith.
 William P. Smith.
 John W. Tucker.
 Thomas G. West; wounded at Taos.

Second Lieutenants.

James M. Alexander; died November 29, 1846.
 Thomas A. Austin.
 Albert G. Blakey.
 John A. Boarman; murdered June 27, 1847, at Vallas, N. Mex.
 William Dean; died April 28, 1847, at Santa Fe, N. Mex.
 I. G. Flournoy.
 Robert D. Foster.
 Robert G. Gilman.
 Jeremiah M. Hamilton.
 Zadoc Holcomb.
 Benjamin E. Lackland; died December 27, 1846, at Santa Fe, N. Mex.
 George E. Lackland; died February 16, 1847.
 Robert A. Layton.
 James W. Link.
John Mansfield; died February 16, 1847, of wounds received in action at Taos, N. Mex.
 Wesley T. Newbold.
 Robert Patton.
 William R. Samuel.
 S. B. Searcy.
 Francis J. Smith.
 Samuel M. Sprowl.
 Robert B. Todd.
 Goldon Warson.
 B. C. Woods.

MISSOURI—Continued.

BATTALION OF MISSOURI VOL-
UNTEERS.

[Embracing three Companies of
Light Artillery and two Com-
panies of Infantry.]

LIGHT ARTILLERY.

Major Commanding.

*Meriwether L. Clark, Col. C. S. A.
late war; died October 28, 1881,
at Frankfort, Ky.

Adjutants.

Christian Kribben.
Leonidas D. Walker.

Surgeon.

R. F. Richardson.

Assistant Surgeon.

Myron H. Mills.

Captains.

Richard H. Weightman, Col.
C. S. A. late war; killed August
10, 1861, at the battle of Wilson's
Creek, Mo.

Waldemar Fischer, Maj. U. S. V.
late war.

Thomas B. Hudson; deceased.

First Lieutenants.

Edmund T. Chouteau.
Andrew Jackson Dorn. (See 3d
Dragoons.)

Richard S. Elliott.
Louis C. Garnier.

Second Lieutenants.

August De Marie.
Henry D. Evans.
John R. Gratiot.

Francis Hassendeubel, Col.
U. S. V. late war; killed July 17,
1863, at the battle of Vicksburg,
Miss.

Louis T. Labeaume.
John O. Simpson.

INFANTRY.

Captains.

William Z. Angney; deceased.
William S. Murphy.
Jonas S. Woods.

Assistant Surgeon.

James Walker.

First Lieutenants.

Alexander Irvine; wounded at Can-
ada, N. Mex.

Vincent Van Valkenberg;
killed in action at Taos, N. Mex.,
February 4, 1847.

Second Lieutenants.

Lucien J. Eastin.
Franklin Finch.
George R. Gibson.
Charles R. Miller.

BATTALION OF MISSOURI
MOUNTED VOLUNTEERS.

Lieutenant-Colonel.

David Willock.

Adjutant.

Robert P. Clark.

Surgeon.

Thomas E. Massie.

Assistant Surgeon.

J. P. Vaughn.

Captains.

Israel R. Hendley; killed in
in action at Moro, N. Mex., Jan-
uary 24, 1846.

William M. Jacobs.
Jesse Morin.
Benjamin F. Robinson.
Samuel Shepherd.

First Lieutenants.

James A. Carothers.
Isaac W. Gibson.
Samuel S. Hughes.
John W. Martin.

Second Lieutenants.

Thomas T. Crittenden, Brig.-Gen.
U. S. V. late war.
Benjamin M. Hawkins.
Adam Huffman.
John Larkin.
John M. Miller.
Jones H. Owens.
James G. Spratt.
Nathaniel T. Williams.

NINE COMPANIES OF MISSOURI
VOLUNTEERS.

Captains.

Francis M. Boing.
John F. Franciscus.
Thomas H. Holt.
Alfred M. Julian.
Napoleon A. Koscialowski.
Washington L. McNair.
Augustus Rainey.
Firman A. Rozier.
Benjamin W. Smithson.

BATTALION OF MISSOURI VOL-
UNTEERS.

Lieutenant-Colonel.

William Gilpin. (See Doniphan's
Regt.)

MISSOURI—Continued.

Assistant Surgeons.

Ephraim P. January.
Benjamin S. Long.

Adjutant.

Henry L. Routt.

Captains.

John C. Griffin.
Paul Holzcheiter.
Thomas Jones.
Napoleon Koscialowski.
Caleb S. Tuttle.

First Lieutenants.

Oliver Bain.
Joseph C. Eldridge.
Charles Grager.
Philip Stremmel, Col. U. S. V. late war.
John Stevens.

Second Lieutenants.

Ira Benson.
Christian Boecking.
Edward Colston.
Stephen H. Fisher.
Ashley Gulley.
John Hill.
William Kuhlon.
William O'Hara.
Albert F. Schnable.
John W. Scholl; died (suicide),
January 21, 1848.
Caswell H. Williams.

BATTALION OF MISSOURI VOLUNTEERS.

Lieutenant-Colonel.

Alton R. Easton. (See St. Louis Legion.)

Assistant Surgeons.

Joseph Malin.
J. F. Morton.

Adjutant.

Samuel A. Holmes, Col. U. S. V. late war.

Captains.

William A. Barnes.
Noble C. Cunningham.
Edward W. Paul.
Elisha H. Shepherd.
Nicholas Wochner.

First Lieutenants.

Abram Allen, Maj. U. S. V. late war.
Frederick Bailey.
George W. Paul.
Emanuel Seiner.

Second Lieutenants.

William Dietz.
Leonard F. Gray.
Sebastian Hupp.

Thomas W. Levant.
Charles E. G. Morse.
Silas Pennan.
Francis Phelps.
Reuben Pritchett.
James M. Stewart.
William H. Weightman.

THIRD REGIMENT OF MISSOURI MOUNTED VOLUNTEERS.

Colonel.

John Ralls.

Lieutenant-Colonel.

Richard H. Lane.

Major.

William W. Reynolds.

Assistant Surgeon.

Thomas M. Morton.

Adjutant.

Simeon Hart.

Captains.

Samuel A. Boake.
James I. Clarkson.
John C. Gebhardt.
Lois Geis; died February 5, 1848, at Santa Fe, N. Mex.
John Haley.
Augustus Jones.
Gabriel de Korponay.
William S. Lofland.
Washington L. McNair.
Benjamin Salmon; mortally wounded by Apache Indians; died November 19, 1848.
Moses H. Simonds; died July 26, 1847, near Santa Fe, N. Mex.
David D. Stockton.

First Lieutenants.

Samuel Aansorgh.
James M. Allen.
A. M. Brittingham.
George Cain.
George W. Cotner.
Robert Love; died September 21, 1847, at Santa Fe, N. Mex.
Samuel A. McConkey.
Stephen D. Millowney.
Dillard P. Pike.
Washington Porter; died November 13, 1847, at Albuquerque, N. Mex.
Herman Schroeder.
William W. Stephens.

Second Lieutenants.

Joseph F. Anthony.
Jacob Biebrich.
Preston P. Brickey.
George K. Culp.
Joseph P. Dillon.
John K. Hawkins.

MISSOURI—Continued.

Second Lieutenants.

George O. Hepburn; killed in action at Santa Cruz de Rosales, Mexico, March 16, 1848.

William E. Jones.
Frame King.
Charles Krohne.
Frederick Lottman.
John P. Ludwig.
John McDaniel.
Charles K. Oliver; died August 15, 1847, on the plains.
Richard G. Roberts.
George Scheibel.
Thomas Stockstill.
John Swigler.
Jefferson Taliaferro.
Benjamin Talbot.
Milton H. Wash.
Alpheus Wheeler.
Levi A. Williams.

BATTALION OF MISSOURI MOUNTED VOLUNTEERS.

Lieutenant-Colonel.

Ludwell E. Powell.

Adjutant.

Thomas J. Todd.

Assistant Surgeon

James B. Snail.

Captains.

James Craig, Brig.-Gen. U. S. V. late war; died October 21, 1888.
David McCausland.
William H. Rodgers.
Robert M. Stewart.
A. W. Sublette.

First Lieutenants.

Francis Impey.
Antoine Lefevre.
Thomas Mara.
Henry Smith.
Francis M. Warmcastle.

Second Lieutenants.

Seph H. Craig.
Immanuel S. Jones.
John W. Kelly.
Samuel J. Lingenfelter.
Samuel Machatt.
William Maran.
John M. Searcy.
Howell Thomas.
Ringrose Watson.
Thomas L. Young.

NEW JERSEY.

BATTALION OF NEW JERSEY VOLUNTEERS.

Lieutenant-Colonel.

Dickinson Woodruff, Maj. U. S. A. late war.

Adjutant.

Warren L. Young.

Assistant Surgeon.

Edwin Canter.

Captains.

David McDowell.
Isaac W. Mickle.
David Pierson.
James Reynolds.

First Lieutenants.

Francis Harrison.
John H. Stiles.
John Van Houten.

Second Lieutenants.

Elias C. Abrams.
Frederick W. Burnett.
Ezra Ferris.
Henry B. Hays.
Andrew M. Law; died December, 1847, at Vera Cruz, Mexico.
Joseph A. Logan.
Alexander McKinley.
David A. Nichols.
Anthony H. Reynolds.

NEW YORK.

FIRST REGIMENT OF NEW YORK VOLUNTEERS.

Colonel.

Jonathan D. Stevenson.

Lieutenant-Colonel.

Henry S. Burton.

Major.

James A. Hardie. (See 3d U. S. Art.)

Adjutants.

John C. Bonnycastle.
Henry C. Matsell.

Assistant Surgeon.

Mina B. Halstead.

Captains.

*John E. Brackett; died January 25, 1855, at Rock Island, Ill.
K. H. Dimmick.
John B. Frisbie.
Francis J. Lippitt, Col. U. S. V. late war.
*Henry M. Naglee, Brig.-Gen. U. S. V. late war; died March 5, 1836, at San Francisco, Cal.
William E. Shannon.

NEW YORK—Continued.

Captains.

Seymour G. Steele.
 Matthew R. Stevenson. (See 7th U.
 S. Inf.)
 Nelson Taylor, Col. U. S. V. late
 war.

First Lieutenants.

Henry J. Carnes.
 Edward Gilbert.
 George C. Hubbard.
 Henry Magee.
 George A. Pendleton.
 George F. Penrose.
 Thomas J. Roach.
 William R. Tremells; died at sea.
 Edward Williams.

Second Lieutenants

Charles C. Anderson; died Septem-
 ber 13, 1847, at San Francisco.
 Cal.
 George D. Brewerton. (See 1st U.
 S. Inf.)
 Edward G. Buffum.
 William E. Cuttrell.
 Palmer B. Hewlett.
 J. McH. Hollingsworth.
 John Huddard.
 Thomas E. Ketcham.
 George F. Lemon, Lt.-Col. U. S. V.
 late war.
 Roderick M. Morrison.
 Joseph C. Morehead.
 John S. Norris.
 Theron R. PerLee.
 Charles G. Scott.
 Jeremiah Sherwood.
 William H. Smith.
 Hiram W. Theall.
 W. H. Welrick.
 Charles B. Young, Maj. U. S. V.
 late war.

SECOND REGIMENT OF NEW
YORK VOLUNTEERS.*Colonel.*

*Ward B. Burnet; severely wounded
 at Churubusco; died June 27,
 1884, at Washington, D. C.

Lieutenant-Colonels.

Charles Baxter; died Septem-
 ber 17, 1847, of wounds received
 at the battle of Chapultepec,
 Mexico.
 James C. Burnham.

Major.

Garret Dyckman; severely wounded
 at Chapultepec; Col. U. S. V.
 late war.

Assistant Surgeon.

William C. Parker.

Adjutant.

James S. McCabe.

Captains.

James Barclay; wounded at the
 Belen Gate; died January 28,
 1848, at San Angel, Mexico.

Robert A. Carter.
 Gustave De Bongar.
 Morton Fairchild; wounded at
 Churubusco.

Addison Farnsworth, Col. U. S. V.
 late war; died April 1, 1877.

William Forry.

Samuel S. Gallagher.

George B. Hall, Col. U. S. V. late
 war.

Daniel E. Hungerford; wounded at
 Chapultepec; Lt.-Col. U.S. V.
 late war.

Charles H. Innes; wounded at
 Churubusco, and also at the Belen
 Gate; Col. U. S. V. late war.

Abram Van O'Linda; killed at
 the battle of Chapultepec, Mex-
 ico, September 13, 1847.

Charles H. Pearson; wounded
 at Cerro Gordo; died October
 10, 1847, of wounds received at
 the battle of Chapultepec, Mex-
 ico.

Jay P. Taylor.

Alfred W. Taylor, Col. U. S. V. late
 war.

First Lieutenants.

Francis G. Boyle.

M. N. Croft.

Robert M. Floyd.

Charles F. Gallagher; died Septem-
 ber 10, 1847, at Mixcoac, Mexico.

Jacob Griffin, Jr.; wounded at
 Churubusco.

James H. Henry.

Aug. Jacobus; died May 1, 1847, at
 Jalapa, Mexico.

Israel Miller.

James S. McCabe; wounded at
 Churubusco.

Francis E. Pinto, Col. U. S. V. late
 war.

Mayne Reid; severely wounded at
 Chapultepec.

David Scannell.

Charles H. Sherwood; wounded at
 Chapultepec.

Second Lieutenants.

Alexander H. Barber.

Carl Beecher; severely wounded at
 Churubusco.

Charles B. Brower. (See 3d U. S.
 Inf.)

Edward B. Carrell.

Edgar Chandler; died August
 21, 1847, of wounds received at
 the battle of Churubusco, Mex-
 ico.

Edward Cooke.

John Cooke.

NEW YORK—Continued.

Second Lieutenants.

Charles S. Cooper; severely wounded at Churubusco.
Michael A. Curran.
Hippolyte Dardonville; wounded at Churubusco.
David M. Doremus.
Francis Durning.
Henry Dusenbury.
Henry Gaines.
James W. Green; wounded at Chapultepec.
John Hill.

James D. Potter; severely wounded at Churubusco; Lt.-Col. U. S. V. late war; died October 24, 1888.
John Rafferty.
Thomas W. Sweeny; severely wounded at Churubusco. (See 2d U. S. Inf.)
Philip Van Vechten.
Morritz Von Malachowski; wounded at Churubusco.
William T. Walker.
John Wilson; wounded at Churubusco; Lt.-Col. U. S. V. late war.

NORTH CAROLINA.

REGIMENT OF NORTH CAROLINA VOLUNTEERS.

Colonel.

Robert T. Paine.

Lieutenant-Colonel.

John A. Fagg.

Major.

Montfort S. Stokes.

Assistant Surgeon.

James A. McRae.

Adjutants.

Oel A. Buck.
Junius B. Whitaker.

Captains.

Tilmon Blalock.
Jacob H. Constable.
William S. Dugan.
Patrick M. Henry.
William E. Kirkpatrick.
William J. Price.
Henry Roberts.
Martin Shive; died August 16, 1847, at Buena Vista, Mexico.
Spyers Singleton.
Samuel P. Tipton.
Louis D. Wilson; died August 12, 1847.
George Williamson, Jr.
First Lieutenants.
Henry A. Area.
Thomas W. Dunham.

Jeptha M. Israel.
David S. Johnston.
William McKerral.
Joseph Masten.
Shepherd K. Nash.
Josiah S. Pender.
Peter Scales; died March, 1847.
George E. B. Singletary.
Edward Yarbrough.

Second Lieutenants.

John B. Beatty; died September 14, 1847, at Saltillo, Mexico.
Duncan H. Black.
James A. Blackwelder.
Joshua Bullock.
Jacob R. Daniel.
John Goodson.
E. W. Hancock.
William H. Hartman.
Seth W. Hyatt.
James K. Johnson.
James Jones.
William H. Moye.
Stephen Nichols.
Charles G. Ogburn.
Robert S. Pitt.
Nelson Slough.
Benjamin Staton.
Peter A. Stubblefield.
James W. Tatham.
Zadock L. Thompson.
Robert F. Webb.
Nixon White.
Robert M. Wiley.

OHIO.

FIRST REGIMENT OF OHIO VOLUNTEERS.

Colonel.

*Alexander M. Mitchell; wounded at Monterey; died February 23, 1861, at St. Joseph, Mo.

Lieutenant-Colonel.

John B. Weller.

Majors.

Luther Giddings.
Thomas L. Hamer. (See Brig.-Gen. U. S. V. 1846.)

Adjutants.

Andrew W. Armstrong; severely wounded at Monterey.
*James Findlay Harrison, Col. U. S. V. late war.
Jonathan Richmond.

OHIO—Continued.

Surgeon.

E. K. Chamberlin.

Assistant Surgeon.

Henry Taylor.

Captains.

John B. Armstrong.

Edwin D. Bradley; Col. U. S. V. late war.

James George; wounded at Monterey.

Edward Hamilton.

Lewis Harmell.

S. W. Johnson.

William Kneally.

Philip Muller.

David D. Strong.

Ferdinand Van Derveer, Col. U. S. V. late war.

Carr B. White; Col. U. S. V. late war; died September 30, 1871.

First Lieutenants.

John Becker.

William Egry.

James P. Fyffe, Col. U. S. V. late war.

Matthew Hett; killed at the battle of Monterey, Mexico, September 21, 1846.

Isaac Hosear.

John K. Kidd.

John P. Klein.

William Maloney.

Lewis Motter; wounded at Monterey.

Arthur J. Oakman.

Second Lieutenants.

Nathan Allen.

Charles Boyle.

Andrew B. Colville.

Charles P. Cooke.

Leonard Guth; died March 23, 1891, at Sandusky, Ohio.

Cassander Hall.

W. B. Howard.

C. D. Kendall.

Andrew Kline.

Christopher Knecht.

Valentine Kneller.

Ernst Kohldreiser.

B. F. W. Lindsay.

John F. Longley.

Alexander McCarter.

Michael K. Shearer.

Cyrus T. Smeed.

Charles A. Vischer.

William Wilson.

SECOND REGIMENT OF OHIO VOLUNTEERS.

Colonel.

George W. Morgan. (See 15th U. S. Inf.)

Lieutenant-Colonel.

William Irvin. (See 5th Ohio.)

Major.

William Wall.

Adjutants.

*Thomas Worthington, Col. U. S. V. late war; died February 23, 1884, at Washington, D. C.

Charles O. Joline, Maj. U. S. V. late war; died February 16, 1885.

Surgeon.

William Trevitt.

Assistant Surgeon.

Robert G. McNeill.

Captains.

Jackson Canipe.

James E. Harle.

David Irick; died December 4, 1846, at Punta Aguda, Mexico.

Evan Julian.

Simon B. Kinton.

William A. Latham.

William H. Link.

Robert G. McLean.

John T. Mickum.

Hobby Reynolds.

Abraham Seifert.

Richard Stadden.

First Lieutenants.

Peter Brown.

Murrin E. Cully.

Michael Earhart.

Hiram E. King.

Charles D. Miller; killed by guerrillas near Chicharrones, Mexico.

Jonathan F. Neereamer.

Samuel D. Stuart.

Second Lieutenants.

Isaac S. Armstrong.

John Arnold; drowned November 7, 1846, at Reinoso, Mexico.

John R. Blackstone.

John W. Cowne.

Edwin R. Hill.

Charles Kemp.

Eli A. McFadden.

Thomas P. Morton.

A. D. Rightmire.

Reuben Roessler.

William H. Sanford.

James H. Smith.

Elliott D. Wall.

Elijah Warner.

Presley Woodard.

THIRD REGIMENT OF OHIO VOLUNTEERS.

Colonel.

*Samuel R. Curtis, Maj.-Gen. U. S. V. late war; died December 25, 1866, at Council Bluffs, Iowa.

OHIO—Continued.

Lieutenant-Colonel.

George W. McCook, Col. U. S. V.
late war.

Major.

John S. Love.

Adjutant.

Oliver C. Gray.

Surgeon.

Benjamin Stone.

Assistant Surgeon.

Patrick H. Mulvaney.

Captains.

James Allen.

James F. Chapman.

Thomas H. Ford, Col. U. S. V. late
war.

John Kell, Jr., Col. U. S. V. late war.

James M. Love.

William McLaughlin, Maj. U. S. V.
late war.

David Moore, Col. U. S. V. late war.

Asbury F. Noles.

John Patterson.

William W. Robinson.

First Lieutenants.

Samuel Beatty, Brig.-Gen. U. S. V.
late war; died May 26, 1885.

Charles Boyle.

Peter Burket.

James Cantwell, Col. U. S. V. late
war.

Samuel B. Crowley.

Edward T. Croxford.

John H. Flenner.

Andrew Grubb.

Edward Steinman.

Second Lieutenants.

Smith D. Baldwin.

Rolla Banks.

Horace L. Brown.

Josiah C. Cable.

B. J. Crosswait, Lt.-Col. U. S. V.
late war.

Isaac Delong, Maj. U. S. V. late war.

Richard D. Emerson.

Owen Francis; died October 19,
1846.

Jacob G. Frick; Col. U. S. V. late
war.

Arthur Higgins, Lt.-Col. U. S. V.
late war.

Emanuel T. Hooker, Maj. U. S. V.
late war.

James McMillan.

Henry Miller, Jr.

William Porter.

Benjamin R. Pratt.

Robert F. Riddle.

William Smith.

Horace L. Stearns.

W. D. Tidball.

Charles Tupper.

Peter W. Weber.

Joseph D. Workman.

FOURTH REGIMENT OF OHIO
VOLUNTEERS.

Colonel.

Charles H. Brough; died May 10,
1849, at Cincinnati, Ohio.

Lieutenant-Colonels.

Augustus Moore, Col. U. S. V. late
war; died November 11, 1885; at
Cincinnati, Ohio.

Melchior Werner.

Major.

William P. Young.

Adjutant.

Warner Spencer.

Surgeon.

Oliver M. Langdon.

Assistant Surgeon.

Henry E. Foot.

Captains.

Charles Creswell.

John Fries.

Teisher L. Hart; died August 31,
1847, at Matamoras, Mexico.

James Irvine, Col. U. S. V. late war.

Herman Kessler; killed in
engagement with guerillas, Feb-
ruary 27, 1848.

Mitchell C. Lilly.

George E. Pugh.

George A. Richmond.

Henry Robinson.

Louis St. Golen.

George Weaver, Maj. U. S. V. late
war.

Otto Zirckel.

First Lieutenants.

George Cullman; died September
17, 1847, at Matamoras, Mexico.

Samuel Douglas.

John C. Groom, Col. U. S. V. late
war.

Isaac Knapp.

Simpson P. Moses.

Martin Oestmann.

Josiah M. Robinson.

Edward Roessler.

Elias B. Sayre.

Joseph A. Smith.

Henry Toepfer.

Second Lieutenants.

John Adams.

George W. Bard.

Peter De Ankney.

John N. Dyer.

Lothar Elsen.

OHIO—Continued.

Second Lieutenants.

John Farrell.
 William Graebbe.
 David W. Henderson.
 Charles Henn.
 Obadiah Holmes.
 Herman Wm. Jaeger.
 Lewis Leppelman.
 John G. Marshall, Col. U. S. V. late war.
 Abel Moore.
 Lafayette Mosher.
 Andrew J. Robertson; died at Sidney, Ohio, January 3, 1891.
 Daniel B. Robinson.
 Frederick Schmidt.
 Robert H. Thompson.
 George M. Tillotson.
 Henry Wiltz.

FIFTH REGIMENT OF OHIO VOLUNTEERS.

Colonel.

*William Irvin; died October, 1852, at Port La Vaca, Texas.

Lieutenant-Colonel.

William A. Latham.

Major.

William H. Link.

Surgeon.

Robert McNeil.

Assistant Surgeon.

George T. McDonald.

Adjutants.

Alva Perry.
 Simeon W. Tucker.

Captains.

Abram Andrews.
 William T. Ferguson.
 Joseph W. Filler.
 James E. Harle.
 John G. Hughes, Maj. U.S. V. late war.
 John W. Lowe, Col. U. S. V. late war.
 George F. McGinnis, Brig.-Gen. U. S. V. late war.
 James A. Markland.
 Nathaniel H. Niles; severely wounded at the battle of Monterey, Mexico.
 Joseph E. Smith.
 Ezra Vanmeter.

First Lieutenants.

George W. Cowl.
 Robert B. Mitchell, Brig.-Gen. U. S. V. late war; died January 26, 1882.
 Abram B. Moses.

Thomas O'Beirne.
 Weirick F. Pentz.
 William P. Price.
 Leroy B. Riley.
 Jackson Spencer.

Second Lieutenants.

Jabez J. Antrim.
 Alexander J. Bentley.
 Amariah F. Cushman.
 John W. Edgar.
 James Griffin.
 William I. Hogan.
 William Howard, Lt.-Col. U. S. V. late war.
 William C. Jacobs.
 Milton Jamieson.
 Charles Kemp.
 John McDonald.
 John W. Marriott.
 Benjamin F. Moyer.
 Hugh W. Morehead.
 Marquis L. Olds.
 Nathaniel M. Parker.
 Thomas Ross.
 Perry Steinman.
 Stiles L. Thrift.

INDEPENDENT COMPANIES OF OHIO VOLUNTEERS.

COMPANY OF MOUNTED MEN.

Captains.

John R. Duncan; died May 7, 1852, at Covington, Ind.

First Lieutenant.

David A. B. Moore, Maj. U. S. V. late war.

Second Lieutenants.

Ira E. Kelsey; died at Hebron, Ohio, May 2, 1891.
 William P. Morrison.
 Benjamin R. Wilson.

Assistant Surgeon.

A. E. Heighway.

FIRST COMPANY OF FOOT.

Captains.

William Kenneally; died December 21, 1847, at Rio Frio, Mexico.
William H. Lytle, Brig.-Gen. U. S. V. late war; died September 20, 1863, of wounds received at the battle of Chickamanga, Ga.

First Lieutenant.

Denis Gorman.

Second Lieutenants.

Benjamin Briceland,
 William O'Sullivan.
 Robert B. Pope.

OHIO—Continued.

SECOND COMPANY OF FOOT.

Captain.

Robert F. Riddle.

First Lieutenant.

Simon B. Kenton.

Second Lieutenants.

William B. Bowland.

James W. Chandler.

Assistant Surgeon.

B. F. Mullen.

PENNSYLVANIA.

FIRST REGIMENT OF PENNSYLVANIA VOLUNTEERS.

Colonels.

Francis M. Wyncoop; died December 13, 1857, in Pennsylvania.

Lieutenant-Colonel.

Samuel W. Black, Col. U. S. V. late war; killed June 27, 1862, at the battle of Gaines Mill, Va.

Major.

Francis L. Bowman; died September 10, 1856.

Surgeon.

John C. Reynolds.

Assistant Surgeon.

Thomas C. Bunting.

Adjutant.

Alexander Brown.

Captains.

John Bennett.

Frederick W. Binder.

William A. Charlton.

Edmund L. Dana, Col. U. S. V. late war; died April 25, 1889.

James O'H. Denny.

Alexander Hay.

John Herron; died November 15, 1881, at Madison, Wis.

Joseph Hill.

Turner G. Morehead, Col. U. S. V. late war.

James Nagle, Brig.-Gen. U. S. V. late war; died August 22, 1866.

Robert K. Scott, Brig.-Gen. U. S. V. late war.

William F. Small, Col. U. S. V. late war; deceased.

First Lieutenants.

William J. Ankrum.

John F. Ballier, Col. U. S. V. late war.

Sullivan D. Breece.

William A. M. Briggs.

Alexander Brown; deceased.

Abijah Ferguson.

William H. Gray, Col. U. S. V. late war.

Aquilla Haines.

Augustus Larrantree; died at sea, March 7, 1847.

Simon S. Nagle.

William Trovillo.

Montgomery P. Young; died October 5, 1847, at Puebla, Mexico.

Second Lieutenants.

Caspar W. Berry; Lt.-Col. U. S. V. late war.

Adam Blucher.

Isaac C. Brown.

William Bryan.

Edward Carroll, Lt.-Col. U. S. V. late war.

William Clinton, Maj. U. S. A. late war.

James A. Deany; died December 24, 1848.

Norvin H. Goff; assassinated at Perote, Mexico, April 13, 1848.

Joseph M. Hall.

Henry Hunterson.

Franklin B. Kaercher.

Edward C. Lewis; wounded at the siege of Puebla, Mexico.

William F. Mann.

George Moore, Lt.-Col. U. S. V. late war.

Edward Rehr.

John Ribault.

Frederick Seidenstricker.

Louis Voltair.

Jacob Waelder.

Robert Woods.

SECOND REGIMENT OF PENNSYLVANIA VOLUNTEERS.

Colonels.

John W. Geary; wounded at the battle of Chapultepec; Brig.-Gen. U. S. V. late war; died February 8, 1873.

William B. Roberts; died October 3, 1847, in City of Mexico.

Lieutenant-Colonel.

William Brindle.

Surgeon.

Frederick W. Miller.

Assistant Surgeon.

Alexander M. Cassidy.

Adjutants.

Benjamin F. Dutton.

Isaac W. Waterbury.

PENNSYLVANIA—Continued.

Captains.

James Caldwell: died September 19, 1847, of wounds received in action at the Belen Gate, Mexico.

Clarence H. Frick.

Charles H. Heyer.

John Humphreys.

John W. Johnston, Lt.-Col. U. S. V. late war,

Thomas S. Loesser.

Alexander McKamey.

James Miller: severely wounded at the battle of Chapultepec, Mexico; Col. U. S. V. late war; killed May 31, 1862, at the battle of Fair Oaks, Va.

James Murray.

Charles Naylor; deceased.

Lewis W. Smith, Col. U. S. V. late war.

Samuel M. Taylor; died December 6, 1847, in City of Mexico.

Edward C. Williams; severely wounded at the battle of Chapultepec, Mexico; Col. U. S. V. late war.

John S. Wilson; died at sea, April 12, 1847.

First Lieutenants.

James Armstrong, Lt.-Col. U. S. V. late war.

Samuel Black.

John A. Doyle.

H. A. Hambright, Col. U. S. V. late war.

Edward E. Le Clerc.

Charles McDermitt.

Peter H. McWilliams.

William Rankin.

John Sturgeon; died July 17, 1847, at Puebla, Mexico.

William Williams.

Hiram Wolf.

William Wunder; died September 14, 1847, at Mixcoac, Mexico.

Second Lieutenants.

Charles Bower.

James Coulter.

Bivan R. Davis.

Richard Erwin.

John G. Given.

D. H. Hoffins.

James Kane.

John Keefe; severely wounded at the battle of Chapultepec, Mexico.

Edmund Kine.

Robert Klotz, Col. U. S. V. late war.

Christian W. Lieb; wounded at the battle of Chapultepec, Mexico.

Richard McMichael, Lt.-Col. U. S. V. late war.

James McKeen, Jr.; died September 25, 1847, at Puebla, Mexico.

Joseph L. Madsen.

Washington Murray.

Peter S. Reed.

William P. Skelly.

Stewart Speers.

Jacob F. Sperry: killed by guerillas, August 26, 1847.

A. S. Tourrison; severely wounded at the Belen Gate, Mexico.

David J. Unger.

SOUTH CAROLINA.

REGIMENT OF SOUTH CAROLINA VOLUNTEERS.

[Known as the "Palmetto Regiment."]

Colonel.

Pierce M. Butler. wounded twice and afterwards killed at the battle of Churubusco, Mexico, August 20, 1847.

Lieutenant-Colonels.

James P. Dickenson, died August, 1847, of wounds received at the battle of Churubusco, Mexico.

Adley H. Gladden, wounded at the Belen Gate; Brig.-Gen. C. S. A. late war; died April 11, 1862, of wounds received at the battle of Shiloh, Tenn.

Major.

Robert G. M. Dunovant.

Quartermaster.

Samuel McGowan, Col. C. S. A. late war.

Assistant Surgeon.

Albert Bland.

Adjutant.

James Cantey; severely wounded at the battle of Churubusco, Mexico.

Captains.

James Blanding, Col. C. S. A. late war.

Preston S. Brooks.

William D. De Saussure; wounded twice at the battle of Churubusco, Mexico.

Joseph Kennedy.

William B. Lilley.

J. F. Marshall.

Keith S. Moffat; wounded at the battle of Churubusco, Mexico.

SOUTH CAROLINA—Continued.

Captains.

Leroy Secrest.
Francis Sumter.
Nathaniel J. Walker.
James H. Williams.

First Lieutenants.

K. G. Billings; severely wounded at the battle of Churubusco, Mexico.
James R. Clark; died August 30, 1847, of wounds received at the battle of Churubusco, Mexico.
Arthur M. Manigault.
Cyrus S. Mellett.
John B. Moragne; killed September 13, 1847, in action at the Belen Gate, Mexico.
Augustus B. O'Bannon.
Charles P. Pope.
Frederick W. Selleck; wounded at the Belen Gate; died in 1852, at Abbeville, S. C.
James M. Shedd.
William B. Stanley.
John T. Walker.

Second Lieutenants.

Joseph Abney; severely wounded at the battle of Churubusco, Mexico; Maj. C. S. A. late war; died in 1869, at Edgefield, S. C.
David Adams; killed August 20, 1847, at the battle of Churubusco, Mexico.
Thomas M. Baker.
Ralph Bell.
Stephen M. Boykin.

James W. Canteley, Jr.; died September 13, 1847, of wounds received in action at the Belen Gate, Mexico.
Michael R. Clark; wounded at the battle of Chapultepec, Mexico.
Joseph C. Culbreath.
Benjamin Culp.
George W. Curtis, wounded at the battle of Churubusco, Mexico.
Jonathan R. Davis; wounded at the battle of Churubusco, Mexico.
David L. Donald.
Abner R. Dunham; died June 10, 1847, at Jalapa, Mexico.
John C. C. Higgins.
Charles S. Kirkland.
Finley McCaskill.
Thomas N. Moye; wounded at the Belen Gate, Mexico.
James A. Norwood.
Lewis F. Robertson.
Samuel F. Row.
James W. Stein; wounded at the battle of Churubusco, and died October 10, 1847, of wounds received in action at the Belen Gate, Mexico.
John W. Stewart; died November 5, 1847, at Rio Frio, Mexico.
Sebastian Sumter; wounded at the battle of Churubusco, Mexico.
James J. Thurston.
Elijah F. Williams; died September 22, 1847, at Puebla, Mexico.
Lafayette Wever.
Wilson R. Williams; killed August 20, 1847, at the battle of Churubusco, Mexico.

TENNESSEE.

REGIMENT OF TENNESSEE MOUNTED VOLUNTEERS.

Colonel.

Jonas E. Thomas.

Lieutenant-Colonel.

Robert D. Allison.

Major.

Richard Waterhouse.

Surgeon.

Gideon M. Alsup.

Adjutants.

Nimrod R. Porter; died April 21, 1847, at Plan del Rio, Mexico.
Thomas S. Stratton.

Captains.

William R. Caswell.
A. G. Cooper.
N. A. Evans.
James W. Gillespie.
John F. Goodner.

*Milton A. Haynes, Lt.-Col. C. S. A. late war.
James Lenow.
John W. Marshall.
L. D. Newman.
John L. T. Sneed.

First Lieutenants.

William L. Adams.
Samuel W. Bell.
P. A. Kirk.
William A. Lacey.
William H. McCabe.
James L. Penn.
John S. Reece.
J. H. Sawyers.
E. S. Smith.

Second Lieutenants.

Thomas P. Allen.
James Anderson.
Robert M. Anderson.
Andrew J. Brock.
William Brownlow.
Nelson H. Chase.

TENNESSEE—Continued.

Second Lieutenants.

John E. Dance.
B. Donnelly.
Calvin Gossett.
William J. Johnson.
Jesse Leftwich.
W. G. McKnight.
John G. Nixon.
Jonas Seaman.
C. C. Smith.

C. Roberdeau Wheat, Col. C.
S. A. late war; killed August 30,
1862, at the second battle of Bull
Run, Va.

Hercules Whaley.
Matthew Woodson.
W. J. Wright.

FIRST REGIMENT OF TENNESSEE VOLUNTEERS.

Colonel.

William B. Campbell, Brig.-Gen.
U. S. V. late war; died August
19, 1867.

Lieutenant-Colonel.

Samuel R. Anderson, Brig.-Gen. C.
S. A. late war; deceased.

Majors.

Richard B. Alexander; wounded at
the battle of Monterey, Mexico.
Robert Farquharson; wounded at
the battle of Cerro Gordo, Mex-
ico.

Surgeon.

James W. Starnes.

Assistant Surgeon.

William D. Dorris.

Adjutant.

Adolphus Heinman; wounded at the
battle of Cerro Gordo, Mexico.

Captains.

William B. Allen; killed Sep-
tember 21, 1846, at the battle of
Monterey, Mexico.

Robert A. Bennett.
William M. Blackmore.
Benjamin F. Cheatham, Maj.-Gen.
C. S. A. late war; died at Nash-
ville, Tenn, 1886.

Robert C. Foster.
Edmund Frierson.
Harris Maulding; wounded at the
battle of Cerro Gordo, Mexico.
L. P. Murry.
Adrian Northcut.
William B. Walton.
John Whitfield.

First Lieutenants.

William R. Bradfute. (See 3d Tenn.)
William C. Bradley.

William B. Davis.

Patrick Duffy.

James D. Easley.

Samuel High.

George H. Nixon.

James L. Scudder; severely wounded
at the battle of Monterey, Mex-
ico.

Nimrod D. Smith.

Second Lieutenants.

Joseph C. Allen; wounded at the
battle of Monterey, Mexico.

George W. Buchanan.

Coleman A. M. Daniel.

John Dies.

George Dixon; wounded at the
battle of Monterey, Mexico.

James E. Fowler.

George W. Helm.

King Kearley.

James McClanahan.

Wade H. McCrory.

James H. McMurry.

William Phillips.

Perrin L. Solomon.

John B. Tacker.

Lewis P. Totty.

Silas M. Putnam; killed Septem-
ber 21, 1846, at the battle of Mon-
terey, Mexico.

SECOND REGIMENT OF TENNESSEE VOLUNTEERS..

Colonel.

William T. Haskell; deceased.

Lieutenant-Colonel.

David H. Cummings; wounded at
the battle of Cerro Gordo, Mex-
ico.

Surgeon.

David McKnight.

Assistant Surgeon.

Thomas R. Hill.

Adjutant.

Wiley P. Hale; died April 26,
1847, of wounds received at the
battle of Cerro Gordo, Mexico.

Captains.

Morgan P. Cook.

Timothy P. Jones.

J. L. Kirkpatrick; died March 19,
1847, at Vera Cruz, Mexico.

John D. Lowrey.

George W. McCown.

Henry F. Murray; severely wounded
at the battle of Cerro Gordo,
Mexico.

William J. Standepper.

TENNESSEE—Continued.

First Lieutenants.

Joseph P. Bailey.
G. W. Bowns.
William B. Davis.
Isaac R. Hawkins.
William G. McAdoo.
James C. Miller.

Frederick B. Nelson, Jr.:
killed April 18, 1847, at the battle
of Cerro Gordo, Mexico.

William Yearwood: died
April 24, 1847, of wounds received
at the battle of Cerro Gordo,
Mexico.

Second Lieutenants.

Edward M. Anderson.
Napoleon B. Barrow.
John R. Bell.
John W. Chambers.
William S. Coward.
George H. H. Dill.
Andrew J. Ellis.
James Forrest; wounded at the
battle of Cerro Gordo, Mexico.
Alex. P. Greene.
Lawson Guthrie.
Charles G. Gill; killed April
18, 1847, at the battle of Cerro
Gordo, Mexico.
Richard J. Hays.
Joshua Richardson.
Gabriel J. Slaughter.
Eugene Sullivan.
Edwin J. Wiatt.

THIRD REGIMENT OF TEN-
NESSEE VOLUNTEERS.

Colonel.

Benjamin F. Cheatham. (See 1st
Tenn.)

Lieutenant-Colonel.

John W. Whitfield.

Major.

Perrin L. Solomon.

Surgeon.

John Irwin.

Assistant Surgeons.

Joseph C. Newman.
William A. Russell.

Adjutant.

George W. Wilson.

Captains.

William R. Bradfute, Col. C. S. A.
late war.
William P. Chambliss, Maj. U. S. A.
late war; died February 22, 1887.
William M. Clark.
George T. Colyar; died January 8,
1848, at the City of Mexico.
Bartholemew Donnelly.

Edward A. Fowlkes.
William S. Hatton.
Jesse Leftwich.
Abram M. Savage.
Daniel Trigg.
Sherrod Williams.

First Lieutenants.

William B. Bate, Maj.-Gen. C. S. A.
late war.
William C. Bobo.
John C. Brixey; died February 7,
1848, at City of Mexico.
John P. Dixon.
Alfred M. Fleming.
Lucius D. Isom.
Jackson C. McElroy.
Reuben Simpson.
Burwell E. Sneed.
Thomas H. Waterson.

Second Lieutenants.

William M. Bailey.
Robert W. Beatty.
James W. Doak.
William W. Estill.
George W. Faris.
George C. Gordon.
Thomas M. Gordon.
George Harsh.
Simon H. Hilb.
James L. Jones.
John W. Kennedy.
Frank N. McNairy.
John L. Temple.
Samuel M. Thompson.
Lipscomb N. Walker.
Robert L. Weakly.
Robert M. White.

FOURTH REGIMENT OF TEN-
NESSEE VOLUNTEERS.

Colonel.

Richard Waterhouse.

Lieutenant-Colonel.

James D. Swan.

Major.

McDonough J. Bunch.

Surgeon.

James P. Evans.

Assistant Surgeon.

R. W. Gardner.

Adjutants.

Hugh Reed.
Bowling W. Starke.

Captains.

Jordan T. Council.
James H. Evans.
James Freeman.
John D. Goodall.
Lawson Guthrie.

TENNESSEE—Continued.

Captains.

James McAllister; died November 30, 1849.
 William J. Rogers.
 John Scanland.
 Henry Travis.

First Lieutenants.

Robert K. Byrd, Col. U. S. V. late war.
 Thomas Epperson.
 Henry D. Flippen.
 John McAllen.
 James Millikan.
 Tazewell W. Newman.
 Benjamin O'Haver.
 Andrew Porter.

Second Lieutenants.

William G. Burford.
 Bolivar H. Cook.
 John Cowart, Jr.
 Joseph H. Crockett.
 J. Daniel Dickinson.
 James R. Dobbs.
 Richard I. Grant.
 Alexander S. Hare.
 Israel F. Huddleston.
 John McCarver.
 Alexander Millikan.
 Wade H. Narramore.
 William A. Porter.
 Henry H. Richardson.
 John W. Smart.
 Lewis M. Wester.

FIFTH REGIMENT OF TENNESSEE VOLUNTEERS.

Colonel.

George R. McClellan.

Lieutenant-Colonel.

George W. Bounds.

Major.

James Walker.

Assistant Surgeon.

James S. Gains.

Adjutants.

Samuel V. Fulkerson.
 William C. Lillard.

Captains.

Harrison Dill.
 Julius C. Fagg.
 John H. Grant.
 George W. McKenzie.
 John T. O'Brien.
 William H. Patterson.
 Samuel Powell.
 John I. Reese.
 John S. Shaver.
 Elisha Thomason.
 John C. Vaughn.

First Lieutenants.

Henry W. Atkinson.
 Jacob B. Collins.
 William C. Emmert.
 Henderson Hendley.
 William King.
 William L. Lafferty.
 James H. McKamey.
 James M. McSpadden.
 Willett W. Marshall; died May, 1848.
 Pleasant M. Senter.
 James N. Weir; died January 28, 1848, at Vera Cruz, Mexico.

Second Lieutenants.

Samuel B. Adams.
 Samuel B. Anderson.
 John Boyd.
 David B. Bramlett.
 John Brown.
 James M. Gault.
 William K. Hale.
 Calvin Henegar.
 James M. Kennedy.
 Abraham T. Lacey.
 Pitser M. Lyons.
 Hanson R. McCartney.
 James C. McCarty.
 Micajah D. Moreland.
 John A. Miller.
 James J. Odell.
 Proctor P. Porter.
 William C. Shelton.
 Francis M. Walker.
 Francis E. Watterson.
 Joseph C. Weir.
 Robert W. Young.

TEXAS.

GENERAL STAFF OF TEXAS VOLUNTEERS.

Major-General.

James P. Henderson, (Governor); died in 1858, in Washington, D. C.

Division Inspector.

Lt.-Col. Mirabeau B. Lamar.

Division Quartermaster.

Major Henry L. Kinney.

Aides-de-Camp. (Rank of Major.)

Edward Burleson.
 Edward Clarke.

FIRST REGIMENT OF TEXAS MOUNTED RIFLE VOLUNTEERS.

Colonel.

John C. Hays; deceased.

Lieutenant-Colonel.

Samuel H. Walker. (See U. S. Mounted Rifles.)

TEXAS—Continued.

Major.

Michael H. Chevallie; deceased.

Surgeon.

William R. Smith.

Assistant-Surgeon.

Charles H. Wagner.

Adjutant.

Charles A. Harper.

Captains.

Christopher B. Acklen.

Samuel L. S. Ballogve.

Frank S. Early.

Thomas Green, Brig.-Gen. C. S. A. late war; killed April 12, 1864, at the battle of Blair's Landing, La.

James Gillaspie; deceased.

Robert A. Gillespie; killed September 21, 1846, at the battle of Monterey, Mexico.

Claiborne C. Herbert.

Jerome B. McCown.

Henry E. McCulloch.

Joseph P. Wells.

First Lieutenants.

Gabriel M. Armstrong.

Cannah C. Colley.

Alfred Evans.

Thomas Early.

Walter P. Lane.

Sampson McCowan.

William E. Reese; wounded at the battle of Monterey, Mexico.

William H. Sellers.

George B. Traham.

William A. A. Wallace.

*Henderson K. Yoakum; died November 29, 1856, at Houston, Tex.

Second Lieutenants.

Fielding Alston; died March, 1847.

James Coffee.

John H. Day.

William B. P. Gaines.

A. McNeill.

H. H. Nelson.

John Page.

Christopher R. Perry.

Reding S. Pridgeon.

George W. Rodgers.

John T. Story.

SECOND REGIMENT OF TEXAS MOUNTED VOLUNTEERS.

Colonel.

George T. Wood; deceased.

Lieutenant-Colonel.

John E. Myrick.

Major.

William R. Scurry.

Surgeon.

Charles B. Rains.

Assistant Surgeon.

Walter S. A. Kirksy.

Adjutant.

Thomas M. Linkins.

Captains.

Robert K. Goodloe.

James M. W. Hall.

John L. Hall.

Middleton T. Johnson.

William F. Sparks.

Ethelred J. Thompson.

Alfred M. Truit.

Otis M. Wheeler.

Ervin M. Wilder.

First Lieutenants.

De Witt C. Clark.

Jeremiah M. Clough.

Nathaniel G. Dial.

T. L. Epperson.

George English.

Albert G. Harris.

Samuel M. Hyde.

John M. Payne.

Leroy M. T. Pope.

Walter Woodward.

Second Lieutenants.

James M. Barton.

Adam J. Bennett.

Ephraim M. Daggett; died April, 1883.

Hugh Hensey.

James K. Holland.

A. S. McGee.

Bernard Reilly.

Franklin F. Roberts.

Henry J. Sibley.

William B. Young.

REGIMENT OF TEXAS RIFLE VOLUNTEERS.

Colonel.

***Albert Sidney Johnston**;

Gen. C. S. A. late war; killed April 6, 1862, at the battle of Shiloh, Tenn.

Lieutenant-Colonel.

Ephraim McLean.

Major.

James Mayo Wells. (See 12th U. S. Inf.)

Assistant Surgeon.

Francis McKay.

Adjutant.

William P. Ballinger.

TEXAS—Continued.

Captains.

James R. Arnold.
Joseph L. Bennett.
Augustus Buchel.
James Chessher.
Robert H. Howard.
John McCarty.
Volney Ostrander.
Charles A. Seefeld.
William R. Shivers.
Martin K. Snell.

REGIMENT OF TEXAS MOUNT-
ED VOLUNTEERS.*Colonel.*

William C. Young.

Lieutenant-Colonel.

James Bourland.

Major.

Calvin C. Cooper.

Adjutant.

Andrew N. Hopkins.

Captains.

Berkley M. Ballard.
William B. Dagley.
Lemuel D. Evans.
Daniel Montague.
Levi M. Rice.
Burrell P. Smith.

BATTALION OF TEXAS MOUNT-
ED VOLUNTEERS.*Majors.*

M. H. Chevallie.
Walter P. Lane.

Assistant Surgeon.

Thomas F. Titus.

Adjutant.

W. S. Murtry.

Captains.

George W. Adams.
George K. Lewis.
James B. Reed.
Robert H. Taylor.

First Lieutenants.

Henry Earll.
Charles W. McNally.
G. H. Nelson.
Simeon D. Nunnellee.
A. M. Vallendingham.
James H. Weathersbee.

Second Lieutenants.

Joseph B. Blackwell.
James Clarke; wounded in action at
Agua Fria, Mexico.
James D. Cochran.
William A. Francis.

James M. Hardaway; killed
July 29, 1847, in a skirmish near
Popagie, Mexico.

John A. Moncrief.
James W. Morrell.
William C. Painter.
William Wynlock.

REGIMENT OF TEXAS MOUNT-
ED VOLUNTEERS.*Colonel.*

John C. Hays; deceased.

Lieutenant-Colonel.

Peter H. Bell.

Major.

Alfred M. Truit.

Assistant-Surgeon.

William Wilkinson.

Adjutant.

John S. Ford, Col. C. S. A. late war.

Captains.

Gabriel M. Armstrong.
Chaucer Ashton; died December 14,
1847, at City of Mexico.
Henry W. Baylor.
Ephraim M. Daggett.
Alfred Evans.
Isaac Ferguson; died January 1,
1848, at City of Mexico.
James S. Gillett.
Alexander E. Hendley.
Samuel Highsmith.
Middleton T. Johnson.
Stephen Kinsey.
Jacob Roberts.
Shapley P. Ross.
Hammond Warfield.
Preston Witt.

First Lieutenants.

William E. Crooke.
Jeremiah S. Davis; wounded at Se-
qualtipian, Mexico.
John D. English.
James C. Gaither.
Daniel Grady.
William B. Knox; deceased.
Gideon Lee.
Thomas M. Likens.
Joseph M. Smith.
Francis M. Willingham.

Second Lieutenants.

Isaac Anglin.
William T. Armstrong.
Walker K. Baylor.
Joseph Burns.
Samuel Carter.
Harry Davis.
Christopher C. Dodson.
Elisha B. English.
John C. Gooch.

TEXAS—Continued.

Second Lieutenants.

Albert G. Harris.
Dread R. Hill.
Hardy Jones.
John E. Linn.
John W. Mills.
Maurice Moore.
Joseph Pancoast.
Benjamin P. Smith; died January
28, 1848, in City of Mexico.
John L. Terry.
Thomas H. Tucker.
Charles Turner.
Alexander Williams.
John S. Wills.

REGIMENT OF TEXAS MOUNT-
ED VOLUNTEERS.

Colonel.

John C. Hays. (See Texas Rifles.)

Lieutenant-Colonel.

Charles A. Harper.

Major.

William H. Bourland.

Assistant Surgeon.

William Wilkinson.

Adjutant.

Hugh Hensey.

Captains.

Thomas W. Clark.
Benjamin F. Hill.
John Long.
David Muckleroy.
Samuel W. Sims.
James Smith.

BATTALION OF TEXAS MOUNT-
ED VOLUNTEERS,

[Five Companies.]

Major.

Thomas J. Smith.

Adjutant.

James P. Goodall.

Captains.

John H. Connor.
John J. Grumble.
Henry E. McCulloch.
Shaply P. Ross.
E. S. Wyman.

REGIMENT OF TEXAS MOUNT-
ED VOLUNTEERS.

Colonel.

Peter H. Bell.

Lieutenant-Colonel.

Middleton T. Johnson.

Adjutant.

James M. W. Hall.

Captains.

William G. Crump.
John A. Conner.
William Fitzhugh.
John S. Sutton.
John A. Veatch.

INDEPENDENT COMPANIES OF
TEXAS VOLUNTEERS.

(1)—MOUNTED COMPANY.

Captain.

John T. Price.

First Lieutenants.

George W. Guthrie.
A. W. Templeton.

Second Lieutenant.

Willard Post.

(2)—COMPANY OF RANGERS.

Captain.

Peter H. Bell.

First Lieutenant.

Mabery B. Gray.

Second Lieutenant.

De Witt C. Lyons.

(3)—MOUNTED COMPANY.

Captain.

David C. Cady.

First Lieutenants.

John Brothers.
Pleasant Green.

Second Lieutenant.

John Harrell.

(4)—MOUNTED COMPANY.

Colonel.

Benjamin McCulloch. Brig.
Gen. C. S. A. late war; killed
March 7, 1862, at the battle of
Pea Ridge, Ark.

First Lieutenant.

John McMullen.

Second Lieutenant.

James L. Allen.

(5)—MOUNTED COMPANY.

Captain.

Eli Chandler.

First Lieutenant.

Thomas Bell.

Second Lieutenant.

Isaac Anglin.

TEXAS—Continued.

(6)—MOUNTED COMPANY.

Captain.

Mabery B. Gray.

First Lieutenants.

De Witt C. Lyons.

Second Lieutenant.

John C. Castleman.

(7)—COMPANY OF FOOT VOLUNTEERS.

Captain.

William R. Shivors.

First Lieutenant.

William H. Jacobs.

Second Lieutenant.

Henry H. Hall.

(8)—RIFLE COMPANY.

Captain.

P. E. Connor; wounded at the battle of Buena Vista, Mexico; Brig.-Gen. U. S. V. late war.

*First Lieutenants.***David Campbell**; killed at the battle of Buena Vista, Mexico, February 23, 1847.

James Henderson.

Nathaniel Niles.

*Second Lieutenants.***John A. Leonhard**; killed at the battle of Buena Vista, Mexico, February 23, 1847.

James McDonough.

(9)—COMPANY VOLUNTEERS.

Captain.

Mirabeau B. Lamar.

First Lieutenant.

John A. Veatch.

Second Lieutenants.

Hamilton P. Bee.

P. C. Paul.

Wiley J. Peace.

(10)—COMPANY VOLUNTEERS.

Captain.

Shapley P. Ross.

First Lieutenant.

George W. Chapman.

Second Lieutenants.

William H. Moore.

Ransom Moore.

(11)—MOUNTED COMPANY OF SPYS.

Captain.

Benjamin McCullough. (See Texas Rangers.)

First Lieutenant.

William H. Kelly.

Second Lieutenants.

Fielding Alston.

George H. Tobin.

VIRGINIA.

REGIMENT OF VIRGINIA VOLUNTEERS.

Colonel.

*John F. Hamtramck; died April 21, 1858, at Shepardstown, Va.

Lieutenant-Colonel.

*Thomas B. Randolph; died November 12, 1867, near Cascade, Iowa.

Major.

*Jnbal A. Early, Lt.-Gen. C. S. A. late war.

Surgeon.

William H. PAnson.

Assistant Surgeon.

James M. Bell.

Adjutant.

Thomas P. August.

Captains.

Ephraim G. Alburtis.

Fletcher H. Archer.

William B. Archer.

Smith P. Bankhead.

Edward C. Carrington.

Montgomery D. Corse.

Henry Fairfax; died August 16, 1847, at Saltillo, Mexico.

Kenton Harper.

James F. Preston.

William M. Robinson.

John W. Rowan.

Robert G. Scott, Jr.

William A. Talbot.

James Thrift.

John P. Youug.

First Lieutenants.

John Avis.

James L. Bryan.

John K. Cooke.

James H. Dulany.

Fleming Gardner.

Thomas S. Garnett.

Otho H. Harrison.

John H. Higdon.

Robert H. Kinney.

Franklin Pegram.

George A. Porterfield.

William A. Scott.

Lindsay M. Shumaker.

VIRGINIA—Continued.

Second Lieutenants.

Lawrence Battaile.
Edward T. Blamire.
Charles Bodeker.
Robert F. Coleman.
Benjamin W. Collier.
James S. Douglas.
Thomas H. Dunn.
R. W. Fowlks.
John W. Gallaher.
Vincent E. Geiger.
William Gravatt.
William Henry Harman.
Upton H. Herbert.
James S. Kellam.
Robert H. Keeling.

William M. Levy.
William J. McGowan.
Washington S. Mahan; killed in
duel, June 1, 1847, in Mexico.
William J. Minor.
Thomas Moore.
Carlton R. Munford.
Peter A. Peterson.
William H. Pleasants.
Daniel Poisel.
Robert Pollock, Lt.-Col. U. S. V.
late war.
Henry Stanger.
Lawrence B. Washington.
David A. Weissiger.
Henry W. Williamson.
James M. Wade.

BATTALION OF SAILORS.

(Organized by Commodore Stockton,
for the Recapture of Los Angeles,
Cal.)

Major.

Stephen C. Rowan, Lt. U. S. N.;
Com. U. S. N. late war.

Commissary.

William Speiden, Purser.

Quartermaster.

John Bidwell, Capt. Cal. Vols.

Aides-de-Camp.

Andrew F. V. Gray, Lt. U. S. N.
Miguel de Pedrona, Capt. Cal.
Vols.; died March 15, 1860.

Captains.

James M. Duncan. (Passed Mid.)
John Guest. (Actg. Master.)
Edward Higgins. (Actg. Lieut.)
Benjamin F. B. Hunter. (Actg.
Lieut.)
John Peed. (Sailmaker.)
William B. Renshaw. (Lieut.)
J. F. Stenson. (Actg. Lieut.)
Richard L. Tighlman. (Lieut.)

Sapper and Miner.

John Southwick. (Carpenter.)

Lieutenants.

Albert Allmand. (Actg. Lieut.)
Robert C. Duvall. (Mid.)
Edward C. Grafton. (Actg. Lieut.)
Philemon Haywood. (Mid.)
Theodric Lee. (Mid.)
George E. Morgan. (Mid.)
Joseph Parrish. (Actg. Lieut.)
John Van N. Philip. (Actg. Lieut.)

Edmund Shepherd. (Actg. Lieut.)
William H. Thompson (Actg. Mas-
ter.
Benjamin F. Wells. (Mid.)

BATTALION OF SANTA FE
MOUNTED VOLUNTEERS.

Major.

Robert Walker. (See 2d Mo. Vols.)

Assistant Surgeon.

Eliathah S. Gale.

Adjutant.

William B. Royall. (See 2d Mo.
Vols.)

Captains.

William B. Armstrong.
William H. Grove.
John L. Hamilton.
Francis Hassendeubel. (See Mo.
Vols.)
Cyril St. Vrain, Col. U. S. V. late
war; died October 28, 1870, at
Mora, N. Mex.

First Lieutenants.

Henry G. A. Casparis.
J. W. Gibbons.
Charles D. Gilléspe.
John R. Norris.
Charles G. Weber.

Second Lieutenants.

Albert G. Blakey.
John A. Boarman.
Christopher Carson, Col. U. S. V.
late war; died May 23, 1868.
Thomas H. Coats.
J. A. Hannah.
Sigismond Homburg.
Lewis Hertzner.
John McDade.

NOTE.—This Roster of Volunteers is copied, excepting a few additions,
by permission from the pamphlet "Mexican War Veterans," compiled from
official sources by Win. Hugh Roberts.

ROSTER OF NAVY OFFICERS

Serving in the War Between the United States and Mexico,
Beginning May 8, 1846, and Ending July 4, 1848.

HOME SQUADRON, 1846.

Commodore DAVID CONNER, *Commander in Chief.*

FRIGATE CUMBERLAND.

[Flagship: 44 Guns. Sailed from
Boston February 3, 1846.]

Capt. Bladen Dulany.
Lt. Samuel F. Hazard.
Lt. J. A. Winslow.
Lt. Edward Middleton.
Lt. Thomas M. Brasher.
Lt. John H. Sherburne.
Fleet Surg. Waters Smith.
Asst. Surg. R. T. Maxwell.
Asst. Surg. William S. Bishop.
Purser Nathaniel Wilson.
Chaplain Fitch W. Taylor.
Acting Master Abram D. Harrell.
Acting Master M. C. Perry.
Marine Officer, 1st Lt. D. D. Baker.
Passed Mid. E. R. Colhoun.
Passed Mid. B. Randolph.
Passed Mid. A. J. Dallas.
Passed Mid. Reginald Fairfax.
Passed Mid. Joseph H. Day.
Mid. N. T. West.
Mid. J. L. Johnston.
Mid. J. A. Seawell.
Mid. Walter Queen.
Mid. Edward E. Stone.
Mid. M. J. Smith.
Mid. Robert Stuart.
Mid. George B. Hodge.
Master's Mate J. M. Ballard.
Boatswain Charles Johnston.
Gunner Elijah Haskell.
Carpenter Amos Chick.
Sailmaker Thomas J. Boyce.

FRIGATE RARITAN.

[44 Guns.]

Capt. Francis H. Gregory.
Lt. Burritt.
Lt. Shepard.
Lt. Alexander Gibson.
Lt. E. T. Shubrick.
Surg. J. M. Foltz.

Asst. Surg. Thomas M. Potter.
Asst. Surg. John T. Bartow.
Purser Adolph E. Watson.
Acting Master (Passed Mid.) Wilson
R. McKinney.
Prof. of Mathematics, E. C. Ward.
Marine Officer, 1st Lt. William Lang.
Passed Mid. William H. Hudson.
Mid. J. C. P. De Kraft.
Mid. H. C. Hunter.
Mid. J. H. March.
Mid. W. W. Holmes.
Mid. A. W. Habersham.
Mid. L. H. Lyne.
Mid. Joseph E. De Haven.
Mid. D. C. Coleman.
Mid. Charles Gray.
Mid. R. J. D. Price.
Mid. Milton Haxtun.
Mid. Theodric L. Walker.
Boatswain Robert Dixon.
Gunner Gustavus Newman.
Carpenter William M. Loughton.
Sailmaker G. T. Lozier.

FRIGATE POTOMAC.

[44 Guns. Sailed from Norfolk March
14, 1846.]

Capt. John H. Aulick.
Lt. Samuel Lockwood.
Lt. J. H. Rowan.
Lt. Joshua Humphreys.
Lt. James H. North.
Lt. James M. Frailey.
Lt. James A. Doyle.
Surg. Robert J. Dodd.
Asst. Surg. Oscar F. Baxter.
Asst. Surg. James Hamilton.
Purser Joseph Bryan.
Chaplain Rodman Lewis.
Acting Master (Passed Mid.) C. St.
George Noland.
Marine Officer, 1st Lt. Addison Garland.
Passed Mid. J. F. Abbott.

HOME SQUADRON, 1846—Continued.

Passed Mid. William B. Fitzgerald.
 Passed Mid. E. F. Tatnall.
 Passed Mid. William E. Hopkins.
 Mid. John T. Jones.
 Mid. Edward T. Carmichael.
 Mid. William L. Powell.
 Mid. James H. Somerville.
 Mid. William H. Murdaugh.
 Mid. Charles C. Hunter.
 Mid. Allan McLane.
 Mid. A. F. Monroe.
 Boatswain Samuel Drew.
 Gunner A. S. Lewis.
 Carpenter L. Manson.
 Sailmaker B. B. Bursted.

SLOOP FALMOUTH.

[20 Guns. Sailed from Boston February 9, 1846.]

Com. Joseph R. Jarvis.
 Lt. Thomas W. Brent.
 Lt. William Ross Gardner.
 Lt. C. B. Poindexter.
 Lt. W. Gwathmey.
 Surg. Charles A. Hassler.
 Asst. Surg. E. J. Bee.
 Purser H. M. Heiskell.
 Acting Master (Passed Mid.) J. M. B. Clitz.

Passed Mid. John S. Maury.
 Mid. Edward C. Pasteur.
 Mid. James H. Rochelle.
 Mid. Adrian Deslonde.
 Mid. Robert B. Storer.
 Boatswain Alfred Hingerty.
 Gunner John Caulk.
 Carpenter Robert Sheffield.
 Sailmaker George Thomas.

SLOOP JOHN ADAMS.

[20 Guns. Sailed from New York, July 18, 1845.]

Com. William J. McCluney.
 Lt. Harry Ingersoll.
 Lt. Guert Gansevoort.
 Lt. A. A. Holcomb.
 Lt. Francis Lowery.
 Surg. Samuel Barrington.
 Passed Asst. Surg. J. Winthrop Taylor.
 Purser George F. Sawyer.
 Acting Master (Passed Mid.) F. L. Winder.
 Marine Officer, 1st Lt. J. C. Cadwell.
 Passed Mid. J. Wilcoxson.
 Passed Mid. John R. Hynson.
 Mid. John T. Barrand.
 Mid. James S. Thorton.
 Mid. A. H. Otis.
 Mid. James E. Jouett.
 Mid. John Gale.
 Boatswain John Munro.
 Gunner Daniel James.
 Carpenter Charles Boardman.
 Sailmaker R. Van Vorhis.

SLOOP ST. MARY'S.

[20 Guns. Sailed from Norfolk, April 27, 1845, special service.]

Com. John L. Saunders.
 Lt. C. H. A. H. Kennedy.
 Lt. William Rogers Taylor.
 Lt. Charles Steedman.
 Lt. Charles W. Morris.
 Surg. James C. Palmer.
 Asst. Surg. William A. Harris.
 Purser L. T. Waller.
 Acting Master (Passed Mid.) Joshua D. Todd.
 Marine Officer, 2d Lt. John D. Simms.

Passed Mid. Thomas L. Dance.
 Mid. Robert Selden.
 Mid. John H. Russell.
 Mid. John H. Upshur.
 Mid. Walter V. Gilliss.
 Mid. James B. Yates.
 Mid. William K. Mayo.
 Mid. Walter F. Jones.
 Boatswain John Bates.
 Gunner John C. Ritter.
 Carpenter Thomas Johnson.
 Sailmaker David B. Park.

STEAMER MISSISSIPPI.

[10 Guns. Sailed from Boston, August 6, 1845.]

Capt. Andrew Fitzhugh.
 Com. Henry A. Adams.
 Lt. William Smith.
 Lt. John C. Carter.
 Lt. William A. Parker.
 Lt. William E. Le Roy.
 Surg. Amos G. Gambill.
 Asst. Surg. Washington Sherman.
 Purser Lewis Warrington, Jr.
 Acting Master (Passed Mid.) Henry Rodgers.
 Prof. of Mathematics, Mark H. Beecher.
 Chief Engr. William Sewell, Jr.
 Passed Mid. Alphonse Barbot.
 Mid. Wingate Pillsbury.
 Mid. William W. Wilkinson.
 Mid. William King Bridges.
 Mid. John Wilkes, Jr.
 Mid. Oscar C. Badger.
 Mid. Thomas S. Fillebrown.
 Mid. David A. Cheever.
 1st Asst. Engr. Daniel B. Martin.
 1st Asst. Engr. Hiram Sanford.
 2d Asst. Engr. Daniel Murphy.
 2d Asst. Engr. Joshua Follansbee.
 3d Asst. Engr. William Luce.
 3d Asst. Engr. J. W. King.
 3d Asst. Engr. M. M. Thompson.
 Gunner John Martin.
 Carpenter Joseph Cox.
 Sailmaker James G. Gallagher.

HOME SQUADRON, 1846—Continued.**STEAMER PRINCETON.**

19 Guns. Sailed from Boston, May
12, 1846.]

Com. Frederick Engle.
Lt. W. W. Bleecker.
Lt. F. S. Haggerty.
Surg. David Harlan.
Purser William A. Christian.
Acting Master (Passed Mid.) J. W.
A. Nicholson.
Chief Engr. John Herron, Jr.
Passed Mid. Edward C. Stiles.
Passed Mid. W. W. Bassett.
Mid. William H. Reiley.
Mid. D. P. McCorkle.
2d Asst. Engr. B. F. Isherwood.
2d Asst. Engr. N. C. Davis.
3d Asst. Engr. William Taggart.
3d Asst. Engr. Charles Coleman.
Gunner Robert S. King.

BRIG PORPOISE.

[10 Guns.]

Lieutenant Commanding William E.
Hunt.
Lt. Raphael Semmes.
Lt. Edward R. Thomson.
Passed Asst. Surg. George Maulsby.
Acting Master Robert Townsend.
Mid. Watson Smith.

Mid. Samuel Magaw.
Mid. John L. Davis.

BRIG SOMERS.

[10 Guns.]

Com. Duncan N. Ingraham.
Lt. George M. White.
Lt. Edwin J. De Haven.
Passed Asst. Surg. John H. Wright.
Purser John F. Steele.
Acting Master Charles M. Fauntleroy.
Mid. Francis G. Clark.
Mid. George S. King.

BRIG LAWRENCE.

[10 Guns. Sailed from New York
April, 1846.]

Com. Samuel Mercer.
Lt. D. B. Ridgely.
Lt. Francis B. Renshaw.
Passed Asst. Surg. S. A. McCreery.
Purser William H. Kennon.
Acting Master (Passed Mid.) R. Allison.
Passed Mid. C. W. Place.
Mid. R. L. Law.
Mid. W. H. Fauntleroy.
Gunner George J. Marshall.

PACIFIC SQUADRON, 1846.

Commodore JOHN D. SLOAT, *Commander in Chief.*

FRIGATE SAVANNAH.

[Flagship; 44 Guns.]

Capt. John D. Sloat.
Lt. Robert B. Hitchcock.
Lt. George Minor.
Lt. Robert F. Pinkney.
Lt. Richard S. Trapier.
Lt. William A. Wayne.
Acting Lt. Johnston B. Carter.
Fleet Surg. Charles Chase.
Asst. Surg. Joseph Wilson, Jr.
Purser Daingerfield Fauntleroy.
Acting Master (Passed Mid.) William F. De Jongh.
Marine Officer, Capt. Ward Marsten.
Marine Officer, 2d Lt. Henry W. Queen.
Mid. R. D. Minor.
Mid. William M. Gamble.
Mid. William P. Toler.
Mid. J. H. Tillotson.
Mid. R. R. Carter.
Mid. P. G. Watmough.
Mid. W. O. Crane.
Mid. J. Kell.
Mid. J. K. Wilson.
Mid. R. C. Duvall.
Mid. T. J. Miller.
Mid. S. P. Griffin.

Boatswain George Wilmuth.
Gunner James M. Cooper.
Carpenter Francis M. Cecil.
Sailmaker William Ryan.

FRIGATE CONSTITUTION.

[44 Guns.]

Capt. John Percival.
Lt. Amasa Paine.
Lt. William C. Chaplin.
Lt. James Alden.
Lt. James W. Cooke.
Lt. John B. Dale.
Lt. Gough W. Grant.
Surg. D. C. McLeod.
Asst. Surg. Marius Duvall.
Asst. Surg. Richard McSherry.
Purser T. Marston Taylor.
Acting Master (Passed Mid.) Isaac G. Strain.
Prof. of Mathematics, Ethan Estabrook.
Marine Officer, 2d Lt. Joseph W. Curtis.
Mid. William P. Buckner.
Mid. George B. Douglas.
Mid. J. E. Hopson.
Mid. N. F. Davidson.
Mid. Colville Terrett.

PACIFIC SQUADRON, 1846—Continued.

Mid. Cornelius Comegys.
Mid. Joseph J. Cook.
Mid. John E. Hart.
Mid. M. Patterson Jones.
Boatswain Robert Simpson.
Gunner George Sirian.
Carpenter Henry G. Thomas.
Sailmaker Isaac Whitney.

Mid. Joseph Parrish.
Mid. James Herron.
Mid. Daniel C. Hugunin.
Boatswain Robert Whittaker.
Gunner Andrew A. Randall.
Carpenter George Wisner.
Sailmaker David Bruce.

FRIGATE CONGRESS.

[44 Guns. Sailed from Norfolk,
October 30, 1845, to relieve the
Savannah.]

Capt. Robert F. Stockton.
Com. Samuel F. Dupont.
Lt. John W. Livingston.
Lt. James F. Schenck.
Lt. Theodore P. Green.
Lt. Richard L. Tilghman.
Lt. A. F. V. Gray.
Lt. Enoch G. Parrott.
Surg. Samuel Mosely.
Passed Asst. Surg. John S. Whittle.
Asst. Surg. Charles Eversfield.
Purser William Speiden.
Chaplain Walter Colton.
Acting Master (Passed Mid.) Van R.
Morgan.
Acting Master (Passed Mid.) Edward
F. Beale.

Marine Officer, 1st Lt. J. Zeilin.
Passed Mid. John Jouett.
Passed Mid. William H. Thompson.
Passed Mid. James M. Duncan.
Passed Mid. Miles K. Warrington.
Passed Mid. Charles H. Baldwin.
Passed Mid. Maurice Simons.
Mid. Samuel B. Elliott.
Mid. Theodric Lee.
Mid. Archibald H. Waring.
Mid. Benjamin F. Wells.
Mid. Josiah J. Byers.
Mid. Wm. Mitchell.
Boatswain George Smith.
Gunner Charles Cobb.
Carpenter John Southwick.
Sailmaker John Peed.

SLOOP PORTSMOUTH.

[20 Guns. Sailed from Norfolk
January 25, 1845.]

Com. John B. Montgomery.
Lt. John S. Missroon.
Lt. Richard Forrest.
Lt. Woodhull S. Schenck.
Lt. Washington A. Bartlett.
Surg. Wm. Maxwell Wood.
Asst Surg. Charles H. Oakley.
Purser James H. Watmough.
Marine Officer, 2d Lt. Henry B.
Watson.
Mid. Hunter Davidson.
Mid. Edward C. Grafton.
Mid. Stanwix Ganzevoort.

SLOOP LEVANT.

[20 Guns. Sailed from Norfolk
April 24, 1846.]

Com. Hugh N. Page.
Lt. Robert Handy.
Lt. Joseph H. Adams.
Acting Lt. Louis McLane.
Acting Lt. George W. Hammersley.
Surg. Edward Gilchrist.
Purser John B. Rittenhouse.
Acting Master (Passed Mid.) J.
Dorsey Read.
Mid. S. R. Franklin.
Mid. E. Gordon.
Mid. E. H. Scovell.
Mid. C. Woolley.
Mid. George W. Young.
Mid. Alex. R. Abercrombie.
Boatswain John Dunderdale.
Gunner S. M. Beckwith.
Carpenter John Green.

SLOOP WARREN.

[20 Guns.]

Com. Joseph B. Hull.
Lt. William Radford.
Lt. William L. Maury.
Lt. William B. Renshaw.
Acting Lt. John Rutledge.
Surg. William J. Powell.
Asst. Surg. William H. Grier.
Purser Thomas R. Ware.
Acting Master (Passed Mid.) William
H. Montgomery.
Mid. John G. Whitaker.
Mid. Frederick Kellog.
Mid. Andrew W. Johnson.
Mid. Philemon H. Haywood.
Mid. Jefferson McRoberts.
Mid. A. M. DeBree.
Gunner John Owins.
Carpenter William Knight.
Sailmaker John Joins.

SLOOP CYANE.

[20 Guns. Sailed from Norfolk Au-
gust 10, 1845, to relieve the Le-
vant.]

Capt. William Mervine.
Lt. Stephen C. Rowan.
Lt. Joseph W. Revere.
Lt. George L. Selden.
Lt. George W. Harrison.
Surg. Lewis B. Hunter.

PACIFIC SQUADRON, 1846—Continued.

Passed Asst. Surg. Chas. D. Maxwell.
 Purser Rodman M. Price.
 Acting Master (Passed Mid.) B. F.
 B. Hunter.
 Marine Officer, 2d Lt. William A. T.
 Maddox.
 Passed Mid. J. F. Stenson.
 Passed Mid. Tenant McLanahan.
 Passed Mid. J. S. Bohrer.
 Mid. John Van Ness Philip.
 Mid. Horace N. Crabb.
 Mid. Elias Vander Horst.
 Mid. Abert Allmand.
 Mid. Edmund Shepherd.
 Mid. Robert F. R. Lewis.
 Mid. R. P. Mason.
 Gunner Daniel Douglas.
 Carpenter Mathew M. Dodd.
 Sailmaker Robert Hunter.

STORESHIP ERIE.
 [8 Guns. Sailed from New York,
 July 8, 1845.]

Lt.-Com. Charles C. Turner.
 Asst. Surg. A. A. Henderson.
 Purser Charles Murray.
 Acting Master (Passed Mid.) Ed-
 ward Higgins.
 Passed Mid. N. B. Harrison.
 Passed Mid. Charles W. Hays.
 Passed Mid. James D. Bulloch.

STORESHIP RELIEF.
 [6 Guns.]

Lt.-Com. Robert G. Robb.
 Purser Edward Storer.
 Mid. Charles S. Bell.
 Mid. Elliott Johnson.

HOME SQUADRON, 1847.

Commodore DAVID CONNER, *Commander in Chief.*

FRIGATE RARITAN.

[Flagship; 44 Guns.]

Capt. French Forrest.
 Lt. Samuel F. Hazard.
 Lt. Raphael Semmes.
 Lt. Thomas R. Rootes.
 Lt. Robert E. Hoee.
 Fleet Surg. Waters Smith.
 Surg. Solomon Sharp.
 Asst. Surg. William S. Bishop.
 Purser Nathaniel Wilson.
 Marine Officer, Capt. Alvin Edson.
 Marine Officer, 2d Lt. George Adams.
 Passed Mid. E. R. Colhoun.
 Passed Mid. Beverly Randolph.
 Passed Mid. William Nelson.
 Mid. David Coleman.
 Mid. Charles Gray.
 Mid. J. H. March.
 Mid. J. L. Johnstone.
 Mid. Walter Queen.
 Mid. M. J. Smith.
 Mid. J. A. Seawell.
 Mid. R. B. Storer.
 Mid. W. H. Maffitt.
 Mid. G. B. Hodge.
 Master's Mate J. M. Ballard.
 Gunner Charles B. Oliver.
 Carpenter Amos Chick.
 Sailmaker Thomas J. Boyce.

FRIGATE POTOMAC.

[44 Guns.]

Capt. John H. Aulick.
 Lt. Samuel Lockwood.
 Lt. Edward R. Thomson.
 Lt. Joshua Humphreys.
 Lt. James H. North.
 Lt. James M. Frailey.
 Surg. Robert J. Dodd.
 Asst. Surg. Oscar F. Baxter.

Asst. Surg. James Hamilton.
 Purser Thomas B. Nalle.
 Chaplain Rodman Lewis.
 Acting Master (Passed Mid.) Thomas
 L. Kinlock.
 Marine Officer, 1st Lt. Addison Gar-
 land.
 Passed Mid. Edward F. Tatnall.
 Passed Mid. James H. Moore.
 Passed Mid. William E. Hopkins.
 Mid. John P. Jones.
 Mid. William H. Parker.
 Mid. Allan McLane.
 Mid. Charles C. Hunter.
 Boatswain Eleizer Foster.
 Gunner Archibald S. Lewis.
 Sailmaker Benjamin B. Burchsted.

SLOOP ALBANY.

[20 Guns. Sailed from New York,
 November 28, 1846.]

Capt. Samuel L. Breese.
 Lt. Thomas Turner.
 Lt. Simeon B. Bissell.
 Lt. Oliver H. Perry.
 Lt. Samuel R. Knox.
 Surgeon Ninian Pinkney.
 Asst. Surg. Edward J. Rutter.
 Purser J. George Harris.
 Acting Master (Passed Mid.) Thomas
 M. Crossan.
 Passed Mid. John W. Bennett.
 Passed Mid. Charles Dyer, Jr.
 Passed Mid. S. P. Quackenbush.
 Marine Officer, 2d Lt. William B.
 Slack.
 Mid. E. T. Andrews.
 Mid. William H. Weaver.
 Mid. Jas. F. Milligan.
 Gunner Samuel Allen.
 Carpenter John A. Dickinson.
 Sailmaker George Parker.

HOME SQUADRON, 1847—Continued.

SLOOP JOHN ADAMS.

[20 Guns.]

Com. William J. McCluney.
Lt. Guert Gansevoort.
Lt. Albert A. Holcomb.
Lt. C. F. M. Spottswood.
Lt. Francis Lowery.
Surg. Samuel Barrington.
Passed Asst. Surg. J. Winthrop Taylor.
Purser George F. Sawyer.
Acting Master (Passed Mid.) George W. Rodgers.
Marine Officer, 1st Lt. Robert C. Caldwell.
Marine Officer 2d Lt. Felix G. Mayson.
Passed Mid. William B. Fitzgerald.
Passed Mid. James Wilcoxson.
Mid. John Gale.
Mid. E. T. Gray.
Boatswain John Munro.
Gunner George J. Marshall.
Carpenter Charles Boardman.
Sailmaker R. Van Voorhis.

SLOOP ST. MARY'S.

[20 Guns.]

Com. John L. Saunders.
Lt. Charles H. A. H. Kennedy.
Lt. William Rogers Taylor.
Lt. Charles Steedman.
Surg. James C. Palmer.
Purser L. T. Waller.
Acting Master (Passed Mid.) Joshua D. Todd.
Marine Officer, 2d Lt. John D. Simms.
Passed Mid. John S. Taylor.
Mid. William K. Mayo.
Mid. Walter V. Gilliss.
Mid. John H. Upshur.
Acting Boatswain John Bates.
Gunner John C. Ritter.
Carpenter Thomas Johnson.
Sailmaker David B. Park.

STEAMER MISSISSIPPI.

[10 Guns. Sailed from Norfolk, March 6, 1847.]

Com. Matthew C. Perry.
Com. Henry A. Adams.
Lt. Sidney Smith Lee.
Lt. John DeCamp.
Lt. David McDougal.
Lt. Simon F. Blunt.
Surg. Lewis W. Minor.
Asst. Surg. Washington Sherman.
Purser William H. Kennon.
Acting Master (Passed Mid.) Henry Rodgers.
Professor of Mathematics, Mark H. Beecher.
Chief Engr. William Sewell, Jr.

Passed Mid. Alphonse Barbot.
Passed Mid. A. J. Dallas.
Mid. Thomas S. Fillebrown.
Mid. Adrian Deslonde.
Mid. Wm. W. Wilkinson.
1st Asst. Engr. Daniel B. Martin.
1st Asst. Engr. L. S. Bartholomew.
2d Asst. Engr. Daniel Murphy.
2d Asst. Engr. Joshua Follausbee.
3d Asst. Engr. M. M. Thompson.
3d Asst. Engr. William E. Everett.
Acting Boatswain William Whitehead.
Gunner John Martin.
Carpenter Joseph Cox.

STEAMER PRINCETON.

[9 Guns.]

Com. Frederick Engle.
Lt. Charles S. Boggs.
Lt. Thomas T. Hunter.
Surg. David Harlan.
Passed Asst. Surg. J. Howard Smith.
Purser Aristides Welch.
Acting Master (Passed Mid.) Robert H. Wyman.
Chief Engr. John Farron.
Passed Mid. George B. Balch.
Passed Mid. Edward C. Stiles.
Passed Mid. Wesley W. Bassett.
Mid. Thomas R. Young.
Mid. Dawson Phenix.
2d Asst. Engr. Albert S. Palmer.
2d Asst. Engr. B. F. Isherwood.
3d Asst. Engr. Edward Farron.
3d Asst. Engr. William H. Shock.
Gunner Charles S. McLane.
Carpenter James McDonnell.

STEAMER SPITFIRE.

[3 Guns. Sailed from New York August 29, 1846.]

Com. Josiah Tattnall.
Lt. John J. Glasson.
Acting Master (Passed Mid.) Samuel C. Barney.
Passed Asst. Surg. John Thornley.
Passed Mid. James M. Ladd.
Passed Mid. Reigart B. Lowery.
Passed Mid. Joseph M. Bradford.
2d Asst. Engr. John K. Matthews.
2d Asst. Engr. John Gallagher.
3d Asst. Engr. Wm. Taggart.

STEAMER VIXEN.

[3 Guns. Sailed from New York August 29, 1846.]

Com. Joshua R. Sands.
Asst. Surg. Augustus F. Lawyer.
Acting Master (Passed Mid.) Alexander Murray.
Passed Mid. William N. Jeffers, Jr.
Passed Mid. John Matthews, Jr.

HOME SQUADRON, 1847—Continued.

Passed Mid. Edward Simpson.
2d Asst. Engr. James Atkinson.
2d Asst. Engr. Samuel Archbold.
3d Asst. Engr. Charles Coleman.

BRIG PORPOISE.
[10 Guns.]

Lieut. Commanding William E. Hunt.
Lt. James A. Doyle.
Passed Asst. Surg. George Maulsby.
Acting Master (Passed Mid.) Robert Townsend.
Mid. Watson Smith.
Mid. Samuel Magaw.

SCHOONER REEFER.

[Sailed from New York June 20, 1846.]

Lieut. Commanding Isaac S. Sterrett.
Acting Master (Passed Mid.) James S. Ridgely.
Passed Mid. Thomas L. Dance.
Mid. H. St. George Hunter.

SCHOONER PETREL.

Lieut. Commanding Thompson D. Shaw.
Acting Master (Passed Mid.) Egbert Thompson.
Passed Mid. Frederick W. Colby.
Mid. Seth L. Phelps.

STORESHIP RELIEF.

[8 Guns. Sailed from New York July 9, 1846.]

Lieut. Commanding Oscar Bullus.
Acting Master (Passed Mid.) Abram Harrell.
Passed Asst. Surg. S. Wilson Kellogg.
Passed Mid. Henry S. Newcomb.
Passed Mid. Henry N. T. Arnold.

PACIFIC SQUADRON, 1847.

Commodore W. BRANFORD SHUBRICK, *Commander in Chief.*

RAZEE INDEPENDENCE.

[Flagship; 54 Guns. Sailed from Boston, August 29, 1846.]

Capt. Elie A. F. Lavallette.
Lt. Richard L. Page.
Lt. Frederick Chattard.
Lt. Charles Heywood.
Lt. Montgomery Lewis.
Lt. George W. Chapman.
Lt. Henry H. Lewis.
Lt. John B. Randolph.
Surg. J. Frederick Sickels.
Passed Asst. Surg. Samuel Jackson.

SCHOONER BONITO.

[Sailed from New York June 28, 1846].
Lieut. Commanding Timothy G. Benham.
Acting Master (Passed Mid.) Egbert Thompson.
Passed Mid. Frederick W. Colby.
Mid. Seth L. Phelps.

STORESHIP SUPPLY.

[Sailed from Boston January 21, 1847.]

Lieut. Commanding John Colhoun.
Passed Mid. Charles W. Place.
Passed Mid. Albert N. Smith.
Mid. William Van Wyck.

STORESHIP FREDONIA.

[Sailed from Boston January 9, 1847.]

Lieut. Commanding Charles W. Chauncey.
Master Benjamin S. Gantt.
Passed Mid. Isaac N. Morris.
Passed Mid. Joel S. Kennard.
Passed Mid. George M. Ransom.

BOMB ÆTNA.

Com. Gershom J. Van Brunt.
Lt. Geo. R. Gray.
Lt. Benj. F. Shattuck.
Passed Asst. Surg. John S. Messersmith.
Acting Master Charles E. Fleming.
Passed Mid. I. S. Bohrer.
Acting Gunner Edward L. Hudson.

BOMB STROMBOLI.

Com. William M. Walker.
Lt. John R. Tucker.
Lt. Lewis C. Sartori.
Acting Master Edward T. Nichols.
Mid. John McL. Murphy.
Asst. Surg. Alexander J. Rice.

PACIFIC SQUADRON, 1847—Continued.

Passed Mid. Garrit V. Denniston.
Passed Mid. George V. Stevens.
Passed Mid. Earl English.
Passed Mid. Francis A. Connover.
Mid. Ralph Chandler.
Mid. William H. Smith.
Mid. F. B. McKean.
Mid. J. G. Sproston.
Boatswain John Mills.
Gunner Benjamin Bunker.
Carpenter David Marple.
Sailmaker Nicholas Buck.

FRIGATE SAVANNAH.

[44 Guns. Sailed from New York,
September 8, 1847.]

Capt. William Mervine.
Lt. Robert B. Hitchcock.
Lt. George Minor.
Lt. Robert F. Pinkney.
Lt. William Ronkendorff.
Lt. Johnston B. Carter.
Fleet Surg. Charles Chase.
Asst. Surg. Joseph Wilson, Jr.
Purser Daingerfield Fauntleroy.
Acting Master (Passed Mid.) William F. De Jongh.
Marine Officer, Capt. Ward Marsten.
Marine Officer, 2d Lt. H. W. Queen.
Mid. Robert D. Minor.
Mid. John H. Tillotson.
Mid. P. G. Watmough.
Mid. J. Kell.
Mid. J. K. Wilson.
Mid. R. C. Duvall.
Mid. S. P. Griffin.
Mid. A. R. Abercrombie.
Mid. George E. Morgan.
Boatswain George Wilmoth.
Gunner James M. Cooper.
Carpenter Francis M. Cecil.
Sailmaker William Ryan.

FRIGATE CONGRESS.

[44 Guns.]

Capt. Robert F. Stockton.
Lt. John W. Livingston.
Lt. James F. Schenck.
Lt. Theodore P. Greene.
Lt. Richard L. Tilghman.
Lt. A. F. V. Gray.
Acting Lt. Edward F. Beale.
Surg. Samuel Mosely.
Passed Asst. Surg. John S. Whittle.
Asst. Surg. Charles Eversfield.
Purser William Speiden.
Chaplain Walter Colton.
Acting Master (Passed Mid.) John Guest.
Acting Master (Passed Mid.) William H. Thompson.
Marine Officer, 1st Lt. Jacob Zeilin.
Passed Mid. James M. Duncan.
Passed Mid. Charles H. Baldwin.

Passed Mid. Maurice Simons.
Mid. Theodric Lee.
Mid. Benjamin F. Wells.
Mid. Josiah S. Byers.
Mid. William Mitchell.
Boatswain George Smith.
Carpenter John Southwick.
Sailmaker John Peed.

SLOOP PORTSMOUTH.

[20 Guns.]

Com. John B. Montgomery.
Lt. John S. Missroon.
Lt. Joseph W. Revere.
Lt. Washington A. Bartlett.
Acting Lt. B. F. B. Hunter.
Asst. Surg. Andrew A. Henderson.
Asst. Surg. Marius Duvall.
Purser James H. Watmough.
Acting Master (Passed Mid.) Napoleon B. Harrison.
Marine Officer, 2d Lt. Henry B. Watson.
Mid. Edward C. Grafton.
Mid. Stanwix Gansevoort.
Mid. Joseph Parrish.
Mid. Daniel C. Hugunin.
Mid. Elliott Johnston.
Mid. Charles S. Bell.
Boatswain Robert Whittaker.
Gunner Andrew A. Randall.
Carpenter George Weisner.
Sailmaker David Bruce.

SLOOP LEVANT.

[20 Guns.]

Com. Hugh N. Page.
Lt. Robert Handy.
Lt. Richard Forrest.
Lt. Joseph H. Adams.
Acting Lt. Louis McLane.
Acting Lt. George W. Hammersley.
Surg. Edward Gilchrist.
Asst. Surg. William Grier.
Purser John B. Rittenhouse.
Acting Master (Passed Mid.) J. D. Read.
Mid. S. R. Franklin.
Mid. E. Gordon.
Mid. E. H. Scovell.
Mid. C. Woolley.
Mid. George W. Young.
Mid. William M. Gamble.
Gunner S. M. Beckwith.
Carpenter John Green.

SLOOP WARREN.

[20 Guns.]

Com. Joseph B. Hull.
Lt. William Radford.
Lt. William L. Maury.
Lt. William B. Renshaw.
Acting Lt. John Rutledge.

PACIFIC SQUADRON, 1847—Continued.

Surg. William J. Powell.
 Purser Thomas R. Ware.
 Acting Master (Passed Mid.) William
 H. Montgomery.
 Mid. John G. Whitaker.
 Mid. Andrew W. Johnson.
 Mid. Philemon H. Haywood.
 Mid. A. M. De Bree.
 Mid. Walter O. Crain.
 Gunner John Owins.
 Carpenter William Knight.
 Sailmaker John Joins.

SLOOP CYANE.

[20 Guns.]

Com. Samuel F. Dupont.
 Lt. Stephen C. Rowan.
 Lt. George L. Selden.
 Lt. George W. Harrison.
 Acting Lt. Edward Higgins.
 Passed Asst. Surg. Charles D. Maxwell.
 Purser Rodman M. Price.
 Acting Master (Passed Mid.) J. Fenwick Stenson.
 Marine Officer, 2d Lieut. William A. T. Maddox.
 Mid. John Van Ness Philip.
 Mid. Horace N. Crabb.
 Mid. Elias Vander Horst.
 Mid. Albert Allmand.
 Mid. Edmund Shepherd.
 Mid. Robert F. R. Lewis.
 Gunner Daniel Douglas.
 Carpenter Matthew M. Todd.
 Sailmaker Robert Hunter.

SLOOP DALE.

[16 Guns. Sailed from New York, June 3, 1846.]

Com. William W. McKean.
 Lt. Edward M. Yard.
 Lt. T. A. M. Craven.
 Lt. Fabius Stanley.
 Lt. William Taylor Smith.
 Surg. Daniel S. Green.
 Asst. Surg. John Rudenstein.
 Purser McKean Buchanan.
 Acting Master (Passed Mid.) Nathaniel C. Bryant.
 Marine Officer, 2d Lt. Robert Tansill.
 Passed Mid. John Downes, Jr.
 Passed Mid. John Febiger.
 Passed Mid. Johnston B. Creighton.
 Mid. Allen T. Byrens.
 Mid. William B. Hayes.
 Mid. Thomas T. Houston.
 Mid. John Adams.
 Mid. John R. Hamilton.
 Boatswain James H. Polley.
 Gunner William H. Meyers.
 Carpenter James H. Conley.
 Sailmaker Stephen Seamen.

SLOOP PREBLE.

[16 Guns. Sailed from New York, September 24, 1846, for the Pacific, convoying the California Regiment.]

Com. William F. Shields.
 Lt. Joseph Lannan.
 Lt. Edward C. Ward, Jr.
 Lt. Thomas M. Mix.
 Lt. Albert G. Clary.
 Surg. Daniel Egbert.
 Asst. Surg. John L. Burt.
 Purser Henry Wilson.
 Acting Master (Passed Mid.) Silas Bent.
 Passed Mid. Edward Brinley, Jr.
 Passed Mid. James B. McCauley.
 Passed Mid. Homer C. Blake.
 Mid. Wilson McGunneagle.
 Mid. Edgar Broadhead.
 Mid. William F. Shunk.
 Sailmaker Timothy J. Griffin.

STORESHIP ERIE.

[8 Guns.]

Lieut. Commanding Charles C. Turner.
 Purser Charles Murray.
 Acting Master (Passed Mid.) Charles W. Hays.
 Mid. Robert R. Carter.
 Mid. Jefferson McRoberts.

STORESHIP LEXINGTON.

[8 Guns. Sailed from New York July 14, 1846.]

Lieut. Commanding Theodorus Bailey.
 Passed Asst. Surg. John J. Abernethy.
 Purser Joseph Wilson.
 Acting Master (Passed Mid.) William H. Macomb.
 Passed Mid. William B. Muse.
 Passed Mid. James H. Spotts.
 Passed Mid. J. W. A. Nicholson.

STORESHIP SOUTHAMPTON.

[6 Guns. Sailed from Norfolk February 17, 1847.]

Lieut. Commanding Robert D. Thorburn.
 Lt. John L. Worden.
 Passed Asst. Surg. William B. Sinclair.
 Purser Edward D. Reynolds.
 Acting Master (Passed Mid.) M. B. Woolsey.
 Passed Mid. Henry K. Stevens.
 Passed Mid. William A. Webb.

HOME SQUADRON, 1848.

Commodore MATTHEW C. PERRY, *Commander in Chief.*

FRIGATE CUMBERLAND.

[Flagship; 44 Guns.]

Capt. William Jameson.
Lt. James H. Ward.
Lt. Alfred Taylor.
Lt. J. J. B. Walbach.
Fleet Surg. John S. Wiloy.
Surg. Amos G. Gambrill.
Passed Asst. Surg. William A. Nelson.
Purser William Sinclair.
Chaplain Nathaniel Frost.
Master William M. Caldwell.
Marine Officer, 1st Lt. Isaac T. Doughty.
Marine Officer, 2d Lt. Jacob Read.
Passed Mid. Charles Dyer, Jr.
Acting Mid. Oliver P. Allen.
Acting Mid. Charles P. Thorburn.
Acting Mid. Joseph D. Blake.
Acting Mid. George H. Chapman.
Acting Mid. Charles W. Flusser.
Acting Mid. J. N. Quackenbush.
Acting Mid. John Irwin.
Acting Mid. R. M. Caldwell.
Boatswain Robert Simpson.
Gunner Elijah Haskell.
Carpenter Gerard Henderson.
Sailmaker Richard Van Voorhis.

SLOOP ALBANY.

[20 Guns. Sailed from New York
October 10, 1847.]

Com. John Kelly.
Lt. James F. Miller.
Lt. Alex. Gibson.
Lt. Samuel R. Knox.
Lt. Benjamin S. Gantt.
Surg. Robert T. Barry.
Asst. Surg. Washington Sherman.
Purser George F. Cutter.
Acting Master (Passed Mid.) Albert N. Smith.
Marine Officer, 2d Lt. William Butterfield.
Passed Mid. John Wilkes, Jr.
Mid. George U. Morris.
Acting Mid. Chastain C. Cannon.
Acting Mid. John R. Eggleston.
Boatswain John Bates.
Gunner William Arnold.
Carpenter Robert L. Sheffield.
Sailmaker Jacob Stephens.

SLOOP SARATOGA.

[20 Guns.]

Lt. Wm. H. Noland.
Surg. Lewis B. Hunter.
Asst. Surg. Thomas B. Steele.
Purser George H. White.
Acting Master (Passed Mid.) John Wilkinson.

Mid. John Watters.
Mid. K. Randolph Breese.
Mid. James Parker.
Boatswain Thomas G. Bell.
Gunner Henry Welton.

SLOOP JOHN ADAMS.

[20 Guns.]

Com. Stephen B. Wilson.
Lt. James W. Cooke.
Lt. Peter U. Murphy.
Lt. Wilson R. McKinney.
Surg. George W. Codwise.
Passed Asst. Surg. J. Winthrop Taylor.
Purser James A. Semple.
Acting Master (Passed Mid) George W. Rodgers.
Mid. Alex. J. Dallas.
Mid. Daniel L. Braine.
Mid. Dominick Lynch.
Mid. Jared P. K. Mygatt.
Boatswain Amos Colson.

SLOOP GERMANTOWN.

[20 Guns. Sailed from Norfolk April
25, 1848.]

Com. Charles Lowndes.
Lt. James P. McKinstry.
Lt. Richard Forrest.
Lt. Charles Thomas.
Lt. Samuel J. Shipley.
Surg. Samuel C. Lawrason.
Purser John O. Bradford.
Acting Master (Passed Mid.) John Matthews, Jr.
Mid. Thomas H. Looker.
Mid. James B. Yates.
Mid. J. Malachi Ford.
Boatswain Samuel Mahorney.
Gunner William C. Thompson.
Carpenter William Knight.

STEAMER MISSISSIPPI.

[10 Guns.]

Capt. J. Isaac Mayo.
Com. Alex. Slidell Mackenzie.
Lt. William D. Porter.
Lt. Dominick Lynch.
Lt. Edwin J. De Haven.
Lt. James L. Parker.
Lt. William May.
Surg. Lewis W. Minor.
Asst. Surg. William J. Babb.
Purser William H. Kennon.
Acting Master (Passed Mid.) William G. Temple.
Marine Officer, 1st Lt. William B. Slack.
Marine Officer, 2d Lt. William F. Perry.
Chief. Engr. Daniel B. Martin.

HOME SQUADRON, 1848—Continued.

Passed Mid. John S. Thornton.
 Passed Mid. William Gibson.
 Passed Mid. William H. Fauntleroy.
 1st Asst. Engr. Jesse Gay.
 1st Asst. Engr. Samuel Archbold,
 3d Asst. Engr. J. M. Adams.
 3d Asst. Engr. William C. Wheeler.
 3d Asst. Engr. J. W. Parks.
 3d Asst. Engr. J. C. Tennant.
 Boatswain John Featherstone.
 Gunner Charles B. Oliver.
 Sailmaker Electus Middleton.

STEAMER SPITFIRE.

Com. J. P. Wilson.
 Lt. David D. Porter.
 Acting Master (Passed Mid.) Lardner Gibbon.
 Passed Mid. John W. Bennett.
 3d Asst. Engr. Benjamin F. Garvin.
 3d Asst. Engr. Edward Whipple.

STEAMER SCORPION.

[3 Guns.]

Com. Abraham Bigelow.
 Lt. Washington Gwathmey.
 Surg. J. Dickinson Miller.
 Acting Master (Passed Mid.) Thomas Pattison.
 Mid. James F. Milligan.
 Acting Mid. George D. Hand.
 Acting Mid. Frederick F. Brose.
 2d Asst. Engr. J. M. Middleton.
 2d Asst. Engr. W. Taggart.

STEAMER VIXEN.

[3 Guns.]

Com. Henry Pinkney.
 Acting Master (Passed Mid.) Robert A. Marr.
 Asst. Surg. A. Nelson Bell.
 Passed Mid. Nathaniel T. West.
 Passed Mid. Joseph Frye.
 1st Asst. Engr. George Sewell.
 3d Asst. Engr. William F. Lynch.

STEAMER SCOURGE.

[3 Guns.]

Lieut. Commanding Fitz Allen Deas.
 Lt. W. Bleecker.
 Asst. Surg. Randolph F. Mason.
 Acting Master (Passed Mid.) William Nelson.
 2d Asst. Engr. Daniel Murphy.
 3d Asst. Engr. Charles Coleman.
 3d Asst. Engr. Jackson R. Hatcher.

STEAMER IRIS.

[1 Gun. Sailed from Norfolk November 9, 1847.]

Lieut. Commanding William L. Herndon.
 Lt. Henry T. Wingate.

Passed Asst. Surg. William B. Sinclair.
 Acting Master (Passed Mid.) Frederick B. Brand.
 Mid. J. McRoberts.
 Mid. L. H. Newman.
 1st Asst. Engr. T. H. Faron.
 2d Asst. Engr. A. P. How.
 3d Asst. Engr. Theodore Zeller.

STEAMER WATER WITCH.

[1 Gun.]

Lieut. Commanding George M. Totten.
 Asst. Surg. S. Gore White.
 Acting Master (Passed Mid.) Alexander C. Rhind.
 Passed Mid. John T. Walker.
 Passed Mid. William K. Bridge.
 1st Asst. Engr. John K. Matthews.
 3d Asst. Engr. John Carroll.
 3d Asst. Engr. J. A. Van Zandt.

STEAMER PETRITA.

[1 Gun. Sailed October, 1846; captured October, 17, 1846; sunk in 1848.

Lieut. Commanding Simon B. Bissell.
 Acting Master (Passed Mid.) J. M. B. Clitz.
 2d Asst. Engr. R. M. Johnson.
 3d Asst. Engr. Lafayette Caldwell.

BOMB VESSEL ÆTNA.

[1 Gun. Sailed from Boston March 13, 1847.

Com. Henry Eagle.
 Passed Asst. Surg. J. S. Messersmith.
 Acting Master (Passed Mid.) William H. Hudson.
 Acting Mid. Raiford W. Ives.
 Acting Gunner C. S. Hudson.

BOMB VESSEL HECLA.

[1 Gun.]

Lieut. Commanding Nathaniel W. Duke.
 Asst. Surg. James F. Harrison.
 Acting Master (Passed Mid.) Joseph S. Day.
 Passed Mid. Andrew F. Monroe.
 Acting Mid. James Stillwell.
 Gunner George Sirian.

BOMB VESSEL STROMBOLI.

[1 Gun.]

Lieut. Commanding Charles H. McBlair.
 Asst. Surg. Alex. J. Price.
 Acting Master (Passed Mid.) Edward T. Nichols.
 Acting Mid. J. P. Fyffe.

HOME SQUADRON, 1848—Continued.

BOMB VESSEL VESUVIUS.

[1 Gun.]

Lieut. Commanding Murray Mason.
Lt. Henry P. Robertson.
Asst. Surg. Robert E. Wall.
Acting Master (Passed Mid.) F. Key
Murray.
Passed Mid. John Madigan, Jr.
Passed Mid. Leonard H. Lyne.
Acting Mid. D. Clinton Whitthorne.

STORESHIP RELIEF.

[6 Guns.]

Lieut. Commanding Thornton A.
Jenkins.
Purser J. Van B. Bleecker.
Acting Master (Passed Mid.) C. M.
Fauntleroy.
Acting Gunner Edwin Ross.

STORESHIP FREDONIA.

[4 Guns. Sailed from New York,
January 9, 1848.]

Lieut. Commanding Frederick A.
Neville.
Acting Master (Passed Mid.) J. W.
A. Nicholson.
Asst. Surg. James Hamilton.
Mid. Copeland P. Jones.
Acting Mid. Eugene H. Oakley.

STORESHIP ELECTRA.

[2 Guns.]

Lieut. Commanding Raphael
Semmes.
Acting Master (Passed Mid.) John
Henry Parker.

SCHOONER FLIRT.

[2 Guns.]

Lieut. Commanding Ebenezer Far-
rand.
Acting Master (Passed Mid.) John
Walcutt.
Passed Mid. Washington F. David-
son.
Mid. George H. Hare.
Mid. William H. Maffitt.

PACIFIC SQUADRON, 1848.

Commodore T. A. CATESBY JONES, *Commander in Chief.*

OHIO.

[74 Guns. Sailed from New York
June 26, 1847.]

Capt. William V. Taylor.
Com. Andrew K. Long.
Lt. Charles M. Armstrong.
Lt. Edward L. Handy.
Lt. Joseph F. Green.
Lt. John B. Marchand.
Lt. George F. Emmons

SCHOONER BONITO.

[1 Gun.]

Lieut. Commanding Junius J. Boyle.
Acting Master (Passed Mid.) James
Wilcoxson.
Passed Mid. William Reilly.

SCHOONER REEFER.

[1 Gun.]

Lieut. Commanding Oliver S. Glis-
son.
Asst. Surg. B. Rush Mitchell.
Acting Master (Passed Mid.) Samuel
Edwards.

SCHOONER PETREL.

[1 Gun.]

Lieut. Commanding Robert L.
Browning.
Acting Master (Passed Mid.) Pierce
Crosby, Jr.
Passed Mid. Francis Gregory.

SCHOONER TAMPICO.

[1 Gun. Sailed November 18, 1846;
captured.]

Lieut. Commanding Robert E. John-
son.
Lt. William P. Griffin.
Acting Master (Passed Mid.) Al-
phonse Barbot.
Passed Mid. Ebenezer D. Denny.

SCHOONER MAHONESE.

[1 Gun. Sailed November 14, 1846;
captured.]

Lieut. Commanding William D.
Porter.

SCHOONER FALCON.

[1 Gun. Captured.]

Lieut. Commanding John J. Glas-
son.
Acting Master (Passed Mid.) William
E. Hopkins.

Lt. John J. Almy.
Lt. James McCormick.
Lt. Henry Eld, Jr.
Lt. Isaac N. Brown.
Lt. William C. Whittle.
Fleet Surg. Washington Bailey.
Passed Asst. Surg. Stephen A. Mc-
Creery.
Asst. Surg. Ephraim J. Bee.
Asst. Surg. Robert T. Maccoun.
Purser Samuel Forrest.

PACIFIC SQUADRON, 1848—Continued.

Chaplain Peter J. Clark.
 Acting Master (Passed Mid.) Catesby
 Ap. R. Jones.
 Acting Master (Passed Mid.) William
 E. Boudinot.
 Marine Officer, Capt. J. L. C. Hardy
 Marine Officer, 2d. Lt. James A. Buchanan.
 Marine Officer, 2d Lt. James Wiley.
 Passed Mid. Isaac G. Strain.
 Passed Mid. Miles K. Warrington.
 Passed Mid. Edward T. Tattnall.
 Passed Mid. John S. Maury.
 Passed Mid. J. Posey Hall.
 Mid. Bancroft Gherardi.
 Mid. Augustus Lodge.
 Mid. James Bredin.
 Mid. James P. Foster.
 Mid. E. Osgood Carnes.
 Mid. Frederick W. Robinson.
 Mid. Philip C. Johnson, Jr.
 Mid. Beverly Kennon.
 Mid. Edwin F. Gray.
 Acting Mid. David B. Harmony.
 Acting Mid. William H. Ward.
 Acting Mid. John Taylor Wood.
 Acting Mid. Andrew B. Cummings.
 Acting Mid. Joseph B. Miller.
 Boatswain Moses Hall.
 Gunner Joseph W. Pennington.
 Carpenter Patrick Dee.
 Sailmaker George T. Lozier.

RAZEE INDEPENDENCE.

[54 Guns.]

Com. William Branford Shubrick.
 Capt. Eli A. F. Lavallette.
 Lt. Richard L. Page.
 Lt. Frederick Chattard.
 Lt. Charles Heywood.
 Lt. Montgomery Lewis.
 Lt. Henry H. Lewis.
 Lt. Johnston B. Carter.
 Lt. Henry A. Wise.
 Surg. Daniel S. Green.
 Passed Asst. Surg. Samuel Jackson.
 Purser Hugh W. Greene.
 Chaplain Chester Newell.
 Acting Master (Passed Mid.) Samuel
 Marcy.
 Marine Officer, Capt. Joseph Edelin.
 Marine Officer, 2d Lt. William W.
 Russell.
 Passed Mid. William D. Austin.
 Passed Mid. Reuben Harris.
 Passed Mid. Alex. F. Warley.
 Passed Mid. Garrit V. Denniston.
 Passed Mid. George A. Stevens.
 Passed Mid. Francis S. Connover.
 Passed Mid. Earl English.
 Passed Mid. David Ochiltree.
 Mid. Ralph Chandler.
 Mid. William H. Smith.
 Boatswain John Mills.
 Gunner Benjamin Bunker.
 Carpenter David Marple.
 Sailmaker Nicholas Buck.

SLOOP PORTSMOUTH.

[20 Guns.]

Com. John B. Montgomery.
 Lt. John S. Missroon.
 Lt. Joseph W. Revere.
 Lt. Washington A. Bartlett.
 Lt. Benjamin F. B. Hunter.
 Surg. Edward Gilchrist.
 Asst. Surg. Andrew A. Henderson.
 Purser James H. Watmough.
 Acting Master (Passed Mid.) John
 Downes, Jr.
 Marine Officer, 2d Lt. Henry B. Wat-
 son.
 Mid. Edward C. Grafton.
 Mid. Hunter Davidson.
 Mid. George T. Simes.
 Boatswain Robert Whitaker.
 Gunner Andrew A. Randall.
 Carpenter George Wisner.
 Sailmaker David Bruce.

SLOOP ST. MARY'S.

[20 Guns.]

Com. Jacob Crowninshield.
 Lt. William Chandler.
 Lt. David McDougal.
 Lt. John Hall.
 Lt. William L. Blanton.
 Acting Master (Passed Mid.) James
 H. Moore.
 Surg. Augustus J. Bowie.
 Asst. Surg. Dinwiddie B. Phillips.
 Purser Cameron Anderson.
 Mid. Joseph Lewis Breese.
 Mid. Felix Grundy.
 Acting Mid. Richard T. Bowen.
 Acting Mid. George W. Gift.
 Acting Mid. Edward P. Williams.
 Boatswain John Crosby.
 Gunner S. M. Beckwith.
 Carpenter Charles W. Babbitt.
 Sailmaker William B. Fugitt.

SLOOP WARREN.

[20 Guns.]

Com. ————
 Lt. Joseph Lannon.
 Acting Lt. John Guest.
 Asst. Surg. W. A. Harris.
 Purser Thomas E. Ware.
 Passed Mid. James D. Bullock.
 Passed Mid. J. B. McCauley.
 Gunner John Owins.
 Sailmaker John Joins.

SLOOP CYANE.

[20 Guns.]

Com. Samuel F. DuPont.
 Lt. Stephen C. Rowan.
 Lt. Richard L. Tilghman.
 Lt. George L. Selden.

PACIFIC SQUADRON, 1748—Continued.

Lt. George W. Harrison.
Acting Lt. Archibald McRae.
Passed Asst. Surg. Charles D. Maxwell.
Purser Rodman M. Price.
Passed Mid. T. McClanahan.
Mid. Elias Vanderhorst.
Mid. Robert F. R. Lewis.
Mid. Edmund Shepherd.
Mid. Albert Almand.
Gunner Daniel Douglas.
Carpenter Matthew M. Dodd.
Sailmaker Robert Hunter.

SLOOP DALE.

[16 Guns.]

Com. Thomas O. Selfridge.
Lt. Edward M. Yard.
Lt. Thomas A. M. Craven.
Lt. William Taylor Smith.
Asst. Surg. John Rudenstein.
Purser McKean Buchanan.
Acting Master (Passed Mid.) Nathaniel C. Bryant.
Marine Officer, 1st Lt. Robert Tansill.
Passed Mid. James M. Duncan.
Mid. Thomas T. Houston.
Mid. John Adams.
Mid. John R. Hamilton.
Mid. William B. Hayes.
Boatswain James H. Polley.
Gunner John Erskine.
Carpenter James H. Conley.
Sailmaker Stephen Seamen.

SLOOP PREBLE.

[16 Guns.]

Com. William F. Shields.
Lt. Edward C. Ward, Jr.
Lt. Thomas M. Mix.
Lt. Albert G. Clary.
Surg. Daniel Egbert.
Asst. Surg. John L. Burt.
Purser Henry Wilson.
Acting Master (Passed Mid.) Silas Brent.
Passed Mid. Edward Brinley, Jr.

Passed Mid. Homer C. Blake.
Mid. Wilson McGunnegle.
Mid. William F. Shunk.
Mid. Edgar Broadhead.
Sailmaker Timothy J. Griffin.

STORESHIP ERIE.

[4 Guns.]

Lieut. Commanding James M. Watson.
Purser Charles Murray.
Asst. Surg. Edward Hudson.
Acting Master (Passed Mid.) John Rutledge.
Passed Mid. Charles W. Hays.
Passed Mid. D. Mc N. Fairfax.
Mid. Robert R. Carter.
Mid. Theodore Lee.
Mid. Charles S. Bell.
Mid. Andrew W. Johnson.
Mid. Alex. M. De Bree.

STORESHIP LEXINGTON.

[6 Guns.]

Lieut. Commanding Theodorus Bailey.
Passed Asst. Surg. John J. Abernethy.
Purser Joseph Wilson.
Acting Master (Passed Mid.) William H. Macomb.
Passed Mid. James H. Spotts.
Passed Mid. J. B. Creighton.
Passed Mid. Robert McArran.

STORESHIP SOUTHAMPTON.

[4 Guns.]

Lieut. Commanding Robert D. Thorburn.
Lt. John L. Worden.
Lt. M. B. Woolsey.
Purser Edward D. Reynolds.
Passed Asst. Surg. James McClallan.
Passed Mid. Charles M. Morris.
Passed Mid. Henry K. Stevens.

[Appendix F.]

LIST OF ORIGINAL MEMBERS
OF
THE AZTEC CLUB.

Organized in the City of Mexico A. D. 1847.

NOTE.—The first president of this Club was Gen. Franklin Pierce, and the present one is Gen. D. M. Frost, residing in St. Louis, Mo.

Lieut.-Col. John J. Abercrombie.
Capt. Robert Allen.
Capt. Thomas L. Alexander.
*Lieut. Samuel S. Anderson.
Maj. Henry Bainbridge.
Capt. Moses J. Barnard.
Capt. John G. Barnard.
Lieut. Jenks Beaman.
*Lieut. P. G. T. Beauregard.
Lieut.-Col. Francis S. Belton.
Lieut. Barnard E. Bee.
Capt. Charles J. Biddle.
Capt. George A. H. Blake.
Capt. William Blanding.
*Capt. James D. Blanding.
Lieut. William B. Blair.
Col. Milledge L. Bonham.
Lieut. Andrew W. Bowman.
Lieut. William T. H. Brooks.
Lieut. Hachaliah Brown.
*Capt. Horace Brooks.
*Lieut. John M. Brannan.
Maj. Robert C. Buchanan.
Brig.-Gen. George Cadwalader
*Maj. G. A. Caldwell.
Capt. Albemarle Cady.
Lieut. Robert C. Caldwell.
*Lieut. George W. Carr.
Capt. Daniel T. Chandler.
*Lieut. Henry Coppee.
Surg. Presley H. Craig.
Capt. Lewis S. Craig.
Lieut. Alexander H. Cross.
Capt. Joseph Daniels.
Capt. George Deas.
Asst. Surg. David C. DeLeon.
Bvt. Lieut.-Col. James Duncan.
Lieut. Richard S. Ewell.
Capt. Edward H. Fitzgerald.
Lieut. Robert Forsyth.
Lieut. William H. French.
*Lieut. Daniel M. Frost

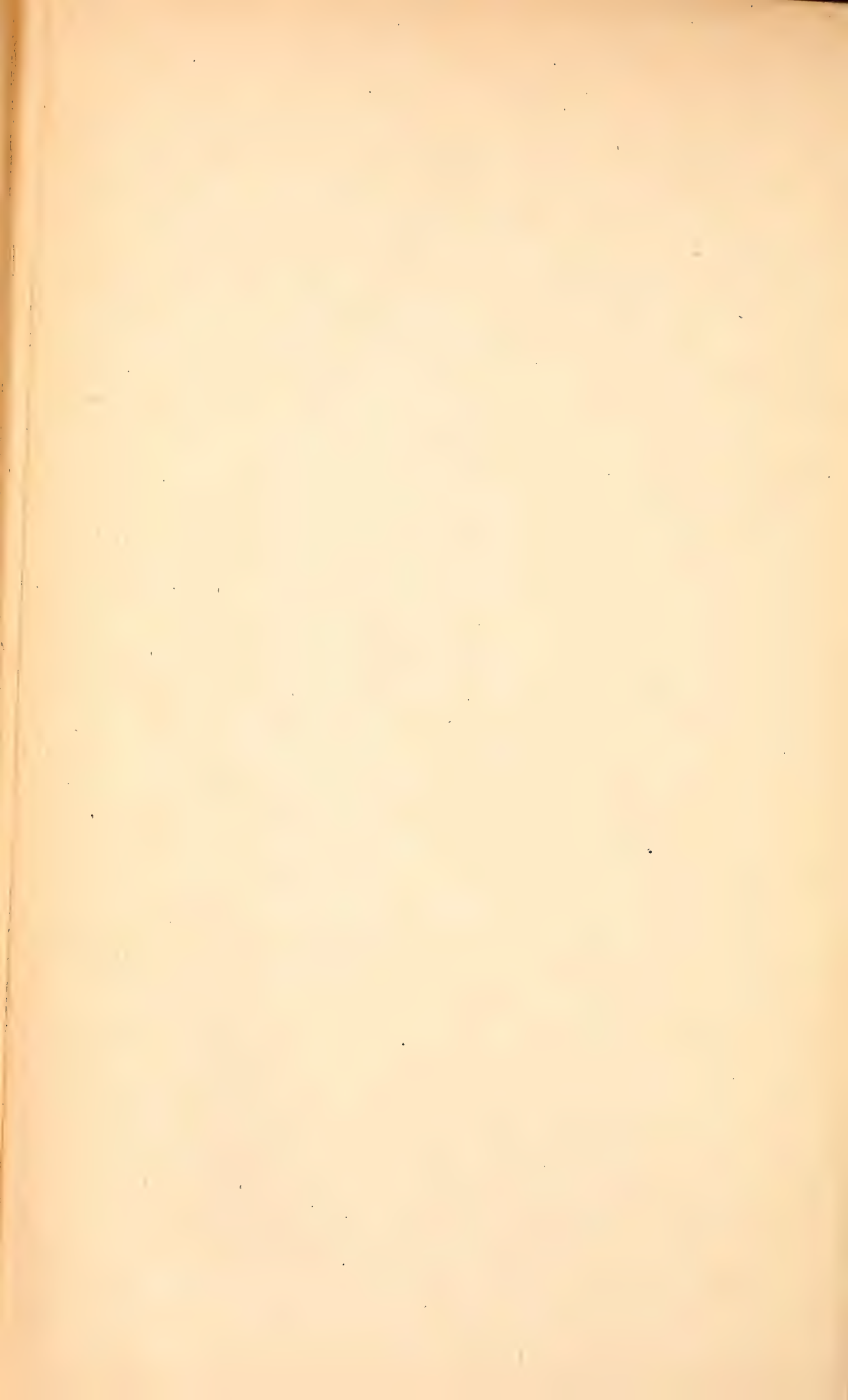
Lieut.-Col. Thomas T. Fauntleroy.
*Capt. Richard C. Gatlin.
Maj. Patrick H. Gault.
Maj. John P. Gaines.
Lieut. John W. T. Gardiner.
Lieut. Alfred Gibbs.
Lt.-Col. Adley H. Gladden.
Lieut. John H. Gore.
Capt. John B. Grayson.
Lieut. Henry D. Grafton.
Lieut. Ulysses S. Grant.
Major Maxcy Gregg.
Col. William S. Harney.
Surg. Benjamin F. Harney.
*Lieut. Peter V. Hagner.
Capt. William J. Hardee.
*Lieut. Schuyler Hamilton.
Capt. O. P. Hamilton.
*Lieut. Edmund L. Harcaste.
*Lieut. John P. Hatch.
Capt. John S. Hathaway.
*Lieut. Richard P. Hammond.
Lt.-Col. Paul O. Hebert.
Capt. Joseph Hooker.
*Capt. John E. Howard.
Capt. William Hoffman.
Lieut. E. B. Holloway.
Capt. Benjamin Huger.
Capt. James R. Irwin.
Lt.-Col. Joseph E. Johnston.
Lieut. Llewellyn Jones.
Capt. Philip Kearny.
Major Edmund Kirby.
Lieut. George W. Lay.
Capt. Robert E. Lee.
Lieut. Mansfield Lovell.
Capt. Roland A. Luther.
Capt. William W. Mackall.
Capt. John B. Magruder.
Lieut. Julian May.
Lieut. James R. May.
Lieut. George B. McClellan.

* Still living.

Lieut. George McLane.
Lieut. Philip W. McDonald.
Capt. Samuel McGowan.
*Capt. Justus McKinstrey.
*Lieut. Robert M. Morris.
Capt. Thompson Morris.
Bvt. Lt.-Col. John Munroc.
Lieut. Ferd. S. Mumford.
Capt. Abraham C. Myers.
Bvt. Capt. William A. Nichols.
Lieut. Anderson D. Nelson.
Capt. Theodore O'Hara.
Capt. Andrew Porter.
*Lieut. Innis N. Palmer.
Capt. Franklin N. Page.
Major William H. Polk.
Col. William Preston.
Brig.-Gen. Franklin Pierce.
Bvt. Capt. John C. Pemberton.
*Lieut. Fitz-John Porter.
Major-Gen. Robert Patterson.
Major-Gen. John A. Quitman.
*Lieut. George W. Rains.
Lieut. Roswell S. Ripley.
Lieut. Jesse L. Reno.
Lieut. Thomas G. Rhett.
Surg. Robert R. Ritchie.
Surg. Burton Randall.
Lieut. Francis S. K. Russell.
Bvt. Brig.-Gen. Persifer F. Smith.
Bvt. Lt.-Col. Charles F. Smith.
Lieut. William Steele.
Capt. Henry L. Scott.

Asst. Surg. James Simons.
Capt. Henry H. Sibley.
Lieut. Hamilton L. Shields.
Capt. Edward J. Steptoe.
Lieut. Charles P. Stone.
Lieut. George Sykes.
Lieut. James Stuart.
*Lieut. Gustavus W. Smith.
Lieut. Martin L. Smith.
*Lieut. Oliver L. Shepherd.
Brig-Gen. D. E. Twiggs.
Major William Turnbull.
Lieut. James Tilton.
Surg. Charles Tripler.
Lieut. Herman Thorn.
*Lieut. Zealous B. Tower.
Capt. John B. S. Todd.
Lieut. Francis J. Thomas.
Capt. Philip R. Thompson.
Major Abraham Van Buren.
Lieut. Earl Van Dorn.
Major Richard D. A. Wade.
Lieut. Thomas Williams.
Lieut. Cadmus M. Wilcox.
*Lieut. John D. Wilkins.
Col. Jonas M. Withers.
*Col. John S. Williams.
Bvt. Maj.-Gen. William J. Worth.
Capt. George W. F. Wood.
Lieut. Lafayette B. Wood.
Lieut. Frank Woodbridge.
Major Samuel Woods.

* Still living.





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